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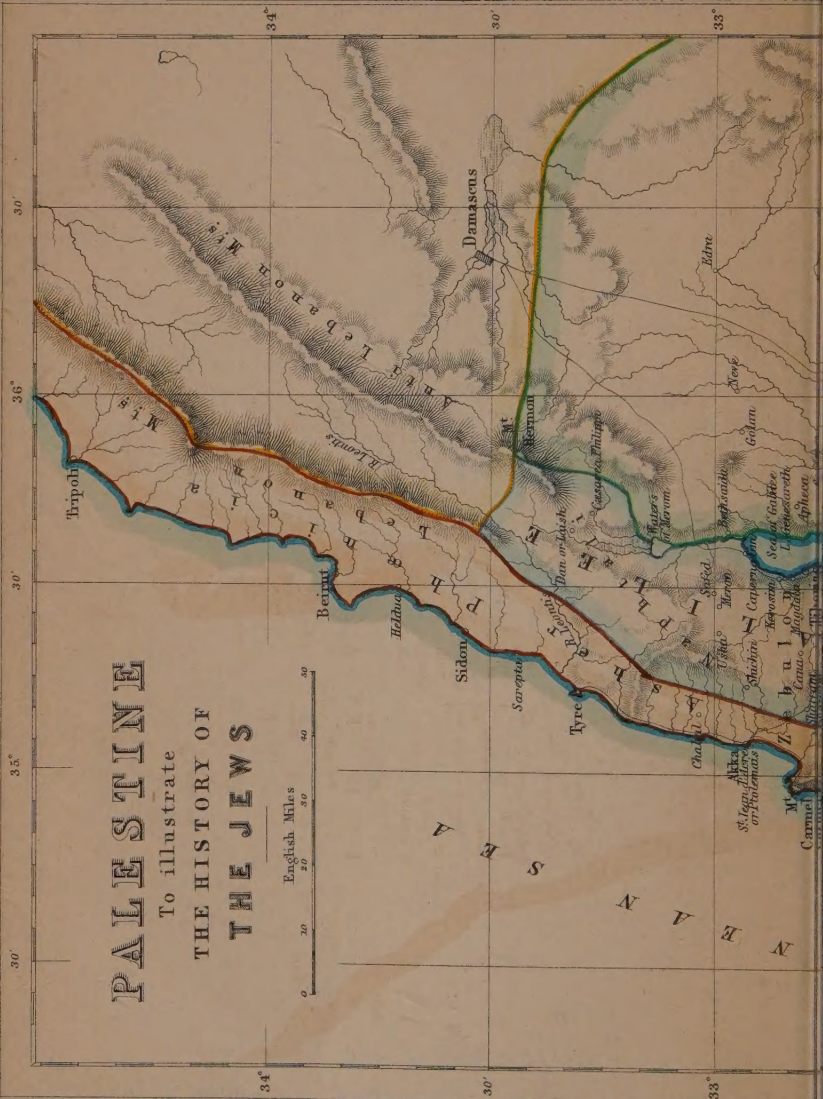
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HISTORY OF THE JEWISH NATION.

PALESTINE

To illustrate
THE HISTORY OF
THE JEWS

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HISTORY "

OF

THE JEWISH NATION

AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM UNDER TITUS.

BY THE

REV. ALFRED EDERSHEIM, PH. D.

OLD ABERDEEN.

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ERRATA.

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PREFACE.

FOR many years have I cherished the desire of writing a History of the Jewish Nation. It is remarkable, that a work apparently of such interest and importance to the Christian student should not long ere this have been supplied. It is my deliberate conviction that Jewish History casts much light on the evangelical accounts in the Gospels, on the Book of Acts, and on later Ecclesiastical History, both in its records of the spread of Christianity, and of the origin and development of heretical sects.

The illustrations which Jewish History affords of the New Testament are not confined to a description of the circumstances, social relations, and religious opinions which are there assumed as well known. It is impossible to read even a single page in the Gospels without being struck with the contrast between the spiritual tendency and direction of the Old Testament, as there brought to light, and the formalism and literalism of the Synagogue. A simple and impartial account of Judaism on the one hand, and a perusal of the Gospels on the other, constitutes one of the most convincing proofs of the Divine origin of the Christian religion, and of its organic connexion with that of the Old Testament. Again, it is impossible to read the Gospel narrative in the light of Jewish history without feeling that the notions and circumstances to which it alludes, are exactly those of the time in which Jesus Christ lived and taught on earth. They apply to

that period, and to that period only. The notions, the modes of speaking, the opposition and its very manner, to which the New Testament refers, are exactly those of that period. If a copy of the Gospels were put into the hands of an impartial Jewish historian, he could not fail to discover that the events there chronicled must have taken place exactly at the time when, according to Christian belief, Jesus walked amongst men. The Gospels, historically speaking, cannot be an after-production. However, as it was my purpose not so much to illustrate the New Testament as rather to give an account of the Jewish nation, I have, in this book, almost entirely omitted direct references to its statements.

In the course of this history I have sometimes indicated the bearing of Jewish upon Ecclesiastical history, and especially on the origin of Gnosticism. Without entering on the common causes of all mysticism, every student must have felt some difficulty in accounting for the sudden rise of the Gnostic sects, and for the apparent extravagancies of their systems, the more so as coming so soon after the promulgation of Christian truth. But if it be true that these sects found their prototype in Jewish mysticism, their origin and spread is explained. In general, it may be desirable to trace back every heresy or misbelief to its source and origin, and to connect it, as far as possible, with the erroneous tendency in the Church from which it sprung, and to which it claims kindred. It is thus only that Ecclesiastical history, in its facts, development, and contests, can be satisfactorily presented. To these considerations it is unnecessary to add anything regarding the interest which must attach to the history of the Jewish nation in the minds of those who take a proper view of their past, their present, and their future.

In preparing my materials for this volume, I have freely

availed myself of the labours of any, Jews or Christians, historians or antiquarians, whose productions were within reach, or could be of use. This general acknowledgment must be taken instead of detailed references in every case to special sources of information, which would needlessly have encumbered the book. To have mentioned once a work or a section to which I was indebted, must be held to imply that I availed myself as frequently and fully of its aid as I felt requisite. The researches, of which this volume is the result, have been laborious and conscientious. They have been unremittingly prosecuted during four years, so far as ministerial and other engagements have permitted. I can only add, that I have attempted to write fairly and impartially, and, although thoroughly convinced of the truth of Christianity, and cordially attached to my nation, have not allowed either the one or the other to bias me in the representation of facts.

The information which this volume is intended to communicate has hitherto lain scattered over a large number of books and pamphlets, and been partly buried in ancient and neglected records. Amongst ourselves, later Jewish History has been almost entirely neglected. With all respect for the writers, it can scarcely be maintained, that in the existing manuals the History of the Jews, after the destruction of Jerusalem, has ever been satisfactorily written in the English language. Even the minute investigations of the Germans have produced a large variety of treatises rather than a connected history. The first and the most impartial of modern German Jewish historians was Dr. Jost of Frankfort, whose history, extending over ten volumes, opened the way. The work of Dr. Grätz (of which only one volume has as yet appeared) contains later, and in many respects more accurate information, but is disfigured by violent

partisanship, and an uncompromising enmity to Christianity, which often does violence to plain historical facts. The short sketch in Ersch's Encyclopedia, by Selig Cassel, who, I am glad to know from his later writings, has since become a convert to Christianity, is, as all the writings of that author, replete with sound sense, and contains most extensive and accurate information. To these historians I have been deeply indebted, as well as to the researches of Prideaux, Lightfoot, Selden, Buxtorf, Bartolucci, Wolfius, and the classical labours of Winer, Delitzsch, Zunz, Frankel, Hirschfeld, Dukes, Franck, Dähne, Ideler, Gfrörer, Forbiger, Hartmann, Schwartz, &c. Basnage is not always accurate, and adds little to one's stock of information; but he was one of the first in the field. The works of Eisenmenger, Wagenseil, and others of the same stamp, are disfigured by their violent hatred of Judaism and the Jews. Of the works of Christian fathers and of ecclesiastical writers I have availed myself so far as requisite.

It was the peculiar object of this History, not only to give an impartial account of *facts*, but especially to describe the state of society, of trades, commerce, agriculture, arts, sciences, theology, &c., during the first centuries of our era. In this respect I beg to refer the reader more especially to Chapters IX, X, and XI, which have probably cost more labour, and involved more research than any other part of the book. Too often, in the narrative of events, it has been necessary to indicate, that some Jewish accounts were apparently more or less legendary or exaggerated,—a circumstance which could perhaps scarcely be avoided in the then state of science, and by writers who composed their accounts very much in the spirit of religious partisanship.

The materials for it being ready, I hope that the second

volume, in which I intend to bring down this history *to our own days*, will shortly appear.

Any disproportion between the period over which this volume extends, and that which the next is to describe, can readily be explained. Many previous facts of Jewish history which could not be taken for granted, had to be introduced in the first volume, and in general the commencement of the Christian era seemed to require a more elaborate record. Besides, in deference to the judgment of those in whom I have full confidence, I resolved to condense in *one* volume what had originally been meant to extend over *two*. In acknowledging my obligations to others, I have specially to thank the authorities of King's College, Aberdeen, for the liberal use which they have allowed me to make of its library; Dr. Jost of Frankfort, for his advice, as also the Rev. Dr. Hanna of Edinburgh for the encouragement given by him. My friend the Rev. Walter Wood, of Elie, has rendered me most valuable assistance, both during the composition of the manuscript and the revision of the proofs, by the suggestions which his extensive reading and elegant taste have prompted.

In bringing these labours to a close, I may perhaps be allowed to plead the extent and difficulty of the undertaking, in extenuation of any imperfections which may be pointed out. Still, I am thankful and glad that these, the "first-fruits" of my studies in Ecclesiastical History, should be devoted to a cause and service which I have so deeply at heart.

OLD ABERDEEN, 3d May 1856.

HISTORY OF THE JEWISH NATION.

CHAPTER I.

THE HEBREW COMMONWEALTH.

IN the Divine dispensation, Israel was destined to sustain the highest and most important part that can be assigned to any nation. Originally chosen to be the depository of spiritual truth, and separated from all other nations in order to fulfil this mission, it was preserved till the Divine purposes were accomplished. These purposes seem to have been, to serve as the channel, and as the exemplification of Divine truth, and to afford a medium by which the fulness of Divine truth, and of Divine fact, might become embodied in the person of the Lord Jesus Christ.

If every nation is the representative, and its history the embodiment of *some* truth, this applies in a special manner, or at least becomes specially manifest, in the case of Israel. Israel was meant to be a *theocracy*. Not only in its ecclesiastical, but in its political constitution also, was it to show forth the supremacy, the authority, and the continued presence of Jehovah with his Covenant people. If this truth was to be exhibited in the world, it became necessary to fix upon and to separate from the rest one nation. But though in the *preparatory* stage national, these were spiritual facts and truths, which ultimately could not belong, and were not meant to be confined to any *one* race. These realities are necessarily universal; they are de-

signed for, and apply to all, both to those who are afar off, and to those who are nigh. Another, and a kindred feature, of the preparatory dispensation, was its *typical* character. Israel, its history, its ordinances, its prophecies, all were not only so many present realities, they pointed also to something future, to which they stood in the relationship of shadows. The grand end and meaning of the preparatory stage, was to show the need of and to open the way for the advent of the Saviour. With his coming, what was typical gave place to what is real—what was preparatory ceased. “Grace and truth have been brought to light by the Gospel.”

The truths which the Old Testament dispensation and history embodied, were chiefly these,—that Jehovah is the *living*, and that he is the *true* God. In opposition to heathenism, it exhibited the unity, the personality, the character, and the purposes of the Deity. We do not deny that certain traditions, containing remnants of spiritual truth, circulated amongst the heathen, nor that the Spirit of God who moved over that chaotic deep awakened amongst them aspirations after, and ultimately produced a general preparedness for, the coming of the kingdom. But we hold that the pre-Christian history of the world only exemplified the experience contained in the Book of Ecclesiastes, and may be summed up in the words of an Apostle,—“The world by wisdom knew not God.” Here all the different tendencies of thought, of morals, and of fact, were allowed to ripen into maturity, and in turn proved that, in the highest and only true aim, man left to himself is as unprofitable, and hence must, in the righteous dispensation of his Lord, meet with the same doom as did the unfruitful fig-tree which Jesus cursed. The Jewish nation also, notwithstanding the eternal seed in the midst of it, misunderstood its mission, and, when finally left to its own development, only exhibited by its judgments the truths which at one time it had, and is again designed to declare and to enjoy. But even at that period Israel had its important mission in the world. It exhibited the Divine justice in the rejection of those who had forsaken Him; in their continued

national existence the Jews attested, throughout the lands over which they were scattered, the Scripture record. They are also kept in readiness for future purposes, and, above all, they became the medium of bringing to light an important spiritual fact. The truth which Jesus Christ, by his advent, vicarious sufferings, and death, did reveal, make possible, and teach his disciples, was, in fact, the same in substance as that conveyed by the teaching of the Old Testament, though enlarged in meaning and application. He made it known when he informed one of the humblest of a despised race, that "they that worship God must worship him *in spirit* and *in truth*." It was the *worship* of God, and the spiritual and true worship of the Father, which became possible and known by Christ.

Of this spiritual and true worship, the Jewish nation had, before the advent of Christ, with few exceptions, been long as ignorant as the Gentiles around them. This state of matters will readily be understood. In the preparatory stage, the truth had been necessarily conveyed to them in types. Had it been *unveiled*, it could not have been committed to the keeping of a *nation*; it would have, from the first, belonged to mankind, and been universal. The national, the typical, and the preparatory, were necessarily connected. Before "the fulness of time," before the fulness of truth, before the coming of Christ, it could not otherwise be. Israel could only read, and the Gentiles only discern the truth when traced in large characters, as figures and types; but at this stage to keep the one separate from, to discern the one in the other, required a sense spiritually exercised. The religious men of that day might learn to worship God, yet not in spirit, and hence not in truth. If ever this took place, it is plain that the more eagerly and earnestly it was attempted to worship God after that fashion, the farther would the worshipper in reality alienate himself from God. Under such circumstances, "their table" could only "be made a snare, and a trap, and a stumbling-block, and a recompense unto them." Every increase of carnal zeal would increase, and not diminish, the distance between the worshipper and the true God.

When the spiritual reality indicated by the type was lost sight of, and the latter mistaken for that reality itself, a direction altogether new and erroneous was given to religious thinking, which might be indefinitely followed out, but which the more it was prosecuted, led the nearer to apostasy from the religion of the Old Testament; and this apostasy was at last completed. It had long been preparing—it attained its climax in the national rejection of the Saviour—it became the true cause of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple—and its continuance forms the explanation of the later religious and political history of the Jews. It was thus exemplified in the history as in the theology of typical Israel, “that the letter killeth, but the Spirit maketh alive.”

If we cannot explain, we may at least briefly trace the gradual unfolding of this spiritual degeneracy to its completion in the final rejection of Christ. Left to themselves, these natural men understood not “the things of the Spirit of God;” they even misunderstood them. In measure, as they were ignorant of the truths in the types, they cherished and elevated the latter; they cleansed the outside of these cups and platters of the Sanctuary. In vain were the lessons taught by the prophets, and the warnings in Providence; they also were misunderstood. When God was manifestly against them, they did not change their views; but, ascribing it to other causes, by way of amendment increased in earnestness, and clung with still greater tenacity to the type as their all. The national and the typical as such was only a vessel. They did not know it—they spilt its contents, and it became an empty vessel to them. Strange enough, with all their hatred and contempt of heathenism, they reached in the course of their religious development exactly the same results, and fell into the same error, as the heathen who surrounded them. Jehovah became only a *national Deity*; they depended on him for national protection and blessings; the temple and its ordinances were only national services. They mistook the eternal covenant of grace for national rights. Not understanding these things, they wondered, mistook, and at last wholly set aside the Divine

dealings which were designed to teach them that they had forsaken the Divine and entered on their own way. Notwithstanding the continuance of the Divine judgments, they persisted in ignoring their meaning. The last billow burst over them where the first wave had found them. Even after the destruction of the temple and city, they eagerly followed out the same religious tendency which had led to that catastrophe, as if an increase of earnestness had been an increase of righteousness. And now they developed the formalism of true religion to its utmost, until their religion became only a recollection of the past. Still, Israel was to have a future history, and it could not be destroyed. They wandered, but could not be lost. However, in none of their undertakings could they prosper, for God was against them. It was vain for them, once and again, to renew the unequal contest for national restoration; they, indeed, achieved deeds of valour, unsurpassed by those of any other nation, but they could not succeed in their object. It was so in other respects also: they thought and laboured in their colleges; they prayed and fasted in their synagogues; they wrought and gained in their temporal pursuits. But their researches were fruitless for good; they did not benefit the world by their religious ardour; nor were they even allowed to enjoy the advantages of their activity and commerce. *Ichabod* was written upon all their undertakings, for the glory had departed. Israel and its history are typical; yet will they, as such, meet with a blessed realization.

Viewed in this light, the history of the Jews gains additional interest and importance. Their past importance can scarcely be overstated; they gave to the world a Bible and a Saviour. Their present importance is indicated by their almost miraculous national preservation, and the fact of their being scattered by the Divine hand broad-cast over the fields of the world and of its history, as so many seeds of spiritual truths. Their future importance lies in this, that they are seeds which are yet to take root, to spring up and to bear fruit; and that their future is connected with the last and brightest events of coming history. Israel and its history are inseparably connected with Scripture.

We meet them everywhere ; and everywhere their past, their present, and their future, are full of the deepest meaning. And so shall it continue to be, till their bringing in prove " as life from the dead."

The period during which the Judges presided over the twelve tribes, was probably the most prosperous in a religious as that under the reign of David was in a political point of view. Perhaps the first public and national indication of spiritual degeneracy was the demand of the people for a king, avowedly made for the purpose of conformity with other nations, and in disregard of the claims of Jehovah. From that period we may date the commencement of the peculiar pre-Babylonian form of religious apostasy. It had, indeed, appeared even before that event ; but now it rapidly developed, and finally assumed gigantic proportions. In this stage the idolatry of Israel consisted not so much in the rejection of the truth, as in its admixture with and neutralization by foreign elements. The worship of Jehovah was not wholly set aside, but he was only looked upon as their national Deity ; and along with him other national Deities were more or less avowedly made objects of worship. The sad consequences of this made themselves felt in the series of national judgments, which terminated in the deportation of Israel, and then of Judah to Babylon. Israel without its God, became Israel without its country. This judgment had so far its effects, that the spiritual degeneracy of Israel never afterwards appeared again in the form of idolatry. There were some, who in the school of affliction had, in Babylon, sought after the Lord God of Israel. But side by side with them were those who, while willing to acknowledge their former national sins, and desirous of returning to the land of their fathers, expressed their repentance by simply going to the opposite extreme of an exclusively Jewish formalism. And now Jehovah was still only a national Deity, although *the only* national Deity,—just as the Jews were the only nation—all others had neither meaning nor purpose. Judaism as such, in its national and typical state, was the sole and the highest truth. This tendency

had been not a little strengthened, by the necessary want of the typical services in Babylon, which would, in measure, have served to remind them of spiritual truths. In room of the Priest had come the teacher or Rabbi—in room of experience, knowledge—in room of the spirit and reality of the Bible, its letter and form. Here we have the germ of Phariseeism, and of that peculiar tendency of Jewish thinking which afterwards found its expression in the traditions of the Fathers or the Talmud. Still the recollection of the spiritual truths contained in the Bible, had not yet wholly vanished. But those deeper realities which, still afloat, were ever and again brought forward by the prophets, became in the minds of many only carnal and national hopes. Others constituted them into a sort of higher doctrine, unknown and unintelligible to the vulgar, and accessible only to the initiated. Together with the deeper thinkers of antiquity, who had sought after the truth independently, and had caught some rays of it, which lightened up the general consciousness of mankind, they arrived at certain general results, which constituted the common basis of mysticism in all religions. At the period immediately preceding the return of the captives from Babylon, (about fourteen years before that event—549 B.C.,) Zoroaster had attained to the climax, as it were, of his religious mission at the court of Darius. It is impossible here to trace at length the historical and internal connexion between Jewish mysticism and the doctrine of Zoroaster. Suffice it to say, that the two exercised a mutual influence upon one another. The consequence, so far as the Jews were concerned, was the formation of a school of mystics, whose doctrines were afterwards known as those of the Kabbalah—a system which, variously brought forward, contains more or less of the Jewish or of the Persian elements, and appeared in its purest form in the sect of the Essenes.

Such, in its religious aspects, was the Jewish nation when the captives returned to the land of their fathers. It will readily be conceived that this event encouraged and strengthened the peculiar *national* tendencies to which we have already alluded. In fact, the second or *post-Babylonian* form of spiritual degeneracy

had now been entered upon. It consisted in laying an extreme value upon the form and letter as such, and developing it to the utter neglect of the spirit. So much was this the case, that even when the temple was at last destroyed, and the Old Testament economy had thereby become impossible, the change was only felt in a national, not in a religious point of view. In fact, the types having ceased to be more than forms, had become needless, and Judaism had become distinct from the religion of the Old Testament. It was this tendency which opposed itself to the spirituality of the Gospel, and led to the rejection of the Son of God. That event must not be looked upon as an isolated fact, but as the completion of the spiritual tendency to which we have referred. When light came into the world, the darkness comprehended it not,—but resisted it. The contest between the Pharisees and the Lord was in reality that of opposing religions; as far as the Scribes were concerned, it was a life and death struggle. The form and the letter contended against the spirit and the truth. The synagogue contended for continued existence in its peculiar form. It overcame, because it could make use of carnal weapons; but from that moment the doom of Israel was sealed. The contest had been decided, and the issue was a total perversion of the truth, and a dereliction of the meaning and mission of the people of Israel. Before the coming of Christ, two parties might co-exist within the Jewish nation and the synagogue. A contest was still possible. But his advent closed it by bringing it to the issue of a battle. After his death, and before the destruction of Jerusalem, a mistake was still possible. But the latter event made any misunderstanding for ever impossible. With his own hand God took down the tabernacle, and closed the temple-doors: He put his seal to the termination of the Old Testament dispensation. Without sacrilegious rebellion Judaism could no longer exist. In room of the temple, the synagogue might indeed come, but it was not the religion of the Old Testament that could be taught in it.

Such being the case,—and if the Jews were not to be cast off finally, if they were still to have a place and mission in the

religious history of the world, it was necessary that a signal judgment should mark the Divine displeasure. The Lord disowned the state and the nation; and to indicate both the fact and its cause, he scattered them over the face of the globe,—witnesses and warnings to all who meet them.

But we have so far anticipated certain points in the religious history of the Jews, to which we shall have to recur more fully in the sequel. We return to sketch their political history. After their return from Babylon, the Jews continued subject to the kings of Persia, and under the administration of their own high priests. But when Alexander the Great on his march of conquest subdued Syria, he also sent a message to Jaddua, the then high priest, in future to pay to him the customary tribute. Jaddua refused on the plea of his oath of allegiance to the Persian monarch. Alexander now advanced against Jerusalem. But at no great distance from the city, he was met by a solemn procession, with the high-priest at its head, who had come to welcome the conqueror, (as was stated,) in obedience to a command given to Jaddua in a vision. It is added that Alexander had seen a similar vision, and in accordance with its injunction, now received the deputation most graciously, not only spared their city and temple, but even offered sacrifices there, and accorded great privileges to the Jewish nation. Whatever explanation may be offered of the vision, Alexander's largesses to the Jews at any rate are undoubted; as is the fact, that ever afterwards the Jews remained attached to his interests. It is well known that Alexander succeeded in his enterprises, that he conquered Persia, and at last died in the midst of his prosperity at Babylon. After his decease, his former generals, who obtained possession of the various provinces which had constituted his empire, became speedily involved in mutual hostilities. The first consequence of these disturbances, so far as Judea was concerned, was that Ptolemy Lagus, to whom Egypt had been assigned, along with it seized upon Palestine. The reign of that prince was very prosperous. Mild and humane, he not only confirmed the privileges which Alexander had conferred on the Jews, but encouraged their settle-

ment in the city of Alexandria, and in the province of Cyrene. But when his rival, Antigonus, whose ambition was equalled by his courage, possessed himself for a time of Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, the latter country became the theatre of war. This circumstance must have contributed to swell the number of Jewish emigrants into Egypt. But a victory gained over his antagonist at Gaza soon restored Palestine to Ptolemy. At the same time the allies of Ptolemy attempted to make a diversion in the East against Antigonus. Seleucus, a general who shared the enlightened policy of Ptolemy, was encouraged to endeavour there to found an empire for himself. Babylonia gladly welcomed him. He became the first of a dynasty. His accession was hailed in the East as the commencement of a new era. Men reckoned after it, and the so-called "Seleucian Era" dates from the period of his gaining firm possession of the above province (about 312 B.C.) Soon afterwards, Antigonus, who had gained some successes against the Arabs and in Greece, attempted an invasion of Egypt, but was completely repulsed. The ambitious plans of that restless monarch, together, perhaps, with a growing desire on the part of Seleucus, who had now firmly established his power in the East, to possess himself of the dominions of Antigonus, led to a grand combined attack against the latter, in which Seleucus took the lead. Antigonus was beaten, and fell in battle; and Seleucus received Syria, Asia Minor, and the provinces east of the Euphrates, as his share in the common spoil. Seleucus prosecuted the same liberal policy in his new dominions, which had secured for him the attachment of his Babylonian subjects. He built a number of large cities, amongst them Antioch and Laodicea in Syria, and encouraged the influx of wealthy, industrious, and loyal Jewish settlers, by according them privileges similar to those which their brethren enjoyed in Egypt. These not only constituted them citizens, but made them in some respects independent, by placing them under the government of rulers of their own. Meantime, the Jewish high-priest, Jaddua, had been succeeded by Onias I., (about 321 B.C.,) and the latter, by Simon the Just, (about 300 B.C.,) to whom tradi-

tion ascribes an extensive and important part in the religious history of the Jews.

But the successors of the kings of Syria and Egypt did not inherit the moderation of their fathers. They became embroiled in mutual jealousies and in hostilities, which led to no decisive result in favour of either party, but enabled the disaffected subjects of Antiochus II., on the eastern banks of the Tigris, to found what afterwards grew into the formidable Parthian Empire. The war between the monarchs of Syria and Egypt was at last terminated by the marriage of Antiochus with the daughter of Ptolemy II. But on the death of the latter monarch, his daughter, the Syrian queen, was repudiated. Antiochus recalled in her stead a former wife of his, who, dreading the fickleness of her lover, murdered him and placed her son, Seleucus, on the throne. Ptolemy III. now marched upon Syria in order to avenge the disgrace and the murder of his sister, who had fallen a victim to her former rival. The queen-mother was killed, and Seleucus obtained from Ptolemy a ten years' truce. But he soon fell into the hands of the Parthians, who had, during the interval, secured their independence. He was succeeded by his son Seleucus III., and, after the murder of the latter, by Antiochus III. Meanwhile the inhabitants of Palestine had continued to enjoy the favour of the Egyptian monarchs, to whom they were tributary. The high-priest, Simon the Just, was succeeded by Eleazar, and the latter by Onias II. (about 250 B.C.) All these priests farmed the revenues of Palestine for a certain sum which they undertook annually to pay to the king of Egypt. In return, they exercised a kind of sovereignty in Palestine, where they administered affairs according to the Divine law. But Onias had, for a considerable time, omitted to pay this tribute,—a course which, but for the timely interposition of his nephew Joseph, would have led to serious consequences. It was about this time that the political leanings of a certain party of the Jews towards Syria, and the moral deterioration by the introduction of Grecian manners and modes of thinking, led to the formation of what afterwards became known as the *Saddu-*

cean party. The influence of the Syrians became daily greater. The Egyptian king, Ptolemy III., had been murdered and succeeded by his son, Ptolemy IV., who abandoned himself to every vice. Encouraged by the inactivity of the Egyptians, Antiochus III. of Syria overran and took Phenicia and Palestine. But Ptolemy at last roused himself from his drunken revels, met and overcame his antagonist, and recovered his ancient possessions. On his return he visited Jerusalem. On that occasion he attempted to penetrate into the Holiest of all, against the advice of the high-priest Simon II., (who had succeeded Onias II.,) and was struck down by the hand of the Lord. On his return to Egypt he meant to vent his resentment upon the Jews of Alexandria, whom he deprived of their privileges, and even resolved to exterminate. For this purpose he caused them to be shut up in the arena and exposed to elephants. But when these animals only turned against the assembled spectators instead of the Jews, and other portents appeared, the superstitious king as suddenly changed, and restored to the Jews their former privileges. Ptolemy IV. was succeeded by his infant son, Ptolemy V. Antiochus III. of Syria availed himself of the period of helplessness of the Egyptian monarch, to regain Cœle-Syria and Palestine. In this undertaking he was encouraged by a party amongst the Jews. At last a peace was concluded between the two monarchs, on condition of a marriage between Cleopatra, the daughter of Antiochus, and young Ptolemy, and on the understanding that Cleopatra should receive the disputed provinces as her dowry. This treaty left Antiochus at liberty to encounter other and much more powerful opponents, in the coming masters of the world—the Romans. But he was unsuccessful, and was obliged to conclude a very disadvantageous peace, and to give hostages, amongst them his son, Antiochus Epiphanes. Soon afterwards he was slain in Persia, and succeeded by his son, Seleucus IV. The necessities of that monarch induced him to despatch Heliodorus to Palestine—which had never been surrendered to the Egyptian monarch—in order to carry away the Temple treasury. In vain the pious

high-priest, Onias III., who had succeeded Simon II., opposed his progress into the temple. But a judgment similar to that which had overtaken Ptolemy IV. stopped his advance. Soon afterwards, Onias procured from Seleucus a suspension of all hostile attempts against the Jews. But when after the murder of that monarch by Heliodorus his brother, Antiochus IV., surnamed Epiphanes, ascended the Syrian throne, a period of persecution commenced. First, Onias III. was superseded by Jason, who had bribed the king, and obtained not only the priesthood, but leave to erect a Gymnasium at Jerusalem. This institution proved a source of very great temptation to the Jewish youth, by leading them to conform to Grecian manners. Under that wicked priest, the Grecian party became almost dominant. Jason was in turn superseded by his brother Menelaus, who had promised a larger sum to Antiochus than that which had been paid by his predecessor. In order to raise it he plundered the temple treasury, and then incited his accomplices to the murder of Onias, who from his exile had protested against the sacrilege. It was in vain the Jews appealed for redress to Antiochus; their deputies were only slaughtered. Meantime, Ptolemy V. had died, and the executors of his children claimed from Antiochus the provinces, which had been promised to their father. On the refusal of Antiochus, both parties prepared for war, and the Syrian monarch soon possessed himself of Egypt. During the confusion, the priest, Jason, returned to Jerusalem, and forced Menelaus to seek refuge in the castle of the Syrian garrison attached to the city. But Antiochus soon marched upon the Jewish capital, and not only obliged Jason to retire, but took fearful vengeance, incited to it by the joy which the Jews were said to have manifested, when erroneous tidings of his death in the Egyptian campaign were circulated amongst them. On that occasion 8000 persons were killed, and the temple plundered. In 168 B.C., Antiochus again invaded Egypt, when the Roman Senate peremptorily ordered him to withdraw. He sullenly obeyed, but vented his anger upon the Jews. He despatched his general Apollonius with 22,000 men to Jerusa-

lem, which had for two years been groaning under the combined tyranny of the Phrygian governor, and the apostate Jewish high-priest. The inhabitants received them cheerfully, not surmising any evil. But when the Sabbath rest had rendered the Jews defenceless, the Syrian soldiery was let loose upon them. The men were slaughtered, and the women and children sold into slavery. Such was the carnage, desolation, and general apprehension of danger from the Syrian garrison, which commanded the approach to the temple, that the daily sacrifice ceased to be offered. The above-mentioned act of perfidy and cruelty, became the commencement of an unprecedented persecution. In truth, the Syrian king had resolved on nothing short of an extinction of the Jewish faith. For that purpose he converted the temple at Jerusalem into one dedicated to Jupiter Olympius. Circumcision, the keeping of the Sabbath, and every outward observance of the law, were made capital crimes. Every copy of the law was to be surrendered to the authorities, and destroyed; every Jew in Palestine was to be obliged to apostatize. In the persecutions which now ensued, many noble instances of a preference of death to blasphemy occurred. At last, Mattathias, a priest and the head of the Asmonean family, raised the standard of resistance to the Syrian tyranny, and called upon all the faithful in Israel to arm in defence of their lives and laws. The mountains of Judea afforded the little band a secure retreat and meeting-place. Gradually the number of armed patriots increased into a little army. The first important step they took was to agree that it should be considered lawful to defend themselves on Sabbath-days—a resolution of great practical moment, as it protected the Jews from hostile attacks, which frequently were planned in the belief that they would not be resisted on the day of rest. The aged Mattathias soon died, but was succeeded by his vigorous and youthful son, Judas Maccabæus. Notwithstanding their great disparity in numbers, Judas routed and slew Apollonius, the Syrian general. To obtain means for carrying on the Jewish and other campaigns, King Antiochus proceeded eastwards in the hope of replenish-

ing his exhausted treasury, by the spoil of temples and cities. Meanwhile the governor, Lysias, to whose charge the king had committed his infant son, was to continue the Jewish war. So confident were the Syrians of success, that a large number of slave-merchants thronged their camp, preparing to purchase the expected Jewish captives. A Syrian detachment, considerably superior to that of Judas, was sent to meet the Jews. But the latter eluding them, managed to surprise the Syrian camp, routed the panic-stricken soldiers, killed many, took others captive, and got an immense booty. When the Syrian detachment, which had been sent to meet Judas, returned from its unsuccessful expedition, and discovered the camp in flames, terror seized them, and they also fled precipitately. A second campaign, undertaken the following year, terminated as disadvantageously for the Syrians. Enraged by the tidings of these reverses, Antiochus resolved to take the field in person, and immediately set out on his return from the East, vowing vengeance; but the hand of the Lord smote him while uttering these imprecations, and he died of the same loathsome disease which afterwards cut off Herod. He was succeeded by his son, Antiochus V. A third campaign was attempted by the Syrians, but ended as the former two, and a peace, or rather a truce, was concluded with the Jews. The war soon recommenced. Judas gained, indeed, some advantages, but the superior number of his opponents forced him to seek safety behind the fortifications of Jerusalem. A civil war, which broke out in Syria itself, now obliged the enemy to conclude a peace. Menelaus, who had been the chief occasion of all these troubles, met with well-deserved punishment: he was removed from the priesthood, and put to death. His successor, Alcimus, was not much more faithful. At the same time, the son of the banished Onias, who had improperly been passed over in this appointment, retired in disgust to Egypt, where he founded a rival temple at Heliopolis.

With the accession of Judas Maccabæus to the governorship of Palestine, a new period commences. While he consolidated his power and gathered adherents by counteracting the efforts of

the Grecian party, and banishing the high-priest Alcimus, who was at their head, Demetrius, son of Seleucus IV., who, it will be remembered, had been murdered by Heliodorus, gained the Syrian throne. Incited by the Grecian party in Judea, who felt themselves endangered by the reforms of Judas, that monarch despatched an army against the latter, which, however, was twice routed. But Judas perceived that he was losing ground. He was identified with the party of the Zealots, a resolute but small band, while the Grecian or opposing party was daily increasing in numbers, the more so as the struggle had been so long protracted, and now seemed so unpromising. Besides, its original cause existed no longer, and the Syrian monarch's rule had of late become comparatively mild. Finding himself deserted by all but about 800 Zealots, Judas took the bold step of appealing for help to Rome. But before aid could be granted, he succumbed to superior numbers, and fell in an engagement, together with the greater part of his adherents. The command now devolved on his brother *Jonathan*. The new commander retired to Jordan, where he successfully defended himself. Happily the Syrian general, perhaps deeming the enemy too insignificant, soon left the country, and an interval of peace ensued which Jonathan assiduously employed in strengthening his party. On the return of the Syrians to Palestine, the Jewish general first secured himself against internal foes by putting to the sword the chiefs of the Grecian party. Shewing himself capable of resisting the Syrians, a peace was soon concluded, by which perfect religious liberty was accorded to the Jews. But the views of the national party had enlarged during these campaigns. They now sought not only religious but political independence also, while their leader, Jonathan, aimed after the Jewish crown. Circumstances soon occurred which furthered his designs. A rival to King Demetrius had been set up in Syria, and both parties contended for the powerful co-operation of Jonathan, by attempting to outbid one another in promises. The Jews espoused the cause of the pretender, and, on his accession to the Syrian throne, Jonathan was declared Meridarch,

or commander in Judea. But his predecessor's misfortunes did not teach the new Syrian monarch to eschew his vices. Accordingly, Demetrius II., the son of Demetrius, was soon welcomed back by his subjects, and regained his father's throne. Although the Jews had formerly supported his opponent, they obtained from him a confirmation of their privileges, on condition of rendering him aid against his rebel subjects. But the ingratitude of Demetrius II. alienated all hearts from him, and enabled Tryphon, the guardian of the young son of the pretender, once again to bring about a change of dynasty, by procuring the throne of Syria for his ward. The latter, who assumed the title of Antiochus VI., was only a puppet in the hands of Tryphon, who desired ultimately to gain the crown for himself. To attain this purpose, he first sought to get rid of Jonathan, who had given in his adherence to the new government. In this he succeeded by treachery, as also in accomplishing the murder of his young master. The government of Judea now devolved on *Simon*, the last surviving brother of Judas and Jonathan. Having assured himself, as his predecessor had done, of the sympathy of the Romans, he prosecuted the same line of policy. By espousing the cause of those who could be of use to them, and laying hold of every opportunity for extending their sway, the Maccabees had gradually obtained all but the title of kings. To further his objects, Simon now made overtures of reconciliation to the dethroned Demetrius II., whom his brother had forsaken for Antiochus VI. By a treaty, the Jews were no longer obliged to pay tribute; Simon was made hereditary prince; and, indeed, such terms were obtained from the fallen monarch, that the Jews ever afterwards dated from this year as the first of their liberation, (about 143 B. C.) Still the cause of Demetrius seemed hopeless. With the view of gaining some assistance, he betook himself to the court of the Parthian king, whose daughter he married, repudiating his former wife Cleopatra. The latter princess now made offer of her hand and throne to Antiochus, the brother of her husband. By her influence that prince mounted the throne as Antiochus VII. Although Simon

hastened to join the party of Antiochus VII., that monarch refused to acknowledge the Jewish claims to independence; and he marched an army into Palestine, which was at first repulsed by John Hyrcanus, the son of Simon. But when his father, and all his brothers, fell victims to a foul conspiracy, Hyrcanus was at last obliged to sue for peace, which the Syrian monarch granted on terms which indicated unwonted generosity. Soon after, Antiochus VII. fell in an expedition against the Parthians, and his brother, Demetrius II., who had escaped from the captivity in which he had been kept by the Parthian court, which only used him as a tool, reascended the throne of Syria. John Hyrcanus meantime extended his sway in Palestine, and forced the Samaritans to become Jewish proselytes. But Demetrius II. did not long retain the Syrian crown. After the brief reign of a pretender, he was succeeded by his son, Antiochus VIII. The reign of the high priest Hyrcanus was not popular. Though professedly attached to the sect of the Pharisees, as the national and religious party was now denominated, there was too much of the ambitious warrior about him to suit the republican tastes of the Zealots, who, besides their personal objections to him, wished to see a different personage in the occupancy of the priesthood. These sentiments ultimately brought a fierce persecution on that party, and decided Hyrcanus, who could ill brook opposition, to join the Sadducees. The subsequent history of the Maccabees presents a picture of rapid declension. At his death, Hyrcanus left the principality to his wife, but their eldest son, *Aristobulus*, first deposed, and then starved her to death. Groundless suspicions of his brother next induced him to consent to his murder also; but, after this, his conscience became so disturbed by a sense of his crimes, that he speedily died from the effects of anxiety and anguish. He was succeeded by his third brother, *Alexander Jannæus*, probably the most warlike, as he was the most cruel and least popular of the Asmoneans. His ambitious projects were not attended with success, and as, besides, he was a professed Sadducee, the public discontent broke, on two distinct occasions, into open rebellion. These

insurrections were indeed quelled, but not without much bloodshed. Alexander left the kingdom to his wife, with directions that, after his death, she should join the party of the Pharisees, whose adherence to her rule was thereby procured. After her decease, Hyrcanus, her elder son, a weak prince, would have seized the crown, but found a rival in his younger and more energetic brother, Aristobulus. Hyrcanus, indeed, resigned the crown in his favour, but, by the advice of one, Antipater an Idumean, who had acquired considerable influence, betook himself for assistance to Aretas, king of Arabia, who gladly espoused his cause. Judea now became the scene of a civil war between the rival brothers. Hyrcanus advanced with an army, and shut up Aristobulus in Jerusalem. Meantime the Roman general Pompey had penetrated victoriously into Syria, and both brothers hastened to submit their claims to him for arbitration and assistance. In consequence of the intrigues of Antipater, who hoped virtually to reign through the weak Hyrcanus, the Roman chief decided in favour of that prince. Aristobulus was prepared to fight for the crown, and attempted to defend first Jerusalem, and then the Temple, against Pompey; but the latter, taking advantage of the inactivity of the Jews during the Sabbath, for preparing means of attack, at last took the Temple by assault. Hyrcanus was confirmed in his dignities, but made tributary to Rome. Aristobulus and his children (with the exception of Alexander, who escaped by the way) followed Pompey as captives.

It was in vain that Alexander, and afterwards Aristobulus, endeavoured again to raise the standard of rebellion in Palestine. The watchful and energetic Romans, who were now virtually masters of the country, specially Mark Anthony, defeated all their plans. At the same time Antipater succeeded in ingratiating himself with the new lords of the soil. The war between Cæsar and Pompey seemed at first to hold out new prospects to the party of Aristobulus, as Antipater had espoused the cause of Pompey; but the adherents of the latter killed Aristobulus and his son, while Antipater himself seasonably changed sides, and

compensated for his former opposition by rendering such effective assistance to Cæsar, that he obtained even greater privileges than he had before possessed, being nominated Roman procurator in Judea. But the national party, naturally jealous of the unbounded influence which the Idumean, Antipater and his sons, (of whom Herod was the most promising,) were acquiring in Palestine, conspired against him. Antipater was poisoned, and in fact Hyrcanus had almost been prevailed upon to withdraw himself from the influence of his sons, when the aspect of matters again entirely changed. Cæsar had been slain, and the short-lived republic was succeeded by the triumvirate. The affairs of the East were now confided to Mark Anthony, a friend of Herod. It was in vain that Antigonus, a son of the late Aristobulus, urged his claims to the crown; in vain did the Jews send successive deputations to complain of the exactions of the sons of Antipater. The latter were confirmed in the government of Judea under Hyrcanus, and their power was still further established by the betrothal of Herod with the beautiful Mariamne, the grand-daughter of the high-priest. Soon afterwards Mark Anthony was captivated by the charms of Cleopatra. His inactivity encouraged, while his exactions occasioned, the revolt of the Parthians, who soon possessed themselves of Syria; but the threatening aspect of affairs in Italy obliged Anthony to return immediately to Rome, where he happily effected a temporary reconciliation with his colleagues. During his absence from the East, Antigonus had secured from the Parthians the recognition of his claims upon the Jewish throne. By treachery, both the aged high-priest, Hyrcanus, and the brother of Herod, were made captives and put in chains; but Herod himself had managed to escape to Masada, where he placed his friends in safety, and then departed for Rome. Meanwhile Herod's brother had committed suicide in prison, and Antigonus had cut off the ears of Hyrcanus, in order to unfit him for the priesthood. Herod had originally gone to Rome, for the purpose of procuring the government of Judea for Aristobulus, the brother of Mariamne, under whom he hoped to act as Antipater had

done under Hyrcanus; but, when there, his friends most unexpectedly proposed to elevate himself to the Jewish throne. Herod returned as king to Palestine, and soon, by Roman aid, recovered the country. Antigonus was executed, and Herod reigned undisturbed. One by one he removed his dangerous rivals of the family of the Asmoneans out of the way. The first victim was young Aristobulus, his brother-in-law, who was far too great a favourite with the people to be allowed to live. Next followed the aged Hyrcanus, who had inconsiderately returned to Palestine from his asylum in Parthia. By and by none of the Asmoneans remained. While ridding himself of every possible rival, Herod also knew how to conciliate the favour not only of Anthony, but, after his fall, of Octavius. In this brief sketch we cannot refer more fully to the eventful reign of Herod. Cunning, ambitious, bold, and energetic, he was equally hated and feared by his subjects. The two distinguishing features of his character and government were the most unrelenting cruelty, which sacrificed even those nearest to him to the slightest suspicion, and a magnificence which induced him everywhere to raise lasting monuments to himself. Signal instances of the former occurred, when he caused not only his wife, but even his sons and other near relatives, to be executed. Of the latter, the rebuilding of the Temple at Jerusalem, and the construction of so many palaces, are examples. Only on one occasion did Herod incur the displeasure of his imperial master, upon which the latter ordered the Jews to take an oath of allegiance to himself, and caused lists to be prepared by Cyrenius, preparatory to a general taxation. In obedience to that decree, Joseph and Mary went to Bethlehem, where the infant Jesus was born.

The last act of Herod's life is sufficiently indicative of his character. The loathsome disease which at last cut him off, had for some time preyed on his vitals. When he felt his end approaching, he summoned the principal men amongst the Jews, and ordered them to be shut up and to be killed immediately after his decease, in order to secure (as he said) that his

decease should occasion a general mourning throughout the land. Happily this cruel behest was not obeyed. The possessions of Herod were divided by the emperor between his three sons. Archelaus was made ethnarch of Judea, Samaria, and Idumea, but soon afterwards banished to Gaul, and his dominions made part of the Roman province of Syria; Herod Antipas (the Herod of the Gospels) obtained Galilee and Perea; and Philip the northern district on the eastern bank of Jordan. The Roman procurators who presided over the affairs of Palestine during the reigns of Augustus, of his successor Tiberius, and indeed ever afterwards, administered the government with the same rapacity and lawless tyranny that marked their sway in other distant provinces of the empire. Such appointments were avowedly sought by influential Romans, for the purpose of enriching themselves during the short period in which they held office. The most noted of these procurators was Pontius Pilate, under whose administration the Lord Jesus, being delivered by the Jews into the hands of the Romans, "offered himself by the Eternal Spirit unto the Father." But Pilate's tyranny was too great to be long tolerated. When on another occasion he caused a number of unoffending Samaritans to be slaughtered, he was recalled. Caligula, the successor of Tiberius, banished him to Gaul, where he is said to have committed suicide. The Roman procurators also imitated the conduct of Herod in frequently changing the occupants of the high-priesthood, to gratify their own avarice or caprice. Even Jewish authorities represent these priests as morally and religiously so degraded, as by their sins to have called down the Divine vengeance upon the people. The chief authority in matters spiritual had long ere that period passed from them into the hands of the president of the Sanhedrim, or highest Jewish tribunal.

Once more, ere its final extinction, a brief prospect of comparative independence was held out to the Jewish nation. Herod Agrippa, a grandson of Herod by one of those sons whom he had ordered to be executed, had been educated at Rome. There he had gained the favour of Caligula, who, on his

accession to the empire, gave him the tetrarchy of Philip, who had died in the interval, together with that of Abilene, and bestowed on him the title of king. This unexpected elevation of Herod Agrippa, (the Herod of the book of Acts,) excited the envy of his uncle, Herod Antipas. He applied to the emperor for similar honours, but was banished, and his tetrarchy of Galilee and Perea given to Herod Agrippa. After the assassination of Caligula, Claudius obtained the purple, partly through the influence of Herod Agrippa. In acknowledgment of these services, Herod now received Judea, Samaria, and Idumea, so that his kingdom was actually more extensive even than that of his grandfather Herod—an instance this (we may observe by the way) of historical justice to the descendant of the murdered sons of Mariamne, from whom he had sprung. Agrippa was thoroughly Roman in his habits and modes of thinking, though in a certain way attached to the national religion. By his influence with the emperor, he had already succeeded in averting one and another storm of persecution from his subjects, whose favour he courted by an apparent zeal for the synagogue. From such motives he caused James, the brother of John, to be killed, and imprisoned Peter. The signal judgment which put an end at the same time to his presumption and his life, is well known to the readers of the New Testament. Although the Jews had cause to deplore the death of Herod Agrippa, who may be designated as the last native prince who held authority in Palestine, the Greek inhabitants, and even the Roman soldiers in Cæsarea, publicly exhibited their joy at his decease in so indecent a manner as to induce Claudius to resolve on removing these cohorts from Judea. Cæsarea was one of those places in which the contentions, which now became very general, between the Jewish and the Gentile inhabitants of Palestine were most continuous and bitter. Although built by Herod the Great and with Jewish money, it was, on various grounds, claimed by the Greeks as a heathen city. Being the seat of the Roman government and of their principal garrison in Palestine, the collisions were frequent between the

heathens, who were numerous and influential, and the Jews, and their contentions for supremacy in the town peculiarly obstinate. It was here that the spark fell which ultimately enveloped Judea in the flames of a great national war.

Herod Agrippa II., (the king Agrippa of the Acts,) was ultimately appointed king of Chalcis, and superintendent of the temple. Palestine itself remained, ever after the death of Herod Agrippa I., a Roman province. In the same year, Cumanus was appointed procurator of Palestine. Under his administration, the discontent which had long prevailed in the public mind, manifested itself, for the first time, in acts of open resistance. The cohorts who had formerly behaved so disgracefully at Cæsarea, were, unfortunately, marched to Jerusalem, in order to preserve order amongst the multitudes who thronged the capital during the celebration of the passover of the year 48 A.D. Some idea of the numbers usually present at these festivities may be conceived from the fact, that about twenty years afterwards the inhabitants of Jerusalem, during that period, were computed to amount to nearly three millions. The grossly outrageous conduct on this occasion of one of the Roman soldiers, who was not brought to justice for it, excited a popular tumult, which was quelled only after a considerable loss of life. This indignity was soon followed by other acts of lawless oppression and of outrage upon the Jewish faith. The Samaritans were not slow to avail themselves of the growing anti-Jewish feeling on the part of the authorities. They robbed and murdered the travellers on whom they could lay hands. If the Romans did not connive at it, the Samaritans, at least, escaped unpunished. As usual, before the outbreak of a revolution, numbers of the national party now formed themselves into bands of *guerillas*, and resorted to the mountains of Judea, where all who were disaffected joined them. This plan had been the commencement of a successful resistance to foreign tyranny under the Maccabees, and the land of Judea offered peculiar facilities for it. At last, Agrippa, who instead of Chalcis received the former tetrarchy of Philip, successfully pleaded the Jewish cause with the emperor, and obtained

from him the recall of Cumanus, in room of whom *Felix* was appointed. This governor, who speedily became the husband of Drusilla, one of king Agrippa's sisters, was as tyrannical, although comparatively more just, than his predecessor. Ultimately the Jews procured his recall also, and Nero, who succeeded Claudius in the empire, appointed *Festus* procurator. The latter was, on the whole, a much better governor than any of his predecessors; but he only lived to administer Jewish affairs for about three years, and was followed by *Albinus*, a man whose covetousness made every attempt at administering justice impossible. In 64 A.D. he was recalled, and *Sestius Florus*, in many respects the worst governor whom Judea had ever seen, was appointed in his place. The historian Josephus charges him with almost every crime. It is certain that his mal-administration converted the public excitement into the utmost state of frenzy. In 65 A.D., Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, and the superior of Florus, attended at the paschal festivities at Jerusalem. In vain did the Jews prefer their complaints against Florus; they were put off with promises, while the procurator stood by laughing. Events were now hastening to a crisis. The last and decisive provocation was given at Cæsarea, which was adjudicated by Nero to belong to the heathens, who were in future to hold first rank as citizens in that town. Dissensions soon arose, and deeds of violence on the part of the heathens drove the Jews into an open rebellion, which speedily extended to Jerusalem. It was in vain that king Agrippa, and the more moderate party, besought the people to abstain from entering on so unequal a combat. Eleazar, the president of the temple, refused to offer sacrifices for the prosperity of the Roman empire; and one, Menahem a son of Judas of Galilee, even proclaimed himself king. But although he and most of his adherents were murdered by Eleazar, who in turn assumed authority, the insurrection was not quelled. Cestius now marched against Jerusalem, and took and burnt one of the suburbs. But on the advice of Florus, he again withdrew from it most unaccountably, when he might easily have taken the city and suppressed—at least for a time—the rising. The Jews followed him and routed the Romans with great slaughter.

Many of their military engines fell into the hands of the Jews, who afterwards employed them against the Romans.

This event changed a partial rebellion into a general rising, and invested it with the character of a national war. The most moderate amongst the Jews now felt that they had entered on a struggle which the Romans would feel in honour bound to prosecute to the end, and in which they would indiscriminately take vengeance on all prominent persons in the nation. The only chance of safety now lay in successful resistance, and if death by Roman hands were ultimately to fall to their lot, it was at least desirable to meet it in honourable defence of their liberty and faith. Accordingly, however unwilling they might formerly have felt, all now entered cordially into plans which were too hastily conceived, and imperfectly carried out. To Josephus, a Jewish general, the defence of Galilee was intrusted. Against him Vespasian, Nero's ablest general, had been despatched. Successful in every engagement, he took city after city. At last Josephus surrendered to him—an event which threw the leaders of the national party in Jerusalem into the utmost consternation. In that doomed city, instead of harmony, strife and contention had reigned; instead of uniting against the common foe, they were engaged in an internecine war. Three parties fought for supremacy in Jerusalem. They sought only to destroy one another and the stores which were so necessary for a protracted defence of the city, and at last killed every wealthy and peaceably-disposed person. In the interval, Vespasian succeeded to the Roman empire, and left the command of the army to his son Titus, who appeared before Jerusalem in April 70. The garrison soon felt the combined horrors of famine and pestilence, of the reign of terror within, and the presence of a relentless enemy without the city walls. The siege lasted altogether four months, and was attended with varying success. We purposely abstain from giving any of the details connected with it. The Jews displayed the greatest valour, and an enthusiasm which almost bordered on madness. They fought under the conviction that some deliverance must at last be wrought for them, since God could not give up His

city, people, and temple. But Titus, who employed specially the Sabbaths, on which the Jews would not fight, in preparation for future attacks, made continuous though slow progress. Gradually he penetrated into the city, until, on the 5th August, the temple was burnt, and, on the 2d September, the upper city destroyed. Titus had to the last been most desirous to spare at least the temple, but a torch thrown into it by a soldier quickly enveloped it in flames, which could not be suppressed.

Thus perished the proud and beautiful city, which "would not have this man reign over it." With it perished the last remainder of the typical dispensation, and of the Jewish state. A new era now commences. Israel is again cast forth as a wanderer, but this time without a home in view—without a tabernacle in which to worship—and without the cloud by day, or the guiding pillar of fire by night. Yet can we learn many a lesson as we trace their footmarks in the sand of time. And these footmarks they have left on *every* shore, as they have inscribed their name on *every* page of history. A nation without a country—a religion which, historically speaking, belongs to the past, and has become impossible in the present—a people persecuted yet not exterminated, driven from every place yet always reappearing, and who, without having a present, bear in their past the seed of future greatness—such is the picture now presented to us. Israel can be neither transformed nor subdued by the hand of *man*. *They belong to God*. Since the destruction of Jerusalem a continual miracle, kept as a testimony to the God of the Bible before the eyes of an unbelieving world, and as the harbinger of future blessings in the prayers of an expectant Church, both they and their history are unaccountable by any ordinary mode of reasoning,* and can only be understood when viewed in the light of Scriptural statement and prediction.

* Rosenkranz, the biographer of *Hegel*, says that this philosopher was much interested in the history of the Jewish nation. His opinions about it underwent frequent changes, so that "all his life long it tormented him as a dark enigma." Other instances of similar interest and difficulties amongst men who did not receive simple Christian truth, will readily occur to the reader.

CHAPTER II.

CLOSING SCENES OF THE JEWISH WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE last embers of the conflagration had died out at Jerusalem, and silence reigned in her deserted streets, save that the hollow tread of the Roman guard betokened the presence of the conqueror. The streams of blood which had flowed down the steep streets of Mount Zion to the valley of the Son of Hinnom, were dried up; the groans of the dying, the lamentations of the bereaved and the captives, were hushed. Of the beautiful and proud city nothing remained but three towers, left to indicate the strength of a place which, after so protracted a defence, could not resist Roman prowess; a portion of the old wall, to serve as defence to the garrison; and a few houses here and there, where the aged, the feeble, and, in general, those from whom nothing could be apprehended, found a shelter.

Before marching against the capital of Judea, the Roman generals had wisely resolved to subdue the whole country. By this plan Jerusalem was isolated, the defenders of Jewish nationality were ultimately shut up in it, all supplies cut off, while the fall of the city necessarily put a period to farther resistance. This plan of operations, and the fact that the siege of Jerusalem overtook the Jews during the celebration of the Passover, when multitudes came to worship in the temple, will also account for the large number of captives taken in that city. When it is said that these amounted to not less than 97,000, that 1,100,000 had fallen since the commencement of the war, while multitudes escaped from the city during its protracted siege, it will be understood what gigantic proportions the war

had assumed. All the captive Jews were ranged on the summit of the temple-mountain, to have their respective sentences awarded by one of the Roman captains, Fronto, a freedman of Titus, to whom their adjudication had in the first place been committed. Influence with the victors secured the release of many. Amongst others, the historian Josephus, before his surrender to the Romans one of the Jewish generals, obtained a free pardon for 190 of his personal friends. Others bought their liberty by pointing out to the Romans places where articles of value had been concealed by the besieged. The rest of the prisoners were sentenced by court-martial either to death or to servitude in the mines of Egypt. This fate befell all above seventeen years of age; those of more tender years were sold into slavery. It need scarce be mentioned, that the Romans eagerly ransacked the city in search of plunder, the more so as fabulous accounts of the wealth stored up in Jerusalem had previously been circulated. Amongst other places, the subterranean vaults which intersected Jerusalem in all directions, almost like streets, were carefully examined. There a number of Jews had found a brief respite. The two principal actors in the defence of Jerusalem, John of Giscala and Simon Joras, had fled to these hiding-places. If John and his friends had ever hoped to be able to remain in concealment till the lapse of time induced a relaxation of vigilance on the part of the Roman guards, they soon felt constrained to relinquish these expectations. Hunger obliged them to surrender to the enemy. Simon Joras had chosen apparently more promising means of securing safety. When with a small party of friends he retreated to the vaults, they took with them provisions, pickaxes and other tools, with which they hoped to work their way under ground to some place of safety. They penetrated as far as the vaults extended, but the labour of excavation was impeded by the ruined state of the city and the stench of putrifying bodies, which, in some places, almost filled the vaults. At the same time their means of subsistence began to fail, notwithstanding the care with which they had from the first been husbanded. Although constrained

to desist from this attempt, Simon was not the man to perish under-ground. Hoping to take advantage of the superstitious fears of the Roman soldiers, he stripped one of the bodies and arrayed himself in a white tunic, concealing his features under a costly purple cloak. Thus attired, he surprised the guard stationed near the temple. As he had hoped, terror struck the bystanders at the sudden and strange apparition, but they soon recovered from their alarm and arrested his progress, demanding his name. Some strange fancy, or a desire not to surrender to an inferior—perhaps a hope to move the pity of an equal, or to secure his interest—induced Simon to demand to be brought before the general of the garrison. When Terentius appeared, Simon threw back his cloak and surrendered himself. He was sent in chains to Cæsarea, there to expect the arrival of Titus.

Before leaving Jerusalem, Titus had addressed his soldiers in language highly commendatory of their bravery and fidelity, and distributed amongst them valuable gifts. Some acknowledgment of their services the soldiers had indeed deserved, for their courage, endurance, and manifest attachment to the person of the young Cæsar. When at last the Roman standards had been planted on the east gate of the temple, their enthusiasm could no longer be restrained, and they proclaimed Titus *Imperator*. The war being virtually at an end, the auxiliaries were then dismissed to their respective countries, and the legions transported to other battle-fields. The 12th legion, which at the beginning of the war had suffered so ignominious a defeat from the Jews, was sent to Mesopotamia; the 10th, intrusted to the command of Terentius Rufus, was left as garrison in Jerusalem; the 5th and 15th legions, which were to be sent to the banks of the Danube, accompanied Titus to Cæsarea, whence he intended to set sail for Egypt. But before finally leaving the soil of Palestine, he visited Cæsarea Philippi (Paneas), the city of king Agrippa and of Bernice. Wherever the victor appeared—at Paneas, Berytus (Beyroot), and in other Syrian towns—festivities were celebrated in honour of himself, of the emperor Vespasian (Titus's father), and of Domitian (his brother.) As usual on similar occasions, thou-

sands of Jewish captives had to contend in the arena, either with each other, or with wild beasts, for the amusement of the spectators. On his return, Titus passed once more through what had been Jerusalem. It is said that the sight of the ruins filled, with sorrow and awe, the conqueror, in whose character (according to the statement of contemporaries*) good and evil strangely alternated. A Jewish legend† has embellished this circumstance, by describing in the most fabulous terms certain tortures which Titus had to endure in punishment for the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple. On his voyage from Egypt to Italy, (so goes the story,) Titus was overtaken by a storm, which threatened to destroy the vessel that bore him. Conscious of the righteous anger of the God of Israel whom he had offended, Titus broke forth in blasphemies against him, as if his power were limited to the sea, in which he had once destroyed Pharaoh, and now threatened his own safety, while he was unable successfully to contend against him upon land. A voice from on high rebuked the blasphemy. The storm was hushed; but no sooner had Titus landed, than he felt excruciating pains in his head, occasioned, as it afterwards turned out, by an insect gnawing on his brain, which, according to the Divine threatening, was to continue his tormentor through life. Only once, and for a short time, the noise from a blacksmith's shop caused the insect to desist. On his deathbed, Titus ordered the physicians, after his decease, to open his skull, in order to ascertain the occasion of this ceaseless agony. To their astonishment they discovered in it an animal, which had grown to the size of a swallow, two talents in weight, with metal bill and claws, which had gnawed at the emperor's brain. So far the tradition, ‡ by which Jewish hatred sought to avenge itself on the destroyer of Jerusalem. We have mentioned it in order to indicate how firm the conviction which the Jews entertained, that God had not forsaken them, but would avenge their cause; and also to

* Dio in Vespas. § 18.

† Various other legends were in circulation, but the above will sufficiently indicate their character.

‡ Talm. Ghitt. 57.

shew what extraordinary fables could pass current on such subjects.

During Titus's absence in the East, a report had spread, perhaps partly on the ground of his largesses to the soldiers, that he intended to found in the East an empire independent of his father, Vespasian. The circulation of such rumours, to which a recent attempt of his brother, Domitian, to excite the Germanic legions to rebellion, may have lent the appearance of likelihood, had induced Titus to hasten his return to Rome. On his approach, his imperial father, the senate and magistracy, hastened to meet him. Titus threw himself into the arms of his parent, warmly exclaiming, perhaps with reference to the above-mentioned reports, "I have come, my father, I have come." * Rome greeted the victorious Vespasian and Titus with a triumph, in which the envious Domitian took an unwilling part, following the victors' car, mounted on a white charger. The captive Jews, who were to grace the triumphal entry, had already arrived. They consisted of seven hundred of the noblest and fairest of the youth of Palestine, and of the two leaders of the insurrection, Simon Joras, and John of Giscala. The sacred roll of the law, the table of shewbread, the golden candlestick, and other parts of the temple furniture, were exhibited in the triumph, and then deposited amongst the spoils. The procession ascended the Capitol, where, according to usage, it halted till the leader of the rebellion had been scourged and executed. The senate adjudged this punishment to Simon Joras. John of Giscala was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and the rest of the captives were employed in various public works. Amongst others the Colosseum, built by Vespasian, was mostly reared by Jewish labour.

Very different from the fate of the generality of the actors in this melancholy drama, was that of three who had more or less openly sided with the enemies of their nation. At one time, indeed, king Agrippa, and his fair sister, Bernice, seemed deeply interested in the welfare of their countrymen. But where prin-

* Sueton. in Titum, § 5.

ciple of any kind is wanting—where selfishness and the love of sin are dominant, mere ebullitions of generosity are at best transient, and all such manifestations of kindness only capricious. Queen Bernice soon descended to become the paramour of Titus. Report accused her even of incest with her brother.¹ At the termination of the war, Agrippa and Bernice enjoyed, as reward for the part they had taken in it, all the pleasures which wealth could procure, or the ingenuity of luxury devise. Bernice was also honoured with the special confidence of the emperor, and was often consulted as to the management of affairs. The attachment between her and Titus was so great, that nothing but the general outcry of the Romans against an alliance with a Jewess, could induce the heir-presumptive of the empire to repudiate one whom it was generally believed he had secretly espoused. Although this step caused deep sorrow to both parties,² it seems doubtful whether Bernice had at any time been faithful to her imperial lover. At least, Caecina, a man of consular dignity, had to expiate with his life her supposed favours.³ Up to the period of her repudiation, Bernice had lived in the palace, and in every way acted as the future empress,⁴ while her brother had been elevated to the rank of praetor. Afterwards she left Rome about the year 73, and though she returned after the death of Vespasian, she came no more to court.

The part sustained by the historian Josephus, had been even less honourable than that of Agrippa and Bernice. Unfortunately we only possess his own version of his conduct and of Jewish affairs generally. Yet on comparing his “Jewish Wars” with the “Account of his Life,” drawn up twenty years after the former work, in reply to the elegant and telling history of his opponent, Justus of Tiberias, startling incongruities and damaging admissions become apparent. It is not our present purpose to discuss the conduct of Josephus; but where gross exaggerations, vanity, and bitterness against those with whom

¹ Juvenal, Sat. VI. 157.

² Sueton. in Titum, § 7.

³ Aur. Victor, Epit. in Tit. x. 4.

Dio in Vespas. § 15, 18.

he had formerly acted, are prominent features, we have fair ground for suspecting the honesty and good faith of the writer. If Josephus was not from the first a traitor, his *conduct*, at least, appears sufficiently treasonable, and seems to have early roused the suspicions of his colleagues. Perhaps Josephus speedily perceived that the cause of Israel was in a desperate state, while he did not see his way, or else did not choose to relinquish the command which had been intrusted to him in Galilee. Unfortunately his was of all the most important position, which might have been longest held, and ought to have been most strenuously defended. It certainly seems strange that Josephus should not only have at first accepted, but afterwards so tenaciously clung to his appointment, when it clearly appears that if he did not throughout play into the hands of the Romans, he neglected most obvious duty, was ever anxious to propitiate Rome, her friends and her allies, and careful to prepare a way for his own safety. After his surrender to the enemy, he proved in various ways most helpful to the Roman cause, and was at last richly rewarded by Titus, whom he accompanied on his return to Rome. He received from the emperor possessions in lieu of those which he had held near Jerusalem. He was made a Roman citizen, had a pension assigned to him, and, notwithstanding the intrigues of his enemies, retained the full confidence of the court. It must be allowed, that except when private interests or a thirst for revenge actuated him, he used his influence in favour of his countrymen. Josephus had, by order of Vespasian, married in Cæsarea a captive Jewess, from whom he soon separated, perhaps on account of the law which interdicted connexions between priests and captives. He was subsequently married a second time during his stay at Alexandria, and had three sons, of whom, however, the youngest only attained to maturity. Finally, having repudiated his second wife, with whose conduct he was dissatisfied, he united himself to a wealthy, talented, and noble Jewess from Crete, who shared his happy retreat at Rome. His third wife made him father of two sons, Justus and Simonides Agrippa. From

the moment that he betrayed his country's cause, he was as violently hated and persecuted as he had before been respected by the Jews. Nor did the intrigues of his enemies cease with the Jewish war. In Rome, various attempts were made to undermine his influence and position; but these proved ineffectual, and he remained to the end a favourite with Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and specially enjoyed the good graces of the Empress Domitia. Amongst his principal opponents was one Jonathan, a Zealot, who had fled from Judea and excited a rebellion in Cyrene. We shall by and by refer more particularly to his intrigues. Suffice it in the meantime that his accusations against Josephus were found false, and Jonathan was scourged and condemned to the stake. Even one of Josephus' eunuchs, to whom he had confided the training of his sons, conspired against him, but he also met with deserved punishment. Domitian exempted Josephus from all taxes. He continued till the thirteenth year of the reign of that emperor, when we lose all further trace of him.

In the absence of other historical documents, the writings of Josephus must always remain a most valuable source of information, both of the events which befell, and the views which were entertained by the Jewish nation. After making due allowance for exaggerations, we may accept his *relations of facts* as substantially correct, though his mode of representing them, and the inferences which he draws, are often calculated to give a wrong impression. It must be borne in mind, that confessedly he not only surrendered to the Romans, but tried to promote that cause against which he had formerly led the armies of Judea. Naturally then, he would attempt to represent himself as first ardently patriotic, and ready to fight his country's battles against those whom he believed its enemies. But his nation's crimes had called down the Divine judgment, and he now felt it his duty to espouse the cause of Judea's enemies as warmly, and from the same convictions, which had induced him formerly to embrace that of the national party. If, besides, we take into account the egotism and vanity which constitute

such prominent characteristics of our author, it will be understood on what grounds he presented his country's struggle and his nation's sins in the light in which he attempted to place them. A representation of his own importance and sufferings in the cause of the Romans, which he had only reluctantly embraced from a conviction of its rightness, would also secure the gratitude of his protectors, while an exaggerated account of the crimes of the Jews and the virtues of the Romans, would serve as an apology both for the invaders of Judea and for his own conduct. The Romans could not but appreciate the surrender of one in whom the Jews had reposed such confidence. His attachment to the national cause, (till driven from it,) his bravery, and yet his entire devotedness to the conquerors, served to recommend him, while his acquaintance with the country, the language, the habits and resources of the Jews, must have been of signal service to them. It will readily be conceived what impression the tidings of his treachery made upon his countrymen. A party more zealous, or more discerning than the rest, had long suspected him; but by his cunning and violence, Josephus had managed to elude their vigilance. After his surrender, their policy seemed the only safe one; and when at last the most unwilling and incredulous became convinced of the general's treachery, a feeling of general distrust possessed the minds of the community, and prepared the way for the reign of terror, inaugurated by the violent Zealots. The chiefs of the moderate party in Jerusalem were slain without respect of age, character, or station, and those fearful scenes were enacted which preceded, and in measure made the capture and destruction of the city possible. It will be understood how hateful even his appearance must afterwards have been to the brave defenders of their country; and, accordingly, whenever he addressed them in favour of the Romans, in language which we can scarcely call aught but canting and hypocritical, the Zealots were often roused to sheer frenzy, and the Romanizing Jew narrowly escaped with his life. Unfortunately, the important history of the Jewish war by Justus of Tiberias has

been lost. Josephus composed his autobiography in reply to it. Some passages in this work throw a light on events detailed in the Jewish wars, different from that in which the author had intended to present them. Besides the "Jewish Wars," and his "Autobiography," we possess from the pen of Josephus a Reply to the Misrepresentations of Apion concerning the Jews; a small treatise on the Power of Reason, in which the martyrdom of seven youths during the time of the Maccabees is described; and a work on the "Antiquities of the Jews." The latter contains many inaccuracies and liberties with the text of Scripture, but is valuable on account of some of the explanations which it offers, and the insight it affords into Jewish manners and modes of thinking. The substantial accuracy of Josephus' description of the last Jewish war was confirmed by Titus, who received the work into his collection of books. In conclusion, we may notice the strange mixture of religious elements which combined to make up the creed of Josephus. He was truly an eclectic Jew. The Pharisees, the Sadducees, the Essenes, and the Grecians, might equally claim him by turns. When such a stage of religious consciousness becomes general among the educated, it always marks a period of decadence. The Jews, at a much later period, added to the genuine writings of Josephus those of another Josephon, or Josippon ben Gorion, which contain a treatise on Jewish history, written in elegant Hebrew, but full of the grossest anachronisms.¹

Two memorials of the destruction of Jerusalem, each characteristic in its own way, remain to our days. Rome erected a triumphal arch, on which the mourning captive, Judea, and the principal spoils of the war, are represented. Israel has marked the day of desolation by a national fast. By a strange coincidence, that same day, the 9th of the Jewish month Ab, (Tisha-be-Ab,) commemorates at the same time the threefold loss of Jewish independence,—that under Nebuchadnezzar, that under Titus, and again at a later period, that under Hadrian. In the plaintive strains of the religious services for that day, Jerusalem

¹ It has appeared with a Latin translation by J. F. Breithaupt, 1707.

is likened to a sorrowing dove; yet confession and mourning are mingled with ardent and high aspirations after an anticipated and complete deliverance.¹

It will be remembered that the garrison left in Jerusalem had been placed under the command of Terentius Rufus, a personage whom Jewish tradition represents as the embodiment of almost every crime. Doubtless his conduct gave some occasion for these charges—the circumstances of the country and the hatred of the oppressed will account for the rest. It is said that in unwitting fulfilment of ancient prophecy, Terentius caused the plough to pass over the foundations of the temple.² As Terentius had been appointed commander of the garrison, so Cerealis was placed as governor over Judea. Though three fortresses, Herodion, Machaerus, and Masada, were still held by desperate Zealots, belonging to the national party, Cerealis took no steps to drive them out of these last strongholds. He was succeeded, only a year after his appointment, by Lucilius Bassus, formerly an admiral of the Roman fleet, who immediately addressed himself to the task which Cerealis had neglected. Herodion, so named after Herod its builder, and situated near Jerusalem, surrendered without attempting a defence. Not so Machaerus, a strong citadel, reared on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea. It dated from the time of the Asmoneans, who destined it as a bulwark against the inroads of the Arabians. Situated on an inaccessible rock, and surrounded on all sides by deep valleys, it was, in truth, one of the strongest places in Palestine. Gabinius, the legate of Pompey, had, indeed, once destroyed it; but Herod I. restored it and built a palace there, encompassed by strong walls, and protected by impregnable towers. A small town, likewise surrounded by walls, had sprung up around the citadel. Such was the appearance of Machaerus when Bassus commenced operations against it, selecting as his base a valley to the east of the fort, which was less deep than the others. But the place seemed capable of enduring a long siege. The town derived its supplies of water from one of the

¹ See the prayers for Tisha-be-Ab.

² Thalm. Maas. Taan. IV.

many streams which passed through the valleys, while the fort was well supplied by a large number of cisterns. There was no lack of provisions or of arms, and the garrison was brave and resolute. The population of the town consisted originally of Syrians and of Jews. On the approach of the Romans the latter retreated into the citadel. Besides these, the garrison consisted of a party of Zealots, fugitives from Jerusalem. The natives were under the command of Eleazar, a young man of great courage; the Zealots continued under the leadership of Judah, the son of Sair, who had distinguished himself in the defence of the capital. Though both parties were equally attached to the national cause, a considerable difference naturally prevailed between them. The Zealots, well acquainted with the horrors of actual war and the prowess of the Romans, fought with the despair of men who could not surrender, and hence had everything to gain, but nothing to lose. Not so the original possessors of Machaerus. However, at first, everything seemed to be favourable to the Jews. Their frequent sallies interrupted or destroyed the siege-works of the Romans, and harassed them incessantly. Eleazar was always foremost in these sallies. Unfortunately on some such occasion, the youth, whether from bravado or inadvertency, lingered behind his comrades, conversing with a soldier on the rampart. The Romans perceived their advantage, and one of them, Rufus, rushed forward, seized the youth, and carried him off to the camp. Rightly judging it the best means for subduing Eleazar, and inducing his friends to surrender, Bassus caused him to be stripped and scourged in sight of his soldiers, who raised a loud wailing. A cross was next erected in a conspicuous place, and preparations made for the execution of Eleazar. These indications upset the courage of the young man. His own lamentations and the affection of his followers—who, perhaps, had never been very sanguine of ultimate success against the Romans—induced them to capitulate on condition of freedom to their general, and a safe-conduct to themselves. The Zealots were not prepared for such a termination. Whether they had not been included in the agreement,

or had even been actually betrayed to their enemies, certain it is, that under the impression of treachery, they attempted to escape from the city. Their example and influence prevailed on some of the others to follow them. But the Romans were not willing to allow their prey thus to escape. Only a part of the fugitives succeeded in leaving Machaerus, the rest were seized—the men slaughtered, the women and children condemned to slavery. Meantime about three thousand fugitives had sought safety in a dense wood, on the road from Machaerus to Jerusalem. Bassus caused the wood to be surrounded by his cavalry. Felling the trees before them, they advanced, till at last nothing was left for the fugitives but to cut their way through the Romans. In this hopeless attempt all perished. After this victory—if so it may be styled—Bassus returned. He died soon afterwards, and was succeeded by Flavius Sylva, to whom the termination of the Jewish war was reserved.

Masada, the strongest Jewish fortress, was also the last to hold out against the common enemy. It would scarcely have been possible to have chosen a better site, or to have added more judiciously to the defences of nature, by the appliances of art and military science. For between three and four miles, one approach to Masada—called from its narrow windings “the Serpent”—led over steep and otherwise inaccessible rocks, and along fearful precipices. The nearer the fortress was approached, the more difficult became the way to it. At last, however, a fertile plateau was reached. Its well-cultivated fields were intended to supply sufficient support to the garrison. This plateau was surrounded by a wall eighteen feet high, and twelve feet broad, and defended by thirty-seven towers, each seventy-five feet in height. On the east the fort was also protected by the Dead Sea; on the west a second rocky way to it was commanded by a high tower. Such was the place which Herod I. had designed for a retreat in cases of extreme danger, and where, according to his usual practice, he had reared a palace, which in splendour rivalled that of Jerusalem. A resolute garrison might have been able to hold the place for any number of years. A large

number of cisterns contained an abundant supply of water, irrespective of that which was derived from the valley; great stores of oil and corn had been laid up, sufficient for the wants of many years; and the arsenal was replenished with ammunition of every kind. When Sylva marched against Masada, it was held by a party of those Zealots, who, in their fastnesses, had so long dreamed of victory and liberty. Their commander was Eleazar, a man well fitted to sustain the part assigned to him in the last harrowing scene of the war. A competent authority has declared this siege—both in the attack and defence of Masada—unequalled by anything in modern warfare. However memorable the former sieges of Jotapat and of Jerusalem had been, this surpassed them in some respects, as in the horrors of its termination, so in the skill and determination displayed by both parties. The first object of Sylva's care was to protect the siege-works, about to be constructed, from the sorties of the enemy. Accordingly he first surrounded the place of his operations with a wall. He chose, as his point of attack, a rock on the west side of the fort, and immediately beyond the tower which commanded the approach. Though four hundred and fifty feet lower than Masada, it was really the only possible point of attack. On this rock he reared a mound three hundred feet high, and upon it a platform of stone seventy-five feet in height, and as much in width. Thus the besiegers were only seventy-five feet from the top of the fortress. To complete his preparations, a tower with iron gratings was placed on the stone wall above described. The various machines now hurled stones and darts against the defenders of the fort, while a tremendous battering-ram was employed to effect a breach in the wall. They soon succeeded in this, but with rare ingenuity the defenders had reared an inner wall, which bade defiance to the battering-ram. It was constructed partly of wood and partly of earth. The framework of wood was supported by earth, with which also its interstices were filled up. Of course the projectiles hurled by the enemy had no other effect than that of strengthening and consolidating this defence. Sylva ordered burning arrows and pieces of wood to be thrown upon

it, in order, if possible, to set it on fire. He succeeded. At first, indeed, an adverse wind threatened to carry the flames against the Roman tower and machines. But the wind veered round, and speedily the last hope of the defenders was removed. The wooden wall and part of the palace were now in flames. At this sight the Romans raised a shout of joy; and having taken every precaution against the possible escape of the garrison, they retired to their camp, intending on the morrow to storm the dismantled fort. Evening with its calm and silence settled on the scene around. The stars twinkled just as they had done in happier days over the burning walls of Masada. Beneath rolled heavily the Dead Sea—the monument of former wrath and woe; in the distance, as far as the eye could reach, the desolate landscape bore the marks of the oppressor. Before them was the camp of the Roman, who watched with eager anxiety for his prey and the morrow. All was silent in Masada. Defence now seemed impossible, and certain death stared the devoted garrison in the face. Despair settled on the stoutest heart, deepened by the presence and the well-known fate of the women and children. Nought was heard but the crackling of burning timbers, and the ill-suppressed moans of the wives and children of the garrison. Then for the last time Eleazar summoned his warriors. In language such as fierce despair alone could have inspired on his, or brooked on their part, he reminded them of their solemn oath,—to gain freedom or to die. One of these alternatives alone remained for them—to die. The men of war around him had not quailed before any enemy, yet they shrunk from the proposal of their leader. A low murmur betokened their disapprobation. Then flashed Eleazar's eye. Pointing over the burning rampart to the enemy, and in the distance towards Jerusalem, he related with fearful truthfulness the fate which awaited them on the morrow:—to be slain by the enemy, or to be reserved for the arena; to have their wives devoted in their sight to shame, and their children to torture and slavery. Were they to choose this alternative, or a glorious death, and with it liberty—a death in obedience to

their oath, in devotedness to their God, and to their country? The appeal had its effect. It was not sudden madness, nor a momentary frenzy, which seized these men when they brought forth, to immolate them on the altar of their liberty, their wives, their children, their chattels, and ranged themselves each by the side of all that had been dear to him in the world. The last glimmer of hope had died out, and with the determination of despair the last defenders of Judea prepared to perish in the flames which enveloped its last fortress. First, each heaped together his household gear, associated with the pleasures of other days, and set fire to it. Again they pressed to their hearts their wives and children. Bitter were the tears wrung from these iron men; yet the sacrifice was made unshrinkingly, and each plunged his sword into the hearts of his wife and children. Then they laid themselves down beside them, and locked them in tender embrace—now the embrace of death. Cheerfully they presented their breasts to ten of their number, chosen by lot to put the rest of their brethren to death. Of these ten one had again been fixed upon to slay the remaining nine. Having finished his bloody work, he looked around to see whether any of the band yet required his service. But all was silent. The last survivor then approached as closely as possible to his own family and fell upon his sword. Nine hundred bodies covered the ground.

Morning dawned upon Masada, and the Romans eagerly approached its walls,—but within was the silence of death. A faint was apprehended, and the soldiers advanced cautiously, raising a shout, as if the defenders on the wall implored the help of their brethren. Then two women, who, with five children, had concealed themselves in vaults during the murderous scene of the preceding evening, came forth from their retreat to tell the Romans the sad story. So fearfully strange did it sound, that their statements were scarcely credited. Slowly the Romans advanced; then rushing through the flames, they penetrated into the court of the palace. There lay the lifeless bodies of the garrison and their families. It was not a day of triumph even

to the enemy, but one of awe and admiration. They buried the dead and withdrew, leaving a garrison. "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent to thee, how often would I have gathered thee as a hen gathereth her chickens, but ye would not! Therefore, behold, your house is left unto you desolate."

Thus terminated the war of Jewish nationality. Various causes conspired to make this contest one of the most obstinate ever witnessed. The Roman legions were led by the ablest generals of the empire, and instigated by the recollection of the shameful defeat which they had sustained at the commencement of the war, and by the obstinate resistance now made by a small and unwarlike race whom they had long affected to despise. Nor was the issue of the struggle unimportant to the Roman state. Defeat under any circumstances would have been the first step in the decadence of an empire whose provinces bore so disproportionate a relation to the dominant country. Besides, Roman rule had never been firmly established eastward of Judea, and on that account the latter country presented an important military position. Finally, the triumph of the Jews would have been fatal to the prestige of Rome in the East, and probably become the signal for a general rising in the neighbouring provinces. On the other hand, the Jews contended for all that is dear to a people. They fought for national existence, for political and religious liberty, for their lives, for their hearths and homes. Flushed at first by victory, relying on the zeal and enthusiasm of the whole nation, and defending themselves in their own country and amongst its fastnesses against the foreign invaders, the Jews fought with the despair of men who knew what awaited them in case of defeat. Besides, they relied on promised succours from their brethren in the East, or at least on a diversion in their favour. Nor was this contest merely one for national independence; it was essentially also a religious war. Jerusalem was not only a political, but also a religious capital. In fighting for their country, the Jews fought also for their religion, which, indeed, was almost inseparable from the

soil of Palestine, and hence, as they thought, for the name and cause of their God. Were it requisite, proofs could readily be adduced of this. Even after they had been defeated, it was stated by the theological expositors of popular sentiment, that since the day of the destruction of the temple, God had mourned for the fate of His people, and that joy had become a stranger in the celestial mansions. Hence they confidently reckoned all along on the Divine assistance. The Maccabees had in former times, with a mere handful of men, defied the Syrian hosts, and why should not similar success be vouchsafed to them under more advantageous circumstances? And even if it turned out otherwise, surely it could only happen in judgment, and for a season, that their God had left his covenant-people, his special favourites, for whose sakes even heaven and earth had been created, and who alone fulfilled the end of their being by glorifying their Maker. Whatever, then, might be their divinely-appointed fate, to conquer or to die, the Zealots were ready to meet it in such a cause. These views were indeed intimately connected with the whole of the carnal tendency in their religion to which we have already, and shall by and by more fully advert. To belong *outwardly* to the chosen race, constituted a person a member of the kingdom of God. The place and the rites of the temple were identical with acceptable worship; outward observances, and a mere logical development, became the substitutes for spiritual apprehension of the truth, for love and devotedness. Thus as the form was being more and more cultivated, to the neglect of the spirit, it appeared also more and more precious, and its final destruction, by an overthrow of the Jewish commonwealth, seemed almost impossible. Nor were the expectations entertained about that time of the sudden appearance of a Messiah, who, long hid, would suddenly come forth to deliver his people from the enemies which threatened them, without their effect on the minds of the people. Though the life and death of the blessed Saviour had too lately taken place for the leaders of the people lightly to risk the safety of the Synagogue, by bringing Messianic views prominently forward, as they did at an

after-period in the war under Bar-Cochba, in order to inflame the zeal of their followers, such considerations must no doubt have had some influence. At times these hopes seemed about to be realized. More than once did the balance tremble in favour of the Jews—the Roman generals were in imminent danger—the Roman engines destroyed—the Jews successful—the legions panic-struck or dispirited. Yet the sceptre passed finally and irrevocably from Judah, by the same hand which had at first placed it there. Calculating merely the probabilities of the case, we would say that the war was begun at a most favourable time; and that, notwithstanding the various mistakes and disadvantages of the Jews, had there not been treason in the Jewish camp, or had there not been factions and bloody revenge amongst themselves, or had their eastern allies made a diversion in their favour, they would have obtained the object of their desires, or at least have had a greater measure of success in the defence. But true it is, that “the history of the world is the judgment of the world;”¹ and the people, which, in its national existence, had exhibited the right relationship between religion and life, even to its climax in the incarnation of the Son of God, sunk when it had misunderstood and perverted that truth, and confounded the type with the reality. The grave could no longer contain true religion—the living was no longer to be found amongst the dead—it rose on the morning of the resurrection, and went forth to animate and to regenerate the world. The lifeless form of the nation, which had misunderstood and neglected its task, lies in the valley of the slain. In judgment are they dead as a nation, yet alive as individuals. Still even now mercy is mixed with judgment, for we may yet witness that soul returning, and Judea arising to embody the full ideal of a Christian Theocracy. Israel is not dead, it but sleepeth!

About the same time that the Jewish war terminated, Rome attained the climax of her grandeur. Hostile movements had taken place in other provinces, but these had now been suppressed, and Vespasian opened once again the temple of peace.

¹ Schiller.

But this prosperity was of short duration. We do not mean to connect the destruction of Jerusalem and the decline of the Roman empire as cause and effect; but it is certain that the former immediately preceded the latter event.¹ The insurrections in the northern parts of the empire were only quelled for a time—the fire still smouldered under the ashes—it speedily burst forth anew, and destroyed that mighty engine with which the Lord had, in fulfilment of prophecy,² punished His people. So has it ever been: the rod of His vengeance, after having served its purpose, has always been speedily broken in pieces.

¹ Comp. Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*—the preface; Schlosser *Gesch.*, vol. iv. p. 264.

² Deut. xxviii. 49; Dan. ix. 26.

CHAPTER III.

THE DISPERSED OF ISRAEL.

CONSIDERING the large number of Israelites dispersed over the various parts of the world, who, by their annual contributions, and the delegation of parties to offer vicarious sacrifices, had been wont to acknowledge Jerusalem as their political and religious capital, it certainly appears strange that some attempt should not have been made by them to assist their brethren in the common national contest. Although the Jews who had settled in other lands had in some cases departed from the pious observances of their co-religionists in Palestine, theirs was the exception, and not the rule, as even the successful zeal of so many to win proselytes to Judaism amply attested. Their apathy on this occasion has been ascribed by some to the liberty of conscience which they enjoyed in the lands of their dispersion,—to the feelings of patriotic attachment which they consequently entertained towards those countries,—and to the political alienation from Palestine which had thereby been induced. But the history of these Jews amply proves that such motives could not have been at work. In truth, aid had actually been promised to their brethren in Palestine, and the national party reckoned upon it to the very end of the contest. But the fact that the rising in Palestine took place before its plan had been properly preconcerted, and that the war itself had been prematurely hastened on by the actings of a party, besides the confusion arising from the want of *one* recognised leader, would have rendered any regular co-operation extremely difficult. The distance, also, between the various lands of the dispersion, and the

peculiar circumstances of their Jewish inhabitants, go far to account for their inactivity. A rapid survey, not so much of the history of their migrations, as of their state in the countries which they inhabited, will place both this matter and their condition generally more clearly before our minds.

According to the narrative in the Book of Acts,¹ Parthians, Medes, Elamites, dwellers in Mesopotamia, inhabitants of Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia (*i.e.*, Ionia, the Roman province of Asia), Phrygia, and Pamphylia, as well as Jews who had settled in Egypt, Cyrene, Crete, and even in Arabia, were amongst the worshippers at Jerusalem to whom Peter addressed his memorable discourse. The mention of these countries sufficiently indicates the wide extent of territory over which we have to follow the dispersed of Israel. For convenience sake, we may classify them as Asiatic, African, and European Jews. Of these the most important branch were the Asiatic Jews, and, among them, those who inhabited the *Parthian* empire. Their history will afterwards be specially treated, and we relate only what is absolutely necessary to be known.

A considerable number of the Jews, who had at first been transported by their enemies to Babylon, by and by came to prefer the quiet and comfortable settlements in that wealthy empire, to a return to the land of their fathers. The disturbed state of Palestine at later periods increased the number of these settlers, and, when at last the Babylonian seats of learning even excelled the schools of Palestine, the pride of the exiles found expression in a vaunting claim of superiority, the more arrogantly preferred that Palestine still continued to claim the spiritual allegiance of all her scattered descendants. Thus it was asserted in Babylon, that when the Jews returned from exile, the best portion had remained behind. While, with reference to their purity of descent (their non-admixture with Gentile, and other interdicted elements), the Hebrew population of Judea claimed to stand in the same relation to their brethren, scattered throughout the various provinces of the Roman

¹ Acts ii. 9-11.

empire, as "pure flour to mixed dough," the Jews of Babylon in turn characterized their brethren of Palestine¹ as only like "dough," when compared with their claims to purity. Without doubt the various distinctive elements of the Synagogue, traditionalism and mysticism, had originated during the stay of the nation in Babylon. Always afterwards a numerous and wealthy class in that empire, they prosecuted not only commerce and agriculture, but also the study of the law, and of science in general. In fact, in the latter the Babylonians greatly excelled their brethren of Palestine. Besides, some of the leading theologians of Judea were of Babylonian extraction, although they had been principally educated in Palestine. Thus, to go no farther, the grand founder of Jewish theology, Hillel, who flourished about the time of our Lord, was of Babylonian origin. But, till the decay of the schools in Judea, those of Babylon were subject to the former in all authoritative interpretations of matters of faith and practice. The patriarch and the Sanhedrim of Judea continued the supreme court of decision and of appeal. Thus all decrees concerning things declared lawful or unlawful, and the important function of fixing the beginning of every new month, on which the arrangement of the festivals depended, originated in Judea and were communicated to Babylon—the latter by a kind of telegraph by means of watchfires. The Jews of Babylon were indeed for a long period under the rule of a Prince of the captivity, who claimed descent from the house of David, but, until the extinction of the patriarchate in Palestine, his government was rather secular than spiritual, and he himself confessedly subject to his colleague of Judea. This relationship is easily accounted for by the former position of Palestine in religious matters, and by the continuation of the Jewish schools, which claimed to be the lawful substitutes for the authorities of the temple, after its destruction had virtually put an end to the Old Testament economy. Of course the Jews of Babylon managed the affairs of their own synagogues, and their

¹ Kidd. 71, a.

spiritual authorities taught and administered their laws throughout the land.

At the time when the Romans suppressed the rebellion, and brought the Jewish war to a successful termination, the greater portion of what had formerly constituted the Persian monarchy owned the sway of the Parthians. Indeed the Romans and Parthians met in Syria, the western part of which was held by the former, and the eastern by the latter power. The Parthians were semi-barbarous and wild, more concerned about plunder than firm possession. But they were uncompromising enemies of the Romans. Under their government the Jews enjoyed not only liberty and peace, but even a kind of independence. This is the more remarkable, as the same benefits were not extended to their Greek and Syrian subjects. Perhaps their common hatred of, and resistance to the Romans, may, in some measure, account for this distinction. Some towns in Parthia were almost wholly held by Jews. Thus the cities of Nahardea and Nisibis—afterwards so celebrated for their colleges—were fortified and almost exclusively occupied by Jews, who there deposited the annual tribute for the temple, which was sent to Jerusalem under a strong escort.¹ It was asserted that King Jechoniah had been deported to Nahardea (600 years before Christ), and that he had built there a synagogue, partly with materials taken from the temple at Jerusalem. The synagogue of Shaffjatib, as it was termed, was in consequence of this deemed so peculiarly sacred, that, as tradition expresses it, even the Shechinah might dwell there.² Near this place was also the synagogue of Hazal, reputed equally sacred with the former, and which tradition traced to Ezra, who was said to have founded a theological school there.³ Besides these two principal cities, there were other Jewish towns, which alternated in rank and importance according to the lore and celebrity of the teachers resident in them. A few miles to

¹ Joseph. Antiq. xviii. 9. 1. These two cities were not upon the banks of the Euphrates, as Josephus has it, but of the Mygdonius or modern Jachjachah, a tributary of the Chaboras, or Khabur, which flows into the Euphrates at Carchemish.

² Rosh ha-Shanah, 24, b. *Vide* Fürst's Kultur-Geschichte, p. 8.

³ Kidd. 69, b. Fürst, *ut supra*.

the south of Nahardea, and fifty miles from Ctesiphon, lay Phirus Shanbar, (afterwards Anbar, the Pirisabora of Ammianus), which numbered no less than 90,000 Jewish inhabitants. Not far from it, and on one of the many canals formed by the Euphrates, was Pumbaditha,¹ a beautiful and strong city, which was generally considered the commercial capital of the dispersed.² Its inhabitants were deemed very clever, but equally unprincipled. Accordingly a common proverb advised,—“If a person from Pumbaditha journeys along with you by the road, see to it that you quickly change your quarters.”³ Following the course of the Euphrates southward to where it forms the lake Surah, Mata-Mechassia or Sura was reached, a city inhabited partly by Jews and partly by heathens. Owing to the yearly inundations of the Euphrates, the whole of that neighbourhood was reputed to have been as fruitful as the valley of the Nile.⁴ The inhabitants were exceedingly simple and honest. Hence the common saying,⁵—“It were better to live on a dunghill in Mechassia, than in one of the palaces of Pumbaditha.” On the banks of the Tigris, and at the termination of the royal canal (the Nahar-Malka), lay the city of Machuza, or Machuka Malka, situated only a few miles from Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian empire. It lay on an eminence, and was protected by two walls and a deep ditch.⁶ Close by it was a fortress which commanded Ctesiphon. So thoroughly Jewish were these important places, that a later Rabbi expressed his astonishment⁷ at not finding, according to Jewish wont, at the entrance to these fortresses, that portion of the law affixed which is always conspicuous over the doors and gate-posts of Jewish houses and cities.⁸ It was asserted that the most of the Jewish inhabitants of Machuza were not pure Hebrews, but had descended from proselytes.⁹ Their worldliness, lightness, and frivolity, procured for them the common appellation of “Candidates of hell.”¹⁰

¹ Rosh ha-Shanah, 23, b. Pumbaditha is supposed to have been the Juba on the Baditha or Aditha. Comp. Forbiger's Handb. d. alt. Geogr., *in locum*.

² Chulin, 127, b.

³ Ker. 6, a.

⁴ Called the “Mezusah.”

⁵ Berachoth, 19, b.

⁶ Ammianus Marcell. xxiv. *passim*, specially p. 291, &c.

⁷ Ta'an. 3, a.

⁸ Joma, 11, a.

⁹ Kidd. 73, a.

¹⁰ Ta'an. 26, a.

The men were mostly engaged in mercantile pursuits, and much given to luxury; the women were famed for their idleness and vanity. In proof of this it was related that when the Sanhedrim in Palestine allowed Jewish females to wear on Sabbaths golden or jewelled frontlets, only twenty-four females in all Nahardea availed themselves of this privilege, while one quarter alone of Machuza sent forth no less than eighteen ladies arrayed with the most gorgeous head-dresses.¹ Many Jews also lived in Ctesiphon and in Ardshir. That district of the country was plentifully supplied with water, and so fair and fertile as to present the appearance of a garden. To this productiveness of the soil, and to the vicinity of the capital, with its attendant luxury, the general corruption of manners, and the religious indifferentism of the inhabitants, were ascribed. Hence the common saying, "A basket of dates for a cent—and let the inhabitants forbear from studying the law." Besides the above-mentioned, from twenty to thirty other Jewish cities, referred to in Talmudical writings, have been identified.² A glance at the map of Asia will convince the reader how extensive were the Jewish settlements in those regions. On the east, bounded by the Zagras mountains, on the west by the Euphrates, they extended southward as far as the Persian Gulf, and included Southern Armenia, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Mesene; and east of the Tigris, Corbiene, Assyria, Adiabene, Susiana, and Chusistan. We have the testimony of Persian historians,³ that Nebuchadnezzar transported Jews even into Persia, and located some in Ispahan, where to this day a part of the city remains, under the designation of "Jehudia." From biblical and other sources, we also know that Jews had settled in Elymais, Media, Corbiene, &c.⁴ That they had enjoyed peace in Susiana, is apparent from the fact recorded by Jewish tradition,⁵ that a representation of

¹ Shab. 33, a; 59, b.

² Comp. Ersch's Encycl. vol. xxvii. p. 186. Compare also for the above, generally, Grätz Gesch., vol. iv., and Fürst's Kultur-Gesch.

³ *Vide* Ritter's Asien, vol. ix. p. 43; Edrisi ed. Jaupert, vol. ii. p. 167.

⁴ Comp. Ersch's Encycl., vol. xxvii. p. 173.

⁵ Midd. i. 3.

Susa was placed above one of the gates of Jerusalem, to remind its inhabitants of the favours there received.

But even the above-mentioned boundaries did not confine the Jews. As already mentioned, a distinction was made between the Jewish inhabitants of various provinces, some of whom had intermarried, or otherwise become mixed up with their heathen neighbours. The latter were denounced and despised as having become impure. A kind of scale of the degrees of purity and impurity existed, showing how tenaciously the Jews of the dispersion clung to their religious nationality, and to the usages of the Synagogue. The district most favoured in respect of purity, was that included between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and extending probably no farther north than the 34th degree of latitude. It was pre-eminently the "land of Babylon" of the Jews, and even received from the members of the Synagogue there resident the designation of "the land of Israel."¹ Its inhabitants had preserved themselves pure from Gentile admixture, and were hence characterized as "healthy." On the contrary, in this respect, Media was said to be "sickly;" Elymais "in the last gasps;" and Mesene to be "dead."²

For a long time after their deportation into Babylonia, the Jews lived there unmolested in the enjoyment of liberty and happiness. They inhabited all the fruitful districts beyond the Euphrates, except the immediate neighbourhood of Babylon.³ But, about the eventful period of the birth of our Lord, circumstances occurred which put an end to this state of prosperity.⁴ At that time Artaban III. (or Arsaces XIX.) occupied the throne of Parthia. His reign was disturbed by internal dissensions and insurrections. The immediate occasion of the persecution of the Jews was the following occurrence. In Nahardea lived a poor widow, whose two sons, Asineus and Anileus, early deprived of their father, supported themselves and their mother by the same trade which Paul exercised,—tent-weaving. Some trifling

¹ Genesis Rabba, c. 17.

² Kidd. 71, a.

³ *Vide* Philo, Legat. ad Cajum.

⁴ Joseph. Antiq. xviii. 9.

cause led to a dispute between the youths and their employer, in which the latter maltreated them. Bent on revenge, they seized the arms in the house, and, with a few like-minded companions, fled to the neighbourhood of Babylon. There they built a small citadel in a position easily defended. Gradually, as they were allowed to plunder unresisted, their followers increased in number, until, like the feudal lords in the middle ages, they levied regular contributions from all around, in return for which they afforded protection to the inhabitants. At last the satrap of the province marched against them at the head of a considerable force. He had hoped to surprise them on the Sabbath, perhaps unarmed, or at least otherwise occupied, expecting that the religious prejudices of his enemies would obviate the necessity of engaging them. But the scouts of Asineus had brought him timely notice of the plan. The Jewish leader accordingly went to meet the satrap, slew the greater part of his followers, and put the rest to flight. The party of Asineus acquired such celebrity and influence by this exploit, that the Parthian king courted their alliance, in the hope of availing himself of their services against his own rebellious nobles. Accordingly, upon his invitation, Anileus repaired to court, with a large retinue and rich presents for the king. Asineus, who had at first distrusted the Parthian monarch, soon followed his brother. He was nominated governor of a considerable portion of Mesopotamia, and continued in authority for fifteen years. Of these two brothers, both equally brave, the elder, Asineus, was small and delicate,—the younger, Anileus, tall and noble-looking. Unfortunately, a Parthian noble was appointed to preside over the province adjoining that of the Jewish brothers. The beautiful wife of the Parthian captivated the heart of Anileus. The lady seems to have encouraged his advances. Anileus surprised and killed her husband, and married the widow. But the Parthian wife brought with her the Parthian idols, and, to the sorrow and disappointment of her husband's Jewish followers, she introduced their worship. At last growing dissatisfaction forced Asineus, who had always been most

indulgent towards his brother, to remonstrate with him on this subject. As might have been expected, he was unsuccessful, and the Parthian lady soon afterwards got rid of the troublesome monitor by poisoning him. Anileus now reigned alone. But carried away by self-confidence, love of plunder and military fame, he undertook an expedition against the province of Mithridates, one of the noblest satraps, and son-in-law of the Parthian king. Mithridates was routed and taken prisoner; but instead of using his victory with moderation, Anileus caused the captive satrap to be conducted naked, and riding on an ass, through the Jewish camp,—a treatment viewed by the Parthians as inflicting the greatest insult. At last, fear of the king procured the liberation of Mithridates, who returned to concert measures of revenge. To this he was still more incited by his proud wife, who refused to own him as her husband till he had wiped off, in Jewish blood, his late disgrace. Thus the antagonists met once again, though not under the same circumstances. Anileus had gradually lost his veteran soldiers, partly in battle, and partly in consequence of his idolatrous practices. The reinforcements which had joined his standard consisted mostly of untrained recruits; hence, though numerically superior, he was in reality inferior to his opponent. The Jews were beaten, and obliged to flee to the woods, whence they continued to make marauding expeditions into the plains of Babylon. The inhabitants naturally became exasperated, and demanded that Nahardea should surrender its chief. Compliance with this demand was impossible, as Anileus was not in their power, but Nahardea concluded a separate peace; and a deputation, consisting of Jews and Babylonians, was sent to induce Anileus to come to terms. The Babylonian ambassadors finding that, under the impression that the war was virtually at an end, Anileus had yielded to security, sent tidings of this to Mithridates. The satrap hastened to avail himself of the unprotected state of his enemies. He surprised them and killed all, Anileus amongst the rest. Far from allaying the passions of the populace, this success only incited them to a

general persecution. Finding the Jews dispirited and defenceless, they rose everywhere against the unsuspecting Hebrew inhabitants of the different towns, slew all on whom they could lay hands, and forced the rest to seek safety in flight. Most of the latter took refuge in Seleucia, on the banks of the Tigris. That city seemed to offer peculiar advantages, being at that time almost an independent state. It had originally been destined by its builder, Seleucus I., a celebrated general of Alexander the Great, to become the capital of the new Græco-Syrian empire, which extended from the shores of the Mediterranean to beyond the Indus. Afterwards, however, the seat of that government had been transferred to Antioch, a city on the Orontes. The distance of that capital from the provinces beyond the Euphrates enabled the Parthians to drive the Greeks from the eastern banks of that river. At the period to which we refer, Seleucia was no longer held by the Greeks, though not yet formally occupied by the Parthians, while, happily for the fugitive Jews, it was inhabited by native Syrians and by Greeks, who lived in continual jealousy and enmity. When the Jews arrived in Seleucia they made common cause with the Syrians against the Greeks. Soon afterwards a pestilence, which broke out on the banks of the Euphrates, drove great numbers to Seleucia, and changed the state of parties. Before their arrival, the Syrians had been inferior in number to the Greeks, and hence had courted the alliance of the Jews. When that motive no longer existed, their pretended friendship also ceased. Disturbances broke out in the city, which, as frequently under similar circumstances, were in the last instance entirely directed against the Jews. A fearful carnage ensued, in which no less than 60,000 Jews fell. Flight alone prevented their complete extermination. The fugitive Jews found in part a resting-place in Nahardea and in Nisibis. But notwithstanding those popular risings which to a greater or less extent occurred throughout the whole land, the number of Jews in Babylonia continued very considerable.

It is probable that during those persecutions many Jews

betook themselves to Adiabene, a province of Assyria, lying east of the Tigris, and between the greater and lesser Zeeb. Jewish settlers seem to have lived in Adiabene so early as the time of the captivity of the ten tribes. The throne of Adiabene was at the period to which our record refers occupied by Izates, a Jewish proselyte. The history of the conversion of that royal family is too interesting to be omitted. The father of Izates, King Monabaz, had a son by his sister Helena, to whom he was afterwards united in wedlock. Informed in a dream that his first son (after the marriage with Helena) should enjoy the special favour of the gods, he preferred him to all his other children,¹ even to his elder brother Monabaz. This favourite son was Izates. Under the apprehension that the jealousy of the princes might endanger the safety of Izates, his father sent him, laden with rich presents, to the court of Abennerig, King of Spasinus, whose capital lay in Mesene, an island formed by the Pasitigris and the Eulaeus, which was also known by the name of Spasini Charax and Characene.² Izates married the daughter of the king, and received with her a small province as dowry. At the royal court a Jewish merchant of the name of Ananias exercised considerable influence. He succeeded in converting not only some of the noble ladies, but in convincing even the heir of Adiabene of the truth of Judaism. Strange to say, about the same time Helena, Izates' mother, had undergone at home a similar change. Soon afterwards Monabaz, feeling his end approaching, recalled Izates and assigned to him the administration of a beautiful tract of the country, where he continued to reside during the remainder of his father's life. At the time of the decease of Monabaz, neither Izates nor Helena had publicly professed Judaism. But the latter was so far influenced by its principles as to refuse her consent to the proposal of the nobles to follow up the proclamation of Izates by a whole-

¹ Joseph. Antiq. lib. xx. 2.

² Mesene means a tract lying between two rivers. The Mesene mentioned in the text, is that of which Trajan afterwards took possession. It must not be confounded with the Mesene lying between the Pasitigris and the canal of Bassorah, or with the Mesene above the modern Bagdad, formed between the Tigris and the Dujeel or Little Tigris.

sale murder of all the other princes. They were, however, confined to prison, there to await the arrival of Izates. Only Monabaz, Helena's eldest son, who in the meantime was to administer the government, was allowed to retain his liberty. On his arrival, Izates immediately liberated the captive princes, but sent them as hostages partly to Rome and partly to Artaban, King of Parthia. The time had now arrived when Izates proposed by circumcision to make an open profession of Judaism. But Helena, who dreaded a popular rising in consequence, and Ananias, who apprehended that the fury of the populace might vent itself on the religious adviser of the king, tried to persuade Izates that this observance was not binding on him. But the neophyte, who had more spiritual and less temporal anxiety than his advisers, could not be so easily satisfied. Another teacher from Galilee, Eleazar, was now sent for. On his arrival he found the king engaged in the study of the law. This circumstance afforded the zealous teacher an opportunity of urging the duty of immediate compliance with *all* its requirements. His representations were successful, and the sacred rite was performed, before the queen-mother or Ananias had even been informed of his intention. Happily this bold step had no evil consequences. To express her gratitude for what was looked upon as a divine interposition, Helena undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Izates accompanied her part of the way, and added his largesses to the rich presents which she carried to the temple. She found the inhabitants of the holy city hardly pressed by a famine.¹ To relieve their wants, she sent for corn to Alexandria and Cyprus, and caused it to be distributed amongst the poor. In these largesses Izates followed her example. A few years after these events the ruler of Adiabene had occasion to shew kindness to his liege lord, the king of the Parthians. Artaban, the then reigning monarch, being driven from his throne, sought safety with Izates. The unhappy fugi-

¹ It was to provide against the same famine that Paul and Barnabas collected and brought to Jerusalem the offerings of the Church at Antioch. To this concurrence the reports of Helena's conversion to Christianity may be due.—Comp. Burton's Lect. vol. i. p. 142.

tive met Izates returning on horseback to his capital. According to Eastern custom, Artaban threw himself on the ground, and implored protection and assistance. But no sooner had Izates heard the tale of the fugitive, than, displaying a conduct vastly different from that of other governors, he immediately dismounted to assign the place of honour to Artaban, proposing to walk on foot beside him. The friendly dispute which ensued about this mark of respect, terminated in the two monarchs entering the capital side by side. But the friendly offices of Izates did not exhaust themselves in marks of attention. He prevailed upon the Parthians to restore Artaban to his throne. In token of gratitude, Izates received great privileges from Artaban. Amongst others he got possession of the town of Nisibis, which was chiefly inhabited by his co-religionists. Izates sent five of his sons to be educated at Jerusalem. Monabaz and the rest of the king's relatives by and by also embraced Judaism. These multiplied defections to a foreign and despised creed at last incited the nobles to discontent and rebellion. The insurgents who had secured the assistance of Abiad, the king of Arabia, were successful in the first engagement, owing to treachery amongst Izates' troops; but in a second battle the king defeated the rebels, and Abiad escaped capture only by falling on his sword. However, soon afterwards, another insurrection broke out. This time the malcontents had, by representing Izates as being generally unpopular, prevailed on the Parthian king Vologas, the third on the throne since Artaban, to deprive Izates of his former privileges, and even to declare war against him. Izates could not have resisted the whole force of the Parthian empire, but tidings of an insurrection within his own dominions obliged Vologas to return. From that time Izates enjoyed undisturbed peace. Helena continued in Jerusalem during the lifetime of her son; after his decease she returned to Adiabene, but soon died. Monabaz succeeded Izates, having been selected in preference to the children of the latter. He caused the bodies of his mother and brother to be interred in Jerusalem, and erected a splendid sepulchre, which is still pointed out as the best pre-

served, and, in some respects, the finest monument in the neighbourhood of that city.¹ Orosius (a later ecclesiastical writer) speaks of the conversion of the royal house of Adiabene to Christianity, but his account is historically and internally unsupported. After this period we lose sight of this royal family, except that two of its members, Izates and Monabaz, were in Jerusalem during its last siege. Titus showed great attention and kindness to these princes. They seem to have encouraged the Jews to look for help to the East. Without doubt, although the Parthians were prevented by their king from rendering active assistance to the Jews in their struggle, much sympathy was felt for them, and many of the fugitives found a ready welcome on the Parthian territory.

Besides their settlements in that province, the Jews seem to have spread over the whole of that portion of Asia. They were specially numerous in Armenia, where, as in Adiabene, they had settled from a very early period. Without entering into particulars, which properly belong to the history of a previous period, we may assume it as almost proved that the *ten* tribes were originally transported not to Mesopotamia, or the land between the Euphrates and the Tigris, but to Assyria Proper. The Talmud interprets the *Chabor* of the Bible not as the river Chaboras, but as the country of Adiabene.² Later authorities trace the Israelites (at least the two and a half tribes, 1 Chron. v. 26) as far as Armenia and Georgia. It is also related that the ten tribes had wandered to Iberia. Another authority finds them on the road to Armenia, in the mountainous districts of the Caucasian highlands. All these accounts seem to be substantially correct. Large masses of Jews must have settled in the highlands of Iran, in Armenia and in Georgia. The historical books of these countries make the deportation under Salmanassar almost to disappear in that under Nebuchadnezzar. They also furnish us with other important information. During the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, a Jewish prince, Shampat, seems to have settled in Armenia, and his descendants sustain an im-

¹ For particulars compare Robinson's *Palestine*, vol. i. p. 528.

■ Kidd. 72, a.

portant part in its history.¹ A Georgian chronicle distinguishes the settlements of the Jews under Titus from those under Nebuchadnezzar.² Under the reign of the Armenian king, Vagartshag, a member of a noble Jewish family, the Pacarduni, became greatly distinguished. The king raised him to the dignity of prince, bestowed on him a decoration with three rows of pearls, and named him Tacatir, *i.e.*, the officer whose duty it was to put the crown on the king's brow.³ On the occasion of building an idol-temple, the king endeavoured, but in vain, to induce the noble Jew to commit apostasy. In the war, waged about the time of Pompey, between the Romans and the Parthians, a number of Jews were led captive by Tigran, and settled in Armenia.⁴ The same prince attempted by persecutions to seduce the Pacarduni to idolatry. One of them who remained steadfast, had his tongue cut out; the rest submitted, at least so far as to eat pork, and of things sacrificed to idols.⁵ Again, during the disputes in Palestine, between the native princes Antigonus and Hyrcanus, Parthia espoused the cause of the former, Rome that of the latter. Hyrcanus was taken captive by the Armenian general, and with many other Jews brought to Armenia. When about to return to Jerusalem, being destitute of means, he induced Anan, one of the Pacarduni, to become security for him to the king for a very large sum, which he promised to transmit from Palestine. As he failed to implement this engagement, Archam, the king, demanded the money from Anan, who sent his brother to Palestine to collect it. In the meantime, however, Hyrcanus had been killed by Herod. Anan, unable to pay the debt when demanded, was cast into prison. An enemy of the Pacarduni, Zora, a member of the family of the Kentumi, used this opportunity for exciting suspicions against the Pacarduni. Anan was put upon the rack. The profession of heathenism alone was to save him and all his family from destruction. For a long

¹ See Moïse de Khoréne Hist. d'Arménie (Ven. 1841), i. p. 101.

² See Klaproth's Reise in den Kaukasus, ii. p. 87.

³ Moïse de Khoréne, *ut supra*, vol. ii. ch. 7 and 8.

⁴ *Ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 14; vol. i. p. 183.

⁵ *Ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 19.

time the noble Jew resisted, at last he yielded to fear. His life was spared, but he was banished into the interior.¹ The race still continued, and at a later period one of that family, Tobias, became a Christian.² Other two individuals, Zebedia and Petachia, may be mentioned, who became the ancestors of the celebrated race of Georgian kings, the Bazraduns, and who, although Georgia has passed into the hands of Russia, the great enemy of the Jews, continue to this day as the princely house of Bangratides.³ The Amadunes are also derived from Jews, whom the Parthian king Arshag had brought to Armenia from Hamadan, a district which the Talmud identifies as the cities of Media, spoken of in the Bible. But although many of the noblest families in all these countries are either derived from or connected with Jews, the great mass did not escape persecution from their Gentile neighbours. Probably only those Jewish tribes remained unscathed who retired to uninhabited districts, and who are said still to inhabit their mountain fastnesses. These tribes are supposed to be the descendants of Dan, Zebulun, and Naphtali. We have only to add, that Christianity found at a very early period disciples among the Jewish descendants and proselytes who inhabited the ancient provinces of Armenia and Adiabene. Even during the first century the gospel spread from Edessa to Cardu or Bezabde on the Tigris.⁴ At a later period, during the persecution under king Sapor II., no doubt amongst the 9000 Christian martyrs who, with their wives and children were led captive or cruelly slain, many were Jews either by birth or descent.⁵

¹ *Ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 24. ² *Ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 32. ³ Ritter's *Asien*, vol. x. p. 586.

⁴ Assemani *Bibl. Orient.* tom. iii. P. ii. § 6. fol. xvii.; Ritter's *Asien*, vol. x. p. 253.

⁵ Assemanus, *ut supra*, fol. lii; Ritter, *ut supra*. Of the later history of the Jews in those countries we shall treat in the sequel. The principal arguments for seeking the ten tribes in that neighbourhood must be reserved for another place. The researches of Dr. Asahel Grant amongst the Nestorians and Yezdees are very interesting and important, provided we do not fall into the mistake of representing either or both of these tribes as the dispersed of Israel. The investigations of Mr. Forster (*Primeval Language*, vol. iii.) have shewn that in all probability the Afghans are also more or less mixed descendants of Israel. We would, however, by no means admit that they are the lineal descendants of the ten tribes. We less can we agree to his attempt at tracing out the different tribes. Many of this author's conclusions rest upon erroneous historical premises. This subject may be more fully examined in another place.

Still more interesting, at least at the period which we now describe, are the settlements of the Jews in Syria. The proximity of that country to Palestine, and the privileges conferred on the Jews resident there, caused such an influx of settlers, that some of the rural districts, and most of the larger cities, were principally inhabited by Jews. Apparently, the Syrian Jews were more influenced for evil by their Gentile neighbours, than their co-religionists in other countries. The religion of the Old Testament could not indeed, under any circumstances, have been permanently transplanted into foreign soil, but the distinctions and sympathies of religious nationality might, as we have seen, be preserved by the exiles. Not so in Syria. The Jews there continued indeed to transmit their annual contributions to the temple treasury; they had synagogues, and were subject to an independent ruler, termed the Ethnarch; the study of theology was not wholly neglected, and the Jewish law was administered very much as in Palestine. But Grecian culture, or at least its deleterious moral consequences, had spread into Syria, and made sad havoc amongst a people naturally inclined to luxurious habits. It is well known how detrimental the introduction of Syrian manners and modes of thinking had proved even in Palestine at a former period. It is then scarce to be wondered at, that the Syrian Jews did not escape the contamination. Generally bent only on gain, they did not scruple even to join in hostilities carried on against their brethren in Palestine. When the king of Syria despoiled the temple of Jerusalem, the synagogue of Antioch did not hesitate to receive and to retain the articles abstracted. On other occasions, however, the Syrian Jews pleaded for exemption from military service on pretence of religious duties. But although they enjoyed a long period of peace and prosperity, and even gained many proselytes, they were despised and hated by most of the natives. An opportunity at last occurred for manifesting the popular feeling. Strange as it may appear, as if all Israel's political troubles were to befall the generation which rejected the Saviour, the persecutions which we are about to describe, like those of Parthia, occurred during that period. The story is the more sad

that it stands connected with one of the few examples of filial ingratitude recorded in Jewish history. From motives not well ascertained, Antiochus, the son of the Jewish Ethnarch, had resolved to destroy the leading men of his nation, and with them his own father. At an assemblage in the theatre he disclosed a pretended plan hatched by the Jews, under the direction of his father, the object of which was stated to have been the destruction of Antioch by fire. The improbability of a story rarely prevents its reception by the populace, especially if their prejudices or their passions are in any way in favour of it. Without farther inquiry, the accused Jews were committed to the flames. But even this summary punishment did not allay the popular excitement. Antiochus, who had in the meantime apostatized, kept up the irritation, and proposed, as a test of their innocency, to call upon the Jews to violate the Sabbath, and to sacrifice to the gods. Only a few bought their lives at such a price. The apostate now put himself at the head of the populace. The synagogue was destroyed, and a dreadful carnage ensued amongst the Jews. No sooner had the storm abated a little, than a fire really broke out in the city, and spread with alarming rapidity. A later investigation proved, indeed, that it had been the work of some hardly-pressed debtors, who hoped to escape their obligations by a destruction of the public records. But the mob laid the whole blame upon the Jews. A fresh slaughter took place, which doubtless would have only ended with the extermination of all the Jews, had not the Romans interposed. Though the innocence of the Jews was soon afterwards fully established, the Antiochians were not easily satisfied; and when Titus made his entrance after the destruction of Jerusalem, they mingled with their shouts of welcome clamorous demands for the expulsion of the Jews. On Titus's second visit to that city, the inhabitants again requested him to consent to the destruction of the brass tablets on which the civic rights of the Jews were recorded, as well as to the expulsion of the hated race. But the Roman general refused, on the ground that it was impossible to banish from the lands of

their dispersion those whose country had now been rendered desolate. After this the Syrian Jews enjoyed unbroken peace under the protection of the Roman emperors.

Another scene of horror enacted in Asia remains to be told. From a very early period Jews had settled in Damascus. Their number was very great at the time when the Jews of Palestine rose to shake off the Roman yoke. Many of the heathens, indeed almost the whole female population of Damascus, had also embraced Judaism. The tidings of the rising in Palestine caused considerable uneasiness in Damascus. By way of precaution, a large number of Jews were shut up in the arena. When the news arrived of the first and brilliant success of the insurgents, and that Cestius Gallus had been routed, the Damascenes, whether in revenge or by way of protecting themselves, fell upon the Jews, and in one hour killed no less than 10,000 of them.

The Jews in Asia Minor shared in the general degeneracy of its inhabitants. There the Romans encountered no longer the spirit of valour and independence which had once distinguished its people. The same causes which had led to the decline of the native rulers, also operated, as in Syria, detrimentally upon the Jewish settlers. Mostly engaged in trade, they had accumulated wealth which excited the cupidity, while their refusal to engage in military service, on the plea of religious scruples, called forth the indignation of the populace. By and by the annual exportation of large sums as contributions to the temple treasury, was denounced as involving a public loss, and gave rise to bitter complaints. Under the partial administration of corrupt Roman governors, several attempts were made to prevent or to alienate these contributions. The Jewish inhabitants of the isle of Delos appealed for protection to Julius Cæsar, who bore a grateful remembrance of the valuable aid afforded him by the Jews in Egypt. Their prayer was granted, and a special decree secured their freedom. After the murder of Cæsar, the opportunity seemed favourable to renew former hostile attempts against the Jews—this time on the plea of their resistance to military service. Hyrcanus the Asmonean, however, advocated their

cause in Rome, and succeeded the more readily that the troubled state of the empire did not admit of argument with distant provinces. After the defeat of Brutus and Cassius, renewed disputes were again settled in favour of the Jews. Still the Jews were not free from occasional interferences, and when Herod accompanied Agrippa through that province, they publicly complained of their grievances. Nicolaus of Damascus represented their case, and they obtained immediate relief. They now increased rapidly in numbers and influence. We find them in Crete, Cyprus, Phrygia, Lydia, Mysia, in Cappadocia, with its capital Mesheg, and in Cilicia, with its capital Tarsus. Philo gives a glowing account¹ of their state and prosperity. Indeed, from the time when Antiochus the Great had transplanted 2000 Jewish families into Phrygia and Lydia, in order to serve as a counterpoise to the rebellious native population, they seem to have rapidly multiplied and spread into Pamphylia, Galatia, and Mysia.² They enjoyed at first considerable privileges; amongst others, they were exempted for ten years from all taxation.³ Finally, references in the New Testament and in the writings of Philo prove that Jews early penetrated into Greece Proper, and spread over the whole of the Peloponnesus.

Turning our steps again towards the East, we come upon the important Jewish settlements in Arabia. That country extends from the borders of Palestine to the Arabian Sea, and is bounded on the east by the Persian Gulf, and on the west by the Red Sea. It is divided into three provinces, called respectively the Stony, the Desert, and the Happy (Arabia Petræa, Deserta, et Felix). With the exception of the strips of land along the sea-coasts, it presents the appearance of an almost entire waste. The south-western portion, close by the Red Sea, is the most fertile, and is well known in history as the kingdom of Saba, of Yemen, of the Joctanites, or of the Homerites. This diversity of names proves that the country was peopled by different tribes, of whom the Joctanites were descended from Shem, and the Sabeans from Cush, and whose languages varied accordingly.

¹ Philo, Legat. ad Cajum.

² Acts ii. 9, 10.

³ Jos. Jewish Wars, vii. 3. 3.

It is impossible to determine at what time Judaism found its way into this country, and whether it came from Palestine across the desert, from Ethiopia across the Red Sea, or from the east (Persia, &c.) across the Gulf. Probably at different periods Jewish wanderers found their way into Arabia from all these directions. The intimate relations which subsisted between Arabia Petræa and Judea, belong to an earlier period of the history of the latter country. We cannot dwell on them, and only gather¹ the most interesting particulars connected with the history of the other two provinces of Arabia. The Ismaelitish ancestors of some of the native tribes were of course by descent connected with the Jews. It is even maintained that the Caaba, or ancient temple of Mecca, had been originally dedicated to the God of Abraham. Under the reign of Solomon, Jewish merchants traded to Saba, probably exporting thence the products of Arabia Felix. It cannot be determined whether at that time the natives practised circumcision; and if so, whether this may be taken as affording a proof of their religious connexion with the Jews. The latter may, however, be inferred, from the visit of the Queen of Seba to King Solomon, and from the alliance between these two sovereigns. The intercourse between the nations continued. As troubles at home and abroad obliged the Hebrews to seek shelter in more distant regions, the number of Jews in Arabia increased. Their comparatively settled mode of living, their cultivation and wealth, must have secured for them a peculiar influence among the nomadic tribes of that country. No doubt they improved their position amongst other ways in attempting to gain proselytes. During the administration of Herod's father, the royal princes were, in times of danger, intrusted to the safe keeping of the Arabians. At a later period, many Jews passed with Gallus across the Red Sea into Arabia. The 'Talmud mentions the Jewish settlements in Arabia, and records some ordinances referring to them.²

¹ Comp. Jost's *Gesch.* vol. v. p. 236; Reimond's *Versuch einer Gesch. d. Ausbreit. d. Judenthumes*, pp. 81, &c.; and the Arabian authors there quoted.

² Shabb. 65.

When the Romans took possession of the Holy Land, a considerable number of Jews retreated to the neighbourhood of Medina.¹ In general, Jewish settlements were numerous and ancient in that district, specially at Cheibar, four or five days' journey from Medina. Tradition asserted that the ancestor of these Jews, Cheibar, who gave his name to the whole district, was brother to Jathrib, the founder of Medina. There, and around Mecca, warlike Jewish tribes had reared and held fastnesses. Isolated from their countrymen in Palestine, they adopted many heathen practices. At a much later period Eldad ha-Dani visited them, and described their state. He calls them descendants of the tribe of Ephraim. They were then partly fire-worshippers, and conjoined with this service certain licentious rites. The same authority distinguishes also between the sons of Zebulun and those of Issachar. The former, he states, were warlike, while the latter were peaceable, and mostly engaged in commerce. But even the much earlier testimony of the Talmud shows that the heathen customs, and the peculiar forms of idolatry and immorality common in these districts, were well known to the Jewish authorities. It perhaps deserves to be mentioned, that the same authorities interpret the Cush of the Bible as Arabia, although that term refers no doubt also to the coast of Ethiopia, opposite to Arabia. This Jewish interpretation of Cush tallies also with the statement of a certain king of the Arabians to one of the Rabbins—Akiba, "I and my wife are Cushites."²

But Judaism was not merely tolerated—it became dominant in Arabia. The first Jewish king of the Homerites, Aba-Caib-Asad, flourished about the year 120 before Christ. Some, however, fix his reign at a much earlier date. He is stated to have been the thirty-second king of the Sabeans,³ and to have decorated the great Caaba. Tradition accounts for his conversion in the following manner:—Asad's sway extended not only over Yemen, but also over the northern portion of Arabia. The

¹ Comp. Ersch's Encycl., vol. xxvii. pp. 166, &c.

² Comp. many passages, as—Yebam. 17, a; Aboda Sara, 11, b; Kidd. 49, b, &c.

³ Koran. Sur. L. Cf. Achm. Ibn Jussef, &c.; Michaelis' Orient. u. Exeget. Bibl. iv.

government of the latter province was administered by one Algabroon, whose oppressions rendered him so obnoxious, that the Jews rose in rebellion and slew him. To avenge this deed and quell the insurrection, King Asad marched at the head of 100,000 men against Medina; but an investigation into the causes of complaint showed that the Jews had so far been warranted in administering summary justice to the offending governor. Evil-minded persons endeavoured, indeed, to excite the king's cupidity by accounts of the treasures of the Caaba, but the representations of the Jewish Rabbins who guarded it not only deterred him from making any sacrilegious attempt, but eventually led to the execution of the evil counsellors. After that the king continued in Mecca for a whole year, and adorned the Caaba, where he is stated to have daily sacrificed an almost incredible number of camels. Asad was murdered about the year 100 B.C., perhaps on account of his religious principles. His son, Hassan Tobbai, who succeeded him, avenged his father's death. In turn, he fell a victim to the ambition of his brother, Amra Tobbai. Both brothers seem to have been Jews. The next occupant of the throne, Abd-al-Celal, son of Dhul-Abad, was not a direct descendant of the royal family. He also was a Jew, or, as the Arab writer correctly describes it,¹ "of the Messianic religion." He was succeeded by Tobbai, the son of Hassan, a descendant of the former line of kings. Tobbai was a zealous Jew, and endeavoured to convert his subjects generally to his faith. He also is said to have decorated the Caaba. About the first year of our era, he sent for two Jewish Rabbins. These doctors introduced into Yemen the traditions of Palestine. Tobbai and his immediate successor are asserted to have each occupied the throne for upwards of seventy years. Whether this account be correct or not, Jews seem to have occupied the throne of Yemen for nearly two centuries, before the last disasters in Palestine induced so many Hebrew fugitives to seek safety in Saba.² Tobbai's successor, Arith, was likewise a

¹ *Vide* Michaelis, *ut supra*. The expression, "Messianic religion," cannot refer to Christianity, as at that time Christ had not yet come.

² Pococke, *Spec. Hist. Arab.*

proselyte. After that period we lose sight of the religious history of these monarchs; at least authorities are silent on the subject. But as the same line of kings occupied the throne down to the sixth century, and its last representative, Dunaan, was a Jew, we may reasonably infer that Judaism retained its position in the land up to that period. Apparently, the Jews of Yemen did not maintain continued and direct communications with their brethren in Palestine; indeed, it seems probable that the Caaba of Mecca occupied in their minds at least the same place which the rival Jewish temple at Heliopolis did in that of the Egyptian Jews.

But the wanderings of the Hebrews extended even much farther. They are said to have found their way into China at so early a period as during the reign of the dynasty Tsheou, which altogether lasted for nearly nine centuries, and terminated about 249 B.C. During the severe persecutions to which the Jews were exposed in various lands, many gradually penetrated eastwards as far as China. Distinct traces of Jewish settlements are found under the dynasty Han (from the year 205 B.C. to 220 A.D.) According to their own declaration, a large number of them emigrated from Persia during the reign of the emperor Ming-ti (58-75 A.D.) Their language, which contains many traces of the Persian, confirms the correctness of this account, indicating at the same time that some persecution must have driven these wanderers to seek safety in China. The original number of these emigrants is estimated at about 6000.¹ For some time they maintained a connexion with their brethren of Persia. Gradually it became more irregular, and at last ceased entirely. The Chinese seem to have received these fugitives in an hospitable manner. By and by they became more identified with them, and some of the Hebrews attained even to the rank of Mandarins.² A very ancient Chinese inscription commends their industry, honesty, and piety. It was maintained that their religion was akin to that of the nations. If this statement was correct, they must, like their

¹ Jost's *Gesch. d. Juden*, book ix.

² Kidd. 72.

brethren of Arabia, have admitted heathen elements into their worship. They chiefly settled in the cities of Nimpo (Liampu), Ning-hia, Hamtsheou, and Pekin. In their synagogues they had copies of the Scriptures, which, it is worthy of notice, contained amongst others the book of Ezra. For many centuries they seem to have remained in entire ignorance of the advent of our Lord. In course of time they became more and more assimilated to the natives. Their peculiar Jewish literature was lost, and many of their number forsook the religion of their ancestors for that of China. At a later period, the Jews of Pekin adopted the creed of Islam. The Hebrews of Cai-fong-fu, alone remained attached to the old faith. The natives termed them Hoei-Hoei, but they adopted the name of Lan-mao-hoei-hoei. This designation is said to have been derived from the blue bonnets which they wore in their synagogues. Their sanctuary was constructed after the model of the temple at Jerusalem. It is from 300 to 400 feet long, 150 broad, and consists of four divisions. In the first compartment, and towards the east, a triumphal arch, surrounded by trees, bears the inscription, "Sacred to the Deity." Large folding-doors, and at either side a humbler entrance, open into the second compartment, which contains apartments for the officers of the synagogue. Passing into the third division, we come upon another triumphal arch, surrounded by trees, and two marble tablets with inscriptions, which refer to the history of the synagogue, to that of the Jews in China, and also trace the Jewish religion, which in all essentials is declared to be the same as that of China, to Moses, Abraham, and Adam. North and south are two apartments, dedicated to Jewish Mandarins, who had either built or restored the synagogue. Above these are rooms for public Meetings, or for the accommodation of distinguished strangers. The fourth division of the synagogue contains the holy place, which is a separate building. Outside the latter, and to the north, is the kitchen; to the south, apartments where in spring and autumn the memory of their Jewish ancestors is celebrated; towards the west stand large vases with flowers. A vessel containing incense is placed between

two lions of marble. The holy place itself stands in the middle of this compartment, and is surrounded by a balustrade and a double four-pillared colonnade. This building is sixty feet long, and forty feet broad. During the feast of tabernacles, a tent is erected in front of it. The temple rests on a double row of pillars. It contains, like other synagogues, "Moses' seat," and also a tablet on which the emperor's name, encircled with a golden wreath, is inscribed. Above the latter we read in Hebrew, "Hear, O Israel! the Lord our God is one God: blessed be the glory of the honour of his kingdom for ever and ever." Behind it a three-fold arch has the Hebrew inscription, "Who is like God, the Lord of lords; like God, who is the strong and mighty and exalted Lord!" Beyond this arch stands a large table, bearing a vessel with incense, and six candelabras, alternately lit up by torches, candles, and lanterns. Beside this, the laver is placed. Beyond it is the entrance into the holiest of all, a room square without and round within, into which only the president of the synagogue is allowed to enter. Thirteen rolls of the law are placed on as many tables, one for each of the tribes, and the thirteenth for Moses. At the very west end, and behind the holiest of all, are two tables on which, in letters of gold, the ten commandments are engraven in Hebrew. Around it on either side are book-presses which contain all the Hebrew manuscripts in the possession of the Chinese Jews, as it is deemed a profanation to keep any Hebrew book in a private building. Before these presses are tables with candelabras and vases of flowers. The Chinese Jews possess the following portions of the Bible, viz.:—The five books of Moses, divided into fifty-three lessons (for the various Sabbaths), each constituting a separate roll; the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, which, with Jonah and parts of Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Hosea, Zecharias, and some chapters from the books of Chronicles, form what are termed the "ritual books." They are not acquainted with the prophecies of Ezekiel, and possess only a small portion of the book of Daniel. Joshua, part of Judges, and of Kings, constitute their historical works. The Haftora (or the part of the Bible

read after the law, on Sabbaths and on feasts) consists of the books of Esther, Ezra, part of Nehemiah, and the first two books of Maccabees. The Hebrew dialect known amongst them consists of a mixture of pure Hebrew and Chinese. The liturgy in use is composed of fifty-two books, and contains ordinances for the various feasts and prayers, which mostly consist of extracts from the Psalms and other portions of Scripture. Their chants are said to resemble those of the western Jews. During prayer they turn in the direction of Jerusalem, or towards the west. The worshippers enter the synagogue barefoot, but do not wear any festive garments. Indeed, in summer, they are naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth tied round their waist. The person who reads in the law, occupies, as in other synagogues, "Moses' seat." Beside him are two officers, whose duty it is to correct any mistakes. The Jews wear blue hats and white cotton coverings with fringes (the *talith*). The distinctive badge of the Rabbi is a red silk scarf, which he throws from the right shoulder round the left arm, and fastens in front by a knot. Like their brethren in other lands, the Chinese Jews observe the Sabbath-day and the rite of circumcision. Their great synagogue was swept away by a flood in 1446, but speedily restored. In 1600 a fire, and in 1642, another flood destroyed it. But it was always rebuilt, and copies of the sacred books were either preserved or procured from neighbouring places.¹

From an early period the relations between the Jews and Egyptians were very intimate. Many instances of this are met with even in biblical times. But these occurrences, their settlement in the city which Alexander the Great built and called after his name, as well as their subsequent history, and the rearing of the rival temple in Heliopolis, to which the passage Isaiah xix. 18, 19 was applied, belong to a former period of our history. The Jews of Egypt enjoyed considerable privileges, and for a long time, on the whole, a greater amount of liberty and safety than

¹ Comp. Delitzsch's *Jüd. Poesie*, pp. 59, &c.; Jost's *Gesch.*, &c. vol. i., Index. These authors have collected interesting particulars from the writings of the Missionaries Kögler and Gozavi.

did their brethren in other countries. They were not only under the direction of a chief of their own, termed Alabarch, but had even a kind of Sanhedrim. The temple of Heliopolis, built by the fugitive high-priest Onias, was to have rivalled not only in importance but in beauty that of Jerusalem. It was raised on a basis sixty feet high, and the altar at the entrance of it was similar to that of Jerusalem. Instead of the golden candlestick which graced the temple of Judea, a golden crown was suspended in front of the veil. The temple of Heliopolis was destroyed by Vespasian.¹ The Jews had also many other synagogues throughout Egypt. The most magnificent of these was in Alexandria. Tradition describes its splendour in almost fabulous terms, and declares that the person who had not worshipped there, had not witnessed the glory of Israel.² It rose like a large basilica, and was said sometimes to have contained a number of worshippers twice as great as that which Moses led out of Egypt. Seventy golden chairs, richly studded with gems, were placed in it for the members of the Sanhedrim. In the middle of the synagogue was the wooden platform, occupied by the person who led the devotions. As one rose to read in the law or during prayers, an officer waved a flag, and the vast congregation responded from all parts of the building. The worshippers did not sit promiscuously, but were arranged according to trades or guilds, so that a stranger might be able at once to join himself to his own craft. The synagogue at Alexandria was finally destroyed by Trajan.

The Egyptian Jews continued in the enjoyment of peace under Roman domination till the time of Caius Caligula, about the year 36 of our era. But the readiness with which the Gentiles then rose against the Hebrews, proves that the public mind must have been long excited against them. Nor is it difficult to understand the cause of this. Egypt was no longer what it once had been. Its Jewish inhabitants were now, if not the

¹ Comp. J. H. Othonis *Historia Doct. Mishnic.* p. 24. This author, however, erroneously places the temple in Alexandria. Comp. also Delitzsch, *ut supra*.

² Jer. Joma, p. 43; Succah, p. 55.

most learned, yet the most industrious and wealthy in the land. Their number, privileges, thriving condition, and the advantages accruing from their constant connexion with their brethren in other countries, were a continual source of annoyance to the Egyptians. The first opportunity which presented itself for displaying their feelings was eagerly seized. During a visit to Alexandria, the Jewish King Agrippa was exposed to the open scorn of the Alexandrian mob. Flaccus Avillius, the Roman governor, tolerated if he did not connive at this conduct. Encouraged by this, the populace soon increased in violence. The Emperor Caius, of whose reign it would be difficult to say whether madness or wickedness was its most prominent characteristic, had taken the fancy of insisting upon the universal adoration of his statue. On pretence of shewing respect to the emperor, the Alexandrians attempted to place the idol in the various synagogues. The Jews resisted, and in the contest some of their sanctuaries were burnt down, others violated, and statues of the emperor set up in them. The occasion seemed favourable, and Flaccus, instead of interfering to restore order, despatched messengers to assure the emperor of the attachment of his Alexandrian subjects. At the same time he suspended the privileges of the Jews on pretence of their resistance to the imperial wishes. The populace now rose against the Jews in various districts of Egypt, profaned their synagogues, and practised all manner of cruelties upon them. In Alexandria, the Jews had, not from necessity, but from choice, inhabited two separate quarters of the city. They were now shut up in one of these. Many were obliged to remain in the streets, exposed to hunger and the inclemency of the weather. Meanwhile the mob pillaged and burnt their dwellings. All business was at a stand, and everywhere the shops were shut. Many Jews perished from want, others from overcrowding, others were brutally murdered by the populace, who hurried them off to the market-place, burnt them alive, trampled them under foot, and even dragged them along the streets till their mangled members covered the pavement. Neither sex, age, nor dignity were respected. Of the members of

the Sanhedrim, thirty-eight were, by order of Flaccus, publicly scourged to death; three were deprived of their property, and chastised; others were crucified. The Jewish females were ordered to eat pork: in case of refusal, they were either given up to prostitution or to torture. During the whole time that these infamous deeds were perpetrated, the populace feasted and made merry with games and rioting. The Jews had probably at first attempted to resist these unprovoked attacks; at any rate, the plea of a search after weapons, and of disarming the Jews, afforded pretext for continual acts of violence. Meanwhile, the chiefs of the congregation had resolved on appealing to the emperor. Unfortunately, they intrusted the petition to Flaccus, who did not transmit it to Rome. The Jews then applied to their countryman, King Agrippa, who was a favourite with the emperor. He forwarded their petition, together with an account of the conduct and motives of Flaccus. Caligula immediately sent Bassus to depose and punish the presumptuous governor. Flaccus was enjoying the pleasures of the table when the imperial envoy appeared to lead him in chains to the isle of Andros. A year afterwards, he was cut in pieces by order of the emperor. No sooner did tidings of this unexpected deliverance reach the Jewish quarter, than a general burst of thanksgiving rose from every Jewish home.

But the change of governor did not bring the hoped-for relief. The mob had learnt to indulge unchecked in its hatred of the Jews. Insult and licentiousness had not only been tolerated, but a way discovered by which to procure money more easily than by industry. Accordingly, the disturbances were soon renewed. At last a deputation was despatched to the emperor, to induce him to revoke the privileges which the law had hitherto accorded to the Jews. At the head of this deputation was Apion, well known in Alexandria as the author of an Egyptian history, a work none the less popular that in its pages the shafts of bitter irony were so frequently directed against the Jews. The Jews met this measure by a counter-deputation, at the head of which was the brother of the Alabarch, Philo, the celebrated eclectic

Jewish philosopher.¹ The Jews secured in Rome the friendly offices of Agrippa, who providentially was in the capital at the time. The Egyptians gained for their cause Helicon, a special favourite of the emperor. Thus prepared, both parties awaited the arrival of the emperor in Rome. But though their petitions were handed to Caligula, their cause was not immediately heard. The ambassadors accordingly followed the emperor to Puteoli, where, to their dismay, the Jews learned that, without examination, the emperor had decided in favour of their opponents. Still they persisted, and an audience was granted, which painfully illustrates the state of the empire at the time. While both parties were each urging its cause, the emperor went through one of his palaces ordering improvements, &c., and only occasionally accosting the deputies in his own peculiar way. Caligula reproached the Jews as being the only people who refused to own his claims to divinity. At this the Alexandrians shouted assent, and accused their opponents of even refusing to offer sacrifices for the emperor's welfare. It was in vain that the Jews denied the latter charge. The emperor retorted, that it did not matter though they offered *for* him, if they refused to sacrifice *to* him. This altercation was intermixed with some of the emperor's wonted follies, and with blasphemies against the God of Israel. Silence now ensued, during which the emperor continued his tour of inspection, the ambassadors following him. Of a sudden he turned round to ask the Jews why they refused to eat pork. Shouts of laughter greeted this query. In vain the Jews urged, that every people had its peculiar customs. It was evident the emperor was only in a mood to deride them. At last, when questioned as to their claims for civic rights, they referred to documents. The emperor then refused to continue the audience, and dismissed them with the remark, that after all these people were not so wicked, but rather to be pitied, for not discovering that he really was a god. Philo and his friends returned without having succeeded. At Agrippa's intercession, Palestine was indeed exempted from adoring the Roman god,

¹ Philo, *Legatio ad Cajum*, v. Opera.

but their co-religionists in Alexandria remained exposed to the fury of the rabble. Happily the world was soon freed from Caligula, and his successor Claudius restored to the Jews their ancient privileges.

Five-and-twenty years had elapsed since the above events had taken place, and the Jews of Alexandria were beginning to recover their former prosperity, when the storm broke out afresh. The former dissensions had left a feeling of mutual distrust and bitterness, and the Jews and Gentiles kept almost entirely aloof from each other. But a popular assembly had been convoked to consult about some embassy to Nero, at which, unfortunately, some Jews made their appearance. This was the signal for an outbreak. A cry of treason was raised. The mob attacked the Jews. Some were killed while fleeing, others flew to arms, and soon all Alexandria was in commotion. The Jews attempted to set fire to the amphitheatre, and thus to destroy the multitude there assembled; but the governor, Tiberius Alexander, an apostate Jew, marched down the Roman garrison, with leave not only to kill the resisting, but to plunder and burn down the Jewish quarter. A desperate struggle now ensued, and blood literally flowed down the streets of the Delta, as the principal quarter of the Jews was termed. The steady onset of the regular and well-disciplined troops overcame the desperate courage of the Jews. A carnage commenced, in which, without distinction, old and young, male and female, were cut down. The glare of the burning houses lit up that night of horror, and discovered a multitude of bodies covering the streets. Five thousand had already fallen, and probably the whole Jewish population would have been exterminated if they had not implored quarter.

Once again, after the destruction of Jerusalem, a number of Jewish Zealots, who escaped to Africa, had almost involved their countrymen there in fresh troubles. The recollection of their past sufferings induced the Jews of Alexandria to resist the solicitations of the fugitives to rise against the Gentiles. The ringleaders, and many of their confederates, in all 600

persons, were delivered to the Roman authorities; but some fled to Thebais. An attempt at resistance proved vain, and the captives chose to undergo the most exquisite tortures rather than own fealty to the emperor. Thus perished the remainder of that resolute band.

From Egypt the Jews had, since their first settlement, spread towards the west, and occupied Lybia and Cyrene. Indeed, Ptolomeus Soter, the Egyptian king, had transported them into these districts, and accorded them great privileges. The persecutions which we have described swelled their number the more, that they enjoyed full toleration in these provinces. So thoroughly did the Jews remain separate from the other inhabitants, that in describing the population, Strabo enumerates them as a distinct class.¹ The materials for their history are but scanty. We know that a Cyrenian Jew, Jason, wrote a work on the victory of the Maccabees, part of which is preserved in the Apocryphal Book which bears that name. In Berenice, the modern Tripolis, the capital of Cyrene, the Jews must have possessed considerable influence, as an inscription on a recently discovered monument indicates. After a long period of undisturbed prosperity, they seem, during the reign of Augustus, to have been obstructed in the exercise of their religion, and specially to have been prevented from sending their usual contributions to Jerusalem.² An application to Rome brought them relief from this interference.

Thus matters continued prosperously till after the destruction of Jerusalem, when one of the fugitive Zealots, Jonathan, endeavoured, by the practice of magic, to rally followers round his standard. The peaceably disposed amongst the Jews denounced the plot to Catullus, the Roman governor, ere it had time to develop. The yet unarmed followers of the impostor were surprised, and many of them slain. At last Jonathan himself was captured. In revenge, he denounced on the rack the noblest of the Jews and all his personal opponents, as secret accomplices in the plot. Apparently glad of the excuse, Catullus cruelly slew

¹ Comp. Joseph. Antiq., xiv. 7. 2.

² Joseph. Antiq., xvi. 6. 1.

about 3000 Jews, and confiscated their goods. To give an appearance of justice to these proceedings, he resorted to the fiction of a widely-spread conspiracy, in which fortunately some of the most respected persons, such as the historian Josephus, were said to have been implicated. A strict investigation proved the groundlessness of this charge. Catullus died soon afterwards in contempt and obscurity. About the same time, and probably in connexion with these disturbances, the Jewish temple of Heliopolis, in Egypt, was closed by order of Vespasian, and during the governorship of Lupus. Pontinus, his successor in Alexandria, despoiled it of all its treasures. It had stood altogether for about 220 years.

The writings of the New Testament, and the statements of Philo, confirm other accounts which detail the spread of Judaism and of Jews throughout Egypt, Cyrene, Lybia, and even Ethiopia. Philo computes the number of his countrymen in these regions at a million of souls.¹ Recent investigations have brought to light a number of interesting particulars connected with the Jews of Ethiopia.² Until lately various rumours had been current about them. Thus it was asserted by some that Minilek, a son of King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, had there founded a Jewish dynasty. At all events an Ethiopian chronicle mentions a Jewish queen, Sague, who, in the beginning of the tenth century, drove a Christian king, Deland, from his throne, and founded a dynasty, which reigned for three and a half centuries. Travellers record that up to the close of the sixteenth century, the mountainous districts of Ethiopia were inhabited by Jews. Their posterity, forced to abandon their religion, are said to be still easily recognised by the features peculiar to the Jewish race. In Gondar, the principal city of Abyssinia, there is still a Jewish quarter inhabited by about sixty families. The Jews are called by the nations "Falasha," or wanderers, but they repudiate that name. From the peculiar contents of their sacred canon, the absence of a fast to com-

¹ Philo adversus Flaccum.

² Comp. an interesting paper in Frankel's *Monats Schrift*, Novr. 1853, p. 423.

memorate the destruction of the second temple, and a number of practices similar to those of the Alexandrian Jewish sect of the Therapeutae, it has been inferred that they originally came from Alexandria in the second century before our era. Their present customs indicate a strange mixture of corrupt Judaism and of equally corrupt Christianity. Amongst other superstitious rites, they celebrate on the twelfth of every month a feast in honour of St. Michael. They divide the year into lunar months, and intercalate a month of two weeks at regular intervals of four years. Fifty days after the passover they have the feast of Marar, in commemoration of the giving of the Law. On the fifteenth day of every month, they celebrate the feast of tabernacles. The fourth Sabbath of the month is deemed peculiarly solemn. The feast of drums (of trumpets, or the new-year?) takes place on the first of the seventh month. Ten days after it is the feast of Astarte, or of the appearance of God to Jacob. On that day the sins of the past year are supposed to be forgiven. This is also commemorated on the tenth day of every month. On the thirteenth day of the seventh month is the feast of booths. Amato-so is a feast on which prayer is offered on the top of the mountains. They observe a great number of fasts, said, variously, to have been instituted by kings and prophets—some lasting six, ten, and even eleven days. Generally they fast three times every week, on Mondays, Thursdays, and Fridays. Their canonical books, which are in the language of the country, contain also some of the Apocrypha. They also possess some non-canonical writings. They have a kind of order of monks established amongst them, and suppose that some of the Old Testament saints practised celibacy. A person who touches a dead body, has to be purified on the third day with the ashes of a red goat, which had been offered up by a priest. The Ethiopian Jews are ignorant of Hebrew. The accounts which they give of the occasion, and the course of their wanderings, are manifestly fabulous.

Having briefly traced the dispersion of Israel to the farthest limits of Asia and Africa, we return to inquire into their con-

dition in Italy. Passing over the legend which traces the origin of Rome to a grandson of Esau—a fable possibly due to the Jewish identification of that empire with Edom—we have reason to believe that Jews had, along with the Phenicians, early visited if not settled in various parts of Europe. Into this question we cannot at present enter further than to say that they came speedily in contact with the Masters of the world. Under Pompey, Jews were sold in Rome as slaves. They soon, however, gained their liberty, and at first secured the good-will of the authorities. Julius Cæsar was so great a patron of the Jews, that after his murder their lamentations rent the air. Augustus was at first an enemy to all foreign religions, and even praised Caius, the son of Agrippa, for not having sacrificed in Jerusalem.¹ But as he advanced in years he grew more superstitious, and finally ordered that sacrifices for his welfare should be offered in the Jewish temple. Under his reign the Jews attained to a high degree of intellectual culture. Thus amongst the friends and intimates of Horace was a Jewish poet, Fuscus Aristius.² The kindly feelings of Augustus towards the Jews were no doubt increased by his private friendship for Herod, and the many tokens of fidelity and attachment which that monarch had given. The religion of the Jews was at that time not only tolerated, but every facility was given them for the exercise of their rites. Thus it was arranged, that when the distribution of corn and money (to a certain class of citizens according to ancient custom) fell on a Sabbath, the Jews received their portion on the following day. But the exclusiveness and the isolation of the Jews at Rome, raised against them popular prejudice. The Romans, who were indeed willing to assign some place to the national Deity of the Jews, could not understand on what ground the Jews kept so much aloof, nor why they despised them and their worship, as if the gods of an empire which had overcome and was virtually reigning over the Jews, were to yield to the deity of a conquered country. Their practices also excited popular suspicion. Even the better informed gave way to

¹ Suet. Octav. 93.

² Hor. lib. i. Ep. x.; Sat. 1, 9, 60.

prejudices. Thus Cicero bitterly inveighed against their practice of sending large annual contributions to the temple. He dreaded their number and influence in the popular assemblies, and even denounced their creed, attempting to prove how little acceptable to the gods that nation must be whose country had been subdued.¹ However, Cicero's political opinions may in some measure account for this aversion. But even these denunciations prove that the Jews were at the time numerous and influential in Rome. Indeed, Cæcilius Niger, Cicero's successor in the government of Sicily, was a Jew. As Judaism became better known, and the political state of Palestine one of increasing subjection to Rome, this contempt and hatred increased. Rome tolerated, indeed, all religions, but only because there was a bond of affinity, both in religion and in practice, between all kinds of Polytheism. All readily admitted of being incorporated in the Roman body politic, and soon became integral parts of it. Not so the religion of the Jews. Not that the Jewish rites were so poor, empty, and meaningless,² for they possessed at least the powerful charm of mysteriousness; but as in both cases religion and life were so closely intertwined, while their fundamental principles were antagonistic, Romans and Jews lived side by side, but always remained strangers to and entirely separate from each other. Besides, the continual recurrence of Sabbaths, of feasts, of circumcision—their manifest attachment to those of their own nation, and their equally manifest contempt of heathenism, if not of heathens,³ contributed to embitter the public mind. Indeed, the grossest misapprehensions prevailed among *all* classes, as to the origin, history, and creed of the Jews. Thus even Tacitus (60 A.D.), recounting the current traditions of their origin, in which most other heathen historians agree,⁴ relates that the Jews derived their name from mount Ida (Idæi, Judæi); that they had at one time been expelled from Crete; that Jerusalem had been called after Hierosolymus, who, with Judah, was the leader of their

¹ Cicero pro Flacco, c. 28.

² Tacit. Hist., v. 5.

³ Juvenal, Sat. xiv. 96, 106.

⁴ Tacit. Hist., lib. v. c. 2, &c.

wanderings; that they had found their way into Egypt, whence they were expelled on account of their leprosy. They had left that country under the leadership of Moses. A troop of wild asses had conducted them to a spring, when they were almost perishing from thirst. On this account they ever afterwards adored the golden head of an ass, which was kept in their innermost sanctuary. Their abstinence from swine's flesh was accounted for, either on the ground that they adored that animal,¹ or else because swine were peculiarly liable to leprosy. Their observance of the Sabbath was variously traced to the service of Saturn (to whom the Romans had dedicated that day), the supposed god of the Ideans, or else to the superiority of the star of that name. Some reported that the Jews fasted on Sabbaths,² others that they spent the day in idleness³ and feastings.⁴ It was also suggested that the Jews observed the Sabbath, as being the day on which they got possession of Palestine. They were described as exceedingly dangerous to the state, on account of their contempt for the religion of the Romans, and their hatred of all but their co-religionists.⁵ Their rites were said to be contemptible, and their whole creed empty and unmeaning. Circumcision formed a theme of never-failing scorn,⁶ and was stated by some to have been derived from the Egyptians.⁷ Various opinions prevailed as to the origin of the city and name of Jerusalem (Hierosolymae). One party traced it to the people of Solymi, celebrated in Homeric verse. Again, the blowing of rams' horns, the use of branches in some of the feasts, and the name of Levites (supposed to be derived from Evius), were taken as indications of their service of Bacchus. On the other hand, some accused them either of Atheism, or else of the adoration of an invisible god, or even of the sky and of the clouds.⁸ The Jewish hatred of the Romans is described to have been such, that they would not point out the road to a stranger, or conduct

¹ Petron. Sat., Frag. ed. Burm. p. 683.

² Petron., *ut supra*; Sueton. Octav., 76.

³ Tacitus et Juvenalis, *ut supra*.

⁶ Hor. Sat. i., 5 (100); Martial vii. Ep. 29; vii. 34; Petron. et Juven., *ut supra*.

⁷ Herodot., ii. c. 104.

³ Rut. Cl. Itiner., lib. i. 383.

⁴ Legat. ad. Caicum, § 40.

⁸ Juven., *ut supra*.

the thirsty to a well.¹ However, the superstitious Romans imitated their rites, and many of them were even circumcised.² Jews were frequently resorted to for soothsaying and the preparation of charms, or consulted as to the future.³ In Rome the Jews engaged in all kinds of trade. The poorer classes are ridiculed as vendors of matches and similar trifles;⁴ others are characterized as beggars, as in abject poverty, or as farming the ground where Numa had been wont to meet his friendly nymph. They seem to have inhabited separate quarters of the city. The place presently occupied by the Vatican and the Tiber island are pointed out as among their ancient dwelling-places. As in other countries, they had elders, who, as far as was practicable, administered the Jewish law. They also maintained a continual intercourse with Palestine.⁵ Under the reign of Augustus, 8000 Roman Jews are said to have joined a deputation from Palestine. Their number at that time is calculated to have amounted to 20,000. The first direct persecution of the Jews occurred under the reign of Tiberius, who sent 4000 Jewish youths against the robbers of Sardinia, purposely exposing them to the inclemencies of the climate, and who banished all the others from Rome.⁶ The ground of this decree is stated to have been the emperor's desire to suppress all foreign superstitions, more especially the Jewish, which numbered many proselytes. Josephus explains that a certain Jewish impostor, who acted as a Rabbi in Rome, had, in concert with three other Jews, succeeded in proselytizing Fulvia, a noble Roman lady. On pretence of collecting for the temple, they received from her large sums, which they appropriated to their own purposes. The fraud was detected, and Sejan, who at that time was high in the emperor's confidence, used the opportunity for inciting his master to a general persecution of the Jews. After the death of Sejan, the Jews were allowed to return to Rome. Of the mad attempts of Caligula to be adored by them, we have already spoken. Claudius (41-45 A. D.) again

¹ Juven. Sat. xiv. 103.

² Juven. Sat. vi. 542-547.

³ *Ut supra.*

⁴ Mart., i. 42; xii. 46.

⁵ Acts xxviii. 21.

⁶ Tacit. Annal., ii. 85; Sueton. in Tiber., 36.

banished the Jews from Rome, probably on account of the disputations and tumults excited by them in consequence of the spread of Christianity.¹ Nero, who persecuted the Christians, had apparently not molested the Jews.

Such was the chequered history of the dispersed of Israel during the period which ends with the destruction of Jerusalem. Their wanderings and settlements in other parts of Europe, and the events which befell them in the Roman empire and elsewhere, will form the subject of subsequent history.²

¹ Sueton. in Claud., 25.

² The history of the Samaritans will be given in another place.

CHAPTER IV.

POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS STATE OF THE JEWS AFTER THE
DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

THE destruction of Jerusalem, and the final subjugation of the land of Israel, do not seem to have permanently affected the condition of the Jews either in or out of Palestine. Immediately after the taking of the capital, Vespasian is said to have instituted an inquiry after the descendants of the house of David.¹ This investigation was the signal for a fresh persecution. But the search could not have been very extensive or long continued, as certain Rabbins could at a later period claim kindred with the royal family. At all events the Christian Jews, who, in accordance with the Lord's injunction, had left Jerusalem and fled beyond Jordan, escaped unmolested. However, two Roman ordinances were promulgated, meant to indicate the entire subjugation of Palestine. Had they been fully carried out, every trace of Jewish nationality would soon have disappeared. The first of these enjoined that as the gods of the Romans had manifestly conquered the Jewish divinity and destroyed his temple, the annual contribution hitherto paid by all Jews to Jerusalem should in future be rendered to Rome. The second assigned the village of Emmaus to 800 old or disabled soldiers, and empowered the Roman governor Bassus to parcel out and to sell the rest of the land. The first of these measures involved not only the payment of an additional tax, but was a continual national and religious affront. The inhabitants of Palestine had previously groaned under the burden of an excessive taxation, levied in the most

¹ Euseb. Hist. Eccles., lib. iii. c. 12.

offensive and often unjust manner. Golden crowns, nominally a free-will offering, but in reality an impost, had to be presented to generals and governors; all property was subject to a land-tax; every individual had to pay a kind of poll-money, for which, in the case of farmers and agricultural labourers, the landlords were directly responsible. Agriculture and commerce were hampered by the exaction of excessive customs and duties. To all these imposts that of the temple-didrachm or half-shekel, (about one and sixpence of our money) was now added. It will readily be conceived that this forced diversion of a religious contribution to the support of a hated idolatry must have been felt to be peculiarly galling. The other ordinance which decreed the sale of land was easily evaded. If Bassus ever attempted its enforcement, he must speedily have discovered that purchasers could not readily be found for the ground. Not many foreigners would be willing to endanger their persons or risk their capital in a country which was in such a state of political and religious fermentation. To prevent Jews from purchasing property from the Roman authorities, the Sanhedrim, or highest religious tribunal, decreed that all sales of land made after the destruction of Jerusalem were to be held invalid, even though the original proprietors should afterwards give their consent to the transaction. This decree, known as the 'Din Siccaricon,' the law of the Siccarii (a name applied first to the Jewish, and afterwards to the Roman freebooters and oppressors), secured its object.¹ The spiritual censures of the Sanhedrim were more feared than the threats of the Romans, and the land remained unsold. Besides passing the two enactments to which we have referred, those in power would, as opportunity offered, attempt to deprive the Jews of slaves and other movable property. But their lives were secure, and a heavy penalty protected them from molestation on the part of their Gentile neighbours.

Vespasian did not long survive his Jewish triumph. He died on the 21st June, A.D. 79, much as he had lived, proud

¹ Ghittin, 55, b; i. v. 6; Tosifta, c. iii.

and unconcerned. When he felt his end approaching, he observed, in ironical allusion to the deification of his predecessors, 'I suppose I am becoming a god.' At his express request he was lifted from his bed, as he wished to die *standing*, as became a Roman emperor.¹

Titus was about thirty-nine years old when he succeeded Vespasian. His brother Domitian, envious of his merit and honours, accused him of having forged the title to the succession. The former connexions of Titus sufficiently indicated that the present occupants of the throne had risen from comparatively humble circumstances. His first wife, Arpicidia, had been the daughter of a Roman knight. After her decease, he married Martia Fulvia, of whom he had a daughter. In Palestine he formed a connexion with the Jewish Queen Bernice, and probably on her account repudiated his wife. Nature and art seem to have combined in favouring Titus.² His face was handsome, and his figure, though not tall, commanding. With these natural advantages he combined gallantry, excellent horsemanship, grace of deportment, and great muscular power. Considerable attention had also been paid to his education. He possessed accomplishments which were highly esteemed at that time. He was a beautiful and rapid writer, a good musician, an engaging companion, well versed in Roman and Greek literature, and even an author.³ After Vespasian's accession to the purple, Titus was made prefect of the prætorian guard. But in this situation he not only disappointed the hopes of his friends, but excited the lively apprehensions of all. His licentiousness was infamous even in dissolute Rome. Along with this he gave such unmistakable indications of ■ thirst for blood as painfully recalled the reign of Nero.⁴ Happily Titus did not realize these fears, or his reign at least was of too short duration to display the dark side of his character. It only lasted two and a half years, during which some

¹ Sueton. in Vespas., sects. xxiii. and xxiv.

² Tacit. Hist., ii. 5.

³ Sueton. in Titum, sect. iii., &c.

⁴ Sueton. *ut supra*, sect. vi. and vii. The two passions are very frequently combined. Comp. some appropriate psychological remarks in Schubert's *Symbolik des Traumes*, p. 99.

severe disasters befell the empire. Thus, a fearful eruption of Mount Vesuvius buried the cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii. In this catastrophe perished Agrippa, son of Drusilla, and nephew of the last Jewish king Agrippa,—the last member of the Jewish royal family whose death history records.¹ Then a pestilence ravaged Italy with such virulence, that at one time its daily victims in Rome and its neighbourhood amounted to 10,000.² Again, a dreadful fire destroyed, during three days and nights, many of the principal buildings in Rome, and seemed specially to direct its fury against the Capitol. The Jews naturally viewed these visitations in the light of national judgments, in consequence of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the sanctuary. The reign of Titus is often represented as that of the kindest and wisest monarch; and in confirmation, his well-known saying is cited when he had spent a day without having done some good, "Friends, I have lost a day." It is not difficult to decide whether such unqualified praise is justly due to his brief reign.

As unfavourable impressions preceded Titus's accession, so unbounded hopes of good were entertained of the future reign of Domitian, his successor; but the dreams of the return of a golden age were speedily dissipated. It was suspected, and probably not unjustly, that Domitian had poisoned his brother. His subsequent conduct, amongst others, to Julia, Titus's daughter, confirmed this rumour, which in part arose from his well-known jealousy and hatred of his brother. Julia was separated from her husband, made the mistress of her uncle, and afterwards forced to use means for procuring abortion, under which she died. But this crime was not a solitary instance of Domitian's debauchery and cruelty. Not only Jews and Christians, but Gentiles of all classes, fell victims to his suspicions, to his whims, or to his cupidity after their possessions. Contemporary historians allege, that from the frequency of these executions, it was at last found desirable or necessary to discontinue their registration. The trophies of these judicial murders were daily

¹ Joseph. Antiq., xx. 7. 2.

² Suet. in Titum; Dio in Titum.

affixed round the public tribune. In the language of an eye-witness, "the sea was covered with the banished, and the rocks reddened with the blood of those who had been exposed on them." The system of regularly employing spies and denouncers (which had originated with Titus before he became emperor) was now fully carried out, and any person who had either private or public opponents, or a fortune, was no longer safe from public prosecution. To the general avarice of his ancestors, and of the Flavian family generally, pressing requirements were added, as the dissipation of Domitian had ruined his fortunes, while his unbridled passions always led to fresh demands. In order to have an excuse for confiscating properties and legacies, new crimes were invented, and the most unsatisfactory testimony was held sufficient to insure conviction.

Under the reign of Domitian, ecclesiastical history chronicles the second general persecution of Christians. During its course, amongst other sufferers, the Apostle John was banished to Patmos. Nor did the Jews escape unmolested. The oppressive character and the peculiar mode of levying the taxes, which were specially exacted from them, induced some either to conceal their origin, or at least not publicly to declare themselves Jews. Notwithstanding the energetic remonstrances of the spiritual authorities, others, amongst them, perhaps, some who had abandoned Judaism, even submitted to a painful operation to efface the bodily mark of their descent.¹ As thereby some might have succeeded in evading payment of the *Jewish tax*, denouncers were employed to bring the offenders to justice. A Roman author² speaks of the disgust with which, when young, he had witnessed a public examination instituted upon the body of a man ninety years of age, for the purpose of discovering his Jewish descent. As many members of the Church were of Jewish extraction, the Christians were often molested in this manner. Indeed, although the authorities had learned to distinguish between the two parties, and were ready at every occasion to persecute Christians as such, it sometimes served

¹ Tosifta, Shab. 16.

² Sueton. in Domit. 12.

their purpose to confound the Church with the Synagogue. An administration such as that of Domitian was necessarily detested, and the tyrant was kept in continual apprehension for his safety. It was under the influence of such feelings that, when informed that some of the maternal relatives of Jesus Christ were still in Palestine, he summoned the grandchildren of Judas, the Lord's brother, to Rome. But theirs was not a worldly ambition or earthly grandeur. Their humble appearance, and the marks of hard manual labour which they bore, convinced even Domitian of the groundlessness of his suspicions. They were accordingly dismissed.¹ Jewish authorities record that, at the same time, commissioners were appointed to inquire into the character of the distinctive doctrines of the Synagogue. The result was favourable to the Jews. They reported, however, against the restrictions which prevented a fuller intercourse between Jews and heathens, and that, in their opinion, the property of heathens was not so jealously respected by the Jewish law as that of Israelites. The latter suggestion was immediately attended to, and the Jewish patriarch published an ordinance, by which the properties of Jew and Gentile were placed on the same footing.

If Domitian persecuted Jews and Christians, it will readily be believed that *proselytes* were objects of his special rigour. The number of converts to Christianity was continuously and largely increasing. Many of these had, no doubt, as at the first, passed from heathenism to Christianity, through the preparatory stage of Judaism. To distinguish those who remained, or even who had first become Jewish proselytes from those who, from the first, or ultimately, joined the Church, is often extremely difficult. Heathen authorities frequently designate both parties as Atheists, without distinguishing between them, while ecclesiastical writers and Jewish authors,² each claim for their own party the sufferers for conscience sake. Under these

¹ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iii. 20.

² Even modern Jewish writers, with the exception of Dr. Jost, take most unaccountable liberties with historical documents for party purposes.

circumstances we can only balance the probabilities. It is, however, certain that many Romans, and amongst them persons of rank, had, at that time, either adopted Jewish practices, or wholly joined the synagogue. Such were executed, or at least banished, and their property confiscated. Amongst them were *Flavius Clemens*, and *Domitilla* his wife. Clemens, whom a Christian authority (although without sufficient proof) claims for the Church,¹ was a noble Roman, closely related to Domitian. He had formerly shared with the emperor the consular dignity, and it was supposed that his children might even succeed to the empire. But Clemens was denounced for attachment (secret or public) to the synagogue. His rank and circumstances did not protect him: he was executed, and Domitilla banished.² But even this punishment did not satisfy the emperor. Domitilla, who had afterwards become a *Christian* convert,³ was soon sentenced to share her husband's fate. Another sufferer of note was Glabrio, a man of high rank. He was exposed to wild beasts, but overcame and killed the lion, which had been let loose upon him. This circumstance, however, did not preserve his life. Jewish authorities record also the persecution of one Bar Kleonimos, who was a proselyte.⁴ In connexion with his history, we may mention—without fully warranting all the particulars of the account—that a report circulated amongst the Jews, that the emperor had prevailed on the senate to pass a decree ordering a wholesale slaughter of all the Jews in the Roman empire. Tidings of this ordinance caused great alarm in Judea. Although the season was unfavourable, the patriarch, in company with three of the leading Rabbins, hastened to Rome, if possible, to avert the impending calamity. The fact of this journey is sufficiently attested, though some of its details exhibit marks of traditional ornaments. When the Rabbins reached the neighbourhood of Rome, the noise of the yet distant capital so forcibly

¹ "The Clementines." *Vide* Neander's Ch. Hist., vol. i. p. 44.

² Dio Cassius ex epit. Xiphil. lxxvii., xii. 14. (Domitian.)

³ Euseb. Hist. Eccles., iii. 18.

⁴ Aboda Sara, 11, a.

brought before their minds the sad contrast between the busy capital of the West and their own desolate Zion, that they could not refrain from bursting into tears. Only one of their number retained his composure, and suggested to his friends, by way of comfort, that if God had thus mercifully dealt by his enemies, the portion reserved for his children would certainly at last prove much more glorious. The part sustained by that Rabbi in the Jewish war which soon followed, but too painfully exhibited the sincerity of these hopes. Arrived at Rome, the Rabbins immediately sought the advice of a senator, well known to them as secretly favouring their cause. The senator's wife, herself a proselyte also, nobly suggested a plan by which to insure the safety of her co-religionists, although at the sacrifice of her husband's life. It seems to have been an ancient practice in Rome to declare a decree void, if one of the senators had died between its enactment and its execution. To take advantage of this provision, the lady suggested that her husband should empty the poisonous contents of the ring which he wore—a precaution always kept in readiness by those who wished to possess the means of anticipating the sudden freaks of Domitian. It is said that the senator followed the advice, after having undergone circumcision. Others report that he applied to Domitian in favour of the Jews, and succeeded, but fell a victim to his zeal. It is added, that this Roman noble—called by the Jews *Ktia bar Shalom*—left his extensive property to the Rabbins who had sought his advice.¹ Certain it is, that if the decree to which we have alluded, ever existed, it was not carried into execution.² Notwithstanding the rigour of the law, conversions to Judaism must have been numerous during the reign of Domitian. Thus a tombstone has been discovered, which records in bad Latin the good deeds of a Roman lady, who, at the age of seventy, had become a proselyte; and is described as “mother” (pro-

¹ Grätz (Gesch., vol. iv. p. 133) refers this history to the time of Domitian; Jost (Gesch., vol. iii. p. 237) to that of Hadrian. We have adopted the view of Grätz, but the chronology of these times is often involved in great difficulties.

² Aboda Sara, 10, b; Deut. Rabba, c. 2.

bably builder or chief supporter) of various synagogues.¹ This lady, called on the tombstone Beturia, was probably the same who is mentioned in Jewish writings as Beruzia and Belurit.² We are informed that before she was formally admitted into the synagogue, she had administered the baptism by which proselytes were initiated to some of her slaves. According to the patriarch's decision in the case, these slaves obtained thereby immediately their freedom, as according to Hebrew law a heathen could not possess Jewish slaves. The lady herself, and all her household, soon afterwards became Jews. Beturia is said to have been well versed in the Scriptures, and in cases of difficulty to have applied directly to the patriarch³ for advice.

The empire was at last relieved of the tyranny of Domitian by his assassination on the 18th September 96. The Empress Domitia, so notorious for her boundless passion for the pantomime Paris, was privy to the plot. She had accidentally seen a list of parties proscribed, and, amongst others, descried her own name on the fatal list.⁴ To anticipate her fate, she immediately entered into negotiations with some of the chamberlains, whose names were also amongst those about to be killed. At the head of the conspirators was Stephen, the steward of Domitian's niece. He had been charged with misappropriation of some funds, and was now prepared and allowed to seek this mode of safety and revenge. To disarm all suspicion, Stephen, who undertook the lead in executing the plot, appeared with his arm bandaged, and in a sling, as if suffering from

¹ The inscription reads as follows :—

Beturia . Pau .
Ila . F. Domi .
Heterne . quos .
Titula . que . bi
Xit . Ann. lxxxvi. , Mens. vi.
Proselyta . Ann. xvi.
Nomine . Sara . Mater .
Synagogarum . Campi .
Et Bolumni .
En . Irenae . Ai .
Kymysis Ay

² Masech. Gerim.

³ Rosh ha-Shan., 17, b.

⁴ Dio Cassius, *ut supra* 15 ; Schlosser, iv. 278 ; Salvador, ii. 422.

some injury. At the appointed hour he presented to Domitian a memorial, purporting to divulge the particulars of a conspiracy which Stephen had discovered. While the emperor was greedily poring over the contents of the memorial, Stephen wounded him in the abdomen with a dagger which he had concealed within his bandage. Domitian, who was endowed with great bodily strength, immediately precipitated himself on his assailant, and succeeded in throwing him to the ground. A child who never left his chamber was now ordered to bring the emperor a sword which hung over his bed ; but this emergency had been provided against, and only the hilt stuck in the empty scabbard. The child ran to call the guards ; but every door had been locked. A fearful struggle for life or death now ensued. While Domitian held down Stephen, he sought to wrest the dagger from him ; but this murderous weapon was two-edged, and the emperor's fingers were cut off in the attempt. The wretched man literally roared with pain and anger, and, with his stumps, made for the eyes of Stephen ; but the other conspirators hastened to the spot, and the emperor was despatched. It is strange that, like Titus, Domitian should have so much disappointed the expectations of the people. Before his elevation, he cultivated letters, and the first years of his reign were characterized by such liberality and love of justice, that a writer¹ remarks that Roman judges had never before been less accessible to corruption ; but as Domitian gradually imitated the vices of Tiberius and Caligula, his cruelty increased like theirs. At last it became almost a passion. It seemed his chief occupation to invent new torments ; it was his delight first to excite false hopes in his victims, and then to witness their sufferings. When wearied with tormenting men, he would busy himself for hours tormenting animals. The Senate equally hated and dreaded Domitian. Not so the populace, who did not feel the effects of his cruelty, and were amused by the frequent games which he celebrated, and gratified by the splendid buildings which he reared. Domitian was a special favourite of the soldiers, whose pay he raised

¹ Suetonius, *ut supra*.

by one-fourth. So much were the guards attached to him, that when his successor, who probably had been privy to the plot, refused to hand over the conspirators to justice, they took summary vengeance on them.

Nerva, an old and respected senator, was proclaimed Domitian's successor. It is matter of regret that the reign of an emperor equally distinguished for wisdom and moderation, should have been so short, and have occurred under peculiarly unfavourable circumstances. Nerva endeavoured, as much as possible, to retrieve the disastrous consequences of his predecessor's reign. He opened the prisons and recalled the banished. The profession of Judaism, or of Christianity, was no longer punished as a crime.¹ One of the reforms instituted, which proved most grateful to the Jews, was the abolition, or at least the modification, of the special tax, which his predecessors had imposed on them. In acknowledgment of this relief, a medal was struck to commemorate the removal "of the calumny of the Jewish impost." It bears on the reverse a palm-tree, with fruits depending, and the inscription, "*Fisci Judaici calumnia sublata.*"² It will readily be understood, that an energetic reformer, such as Nerva, could not be popular in those degenerate times. The crimes of Domitian had not injured the populace, nor had his vices shocked them, as they bore no greater proportion to theirs than did his rank and means. On the other hand, he had spent immense sums—partly raised by unjust procedure against rich persons—in public amusements. Nerva had neither the inclination nor the means of following the same course. His endeavours lay rather in the direction of curtailing the public expenditure. Accordingly, his popularity declined, and attempts were even made upon his life. The soldiers, who might have insured his safety, could but ill brook the government of an old and immartial senator. To put an end to the discontent, the emperor wisely resolved to conjoin

¹ Dio, lib. lxxviii. 1.

² The "*calumnia*" may either refer to the unjust mode of exacting the tax, or to this, that the mere fact of being a Jew, and taxed for it as a crime, was now felt to be a "*calumnia*," or false accusation, and hence removed.

with himself in the empire Ulpus Trajanus, a Spaniard by birth, whose victorious exploits had procured him both popular favour and the support of the legions.

Soon afterwards Nerva died, having held the reins of government for a period less than two years, and was succeeded by Trajan.

It is not our delightful task to trace the spread of Christianity under the above-mentioned emperors, nor our province to record the struggles and the trials which attended its progress. Yet should we fail to give an accurate sketch of the history of the Hebrew nation, did we not, even at this stage, chronicle the progress of Christianity amongst the Jews since the destruction of Jerusalem.¹ It has already been mentioned that in obedience to the warning given by our Lord, the Christian Israelites, on the approach of the Romans, retired from Jerusalem beyond Jordan, to Pella and its neighbourhood. From the then existing relations between the Jews and Christians, the latter, however averse to Roman domination, or favourable to Jewish nationality, could not have taken part in the last war, even although they had not been directly warned to separate themselves from their guilty brethren. Besides, it was contrary to the spirit of the pure Christianity of those days to engage in any warfare against, or to offer resistance to the heaven-constituted authorities, specially when it was necessarily accompanied with so many atrocities. At first the Christians had no doubt been only considered as a Jewish sect, and had continued to frequent the temple and the synagogue, and to take part in such of the Mosaic rites, as were either not only typical, but also partly national, or else had not yet been wholly accomplished. Such observances gave them ready access to their countrymen without violating their consciences. But in the providence of God, which ever fulfils the ulterior designs of his grace, the separation became daily more decided. Partly the increasing admissions of heathens and proselytes into the Church, partly the increasing reprobation, hatred, and persecutions of the synagogue, as the

¹ For some particulars connected with it, compare also the succeeding chapters.

distinctive spiritual dogmas of the gospel became better known, and the prayerful zeal and devoted piety of its disciples extended its sway, and partly providential circumstances by degrees forced Jewish believers to stand more apart from their unconverted brethren. Even the historical portions of the New Testament bring the operation of these causes to light. There were, indeed, as has already been noticed, two elements in the religion of the Old Testament. Its spiritual element was eternal, and, like seed, it required to spring up, to grow and unfold itself, as it did in Christianity. But, on the other hand, the formal or national element was chiefly typical, and was designed to give place to the wider reality, which it often but faintly prefigured, and in due time to be succeeded by that liberty and universality which became the characteristics of the true Church. All heathenism is based upon the idea of nationality—every nation had its peculiar deities and rites. But true religion must necessarily not only be national but universal. Such, indeed, had been the case with the genuine religion of the Old Testament, as innumerable examples show. Much more was this peculiarity brought out under the dispensation of the Spirit. But manifestly it was possible to develop either the one or the other of these elements. The *formalism* of the synagogue consisted in the isolation and exclusive development of the formal or national element to the neglect of the spiritual. By this isolation, it ceased in fact to be *typical*, and became purely *ceremonial*. The glass vessel which contained, exhibited, and preserved the precious wine, lost its transparency; it became covered, and partially filled with dust. As already indicated in our introductory chapter, during the Babylonish captivity the element of formalism, and with it that of pride of nationality, became the more dominant, that the carnal men of those days were deprived of many of the typical vessels which enclosed the spiritual contents of Judaism—we mean of the temple service. On the return of the exiles to Palestine, the formal tendency so natural to all, remained still in the ascendant. Gradually it engrossed all others, and constituted itself the religion of the Jews. We do not allude to that wall of self-

complacency and pride by which Rabbins and others shut themselves off from all other nations, and even from the unlettered of their own people, but to the general spirit of the synagogue, when we say that in opposition to the spirit of the Old Testament prophecies, and to the fundamental idea of all religion, the ideal of Jewish theologians, and the missionary efforts towards its realization, were in the direction of forcing the promised theocracy into the narrow bounds of Judaism or of a national formal religion, instead of seeking to enlarge Judaism into a great theocracy, and to fuse all individual nationalities into the grand confederacy of a regenerated brotherhood. We notice as manifestations of what we cannot hesitate to call the fundamental spiritual apostasy of the synagogue, their expectation of an earthly Messiah, and their clinging to, and perfecting the form of the law to the utter dereliction of its spirit. To this carnal tendency must be traced the rejection of the Son of God, as well as the origin of that cumbrous and complicated system of formalism, which to this day constitutes Judaism. To this isolation the peculiar relations of Judaism to other religions are also due; and, at least in part, the prominence of the religious element in the successive Jewish wars arose from the prevalence of these national expectations. Rabbinical formalism may, however, as a whole, be characterized as an entirely nationalistic system, *i.e.*, as a purely logical development, designed only for the *mind*, and which presented nothing for the *heart* save bitter and sad recollections.

This system of formalism, which is well known as that of the Talmud, (a work which contains the Jewish traditions,) manifested itself, of course, both in theory and in practice. In the former aspect it induced the laying exclusive value on mere knowledge, or on an acquaintanceship with the niceties and subtleties of Jewish canon-law. In point of practice, it introduced a lax code of morality except on those points which were directly connected with ceremonial observances. The whole of this rationalistic tendency divided itself from the first—as indeed might have been anticipated—into three distinct branches. It

manifested itself either as a pure *formalism*, an attachment to the letter as such, a clinging to things as they were; or it became more decidedly *rationalism*. In the former case it was more matter of memory and mere outward practice, in the latter of knowledge and subtle reasoning. Lastly, it drove those who had deeper religious aspirations, to seek refuge in a mysticism, more or less rationalistic or formalistic, as it ascribed more or less virtue and practical power to acquaintance with certain subjects, or to the observance of certain practices. These three tendencies seem indeed natural to the mind, when left to its own working. Accordingly we meet them in some form or other in every system of natural, and in every corruption of revealed religion. We shall by and by find that these three parties existed and formed distinct schools within the synagogue. Nor can we fail to recognise their representatives in the three sects which existed at the time of the Saviour. If the Pharisees represented the element of pure formalism, the Sadducees were the rationalists, and the Essenes the mystics of those days. Although at that time a scientific separation of these different tendencies had not taken place, an investigation of the tenets and the conduct of the parties in question will sufficiently show the correctness of our classification. These parties stood already distinctly out from each other, though perhaps they were not conscious of their fundamental differences. The next generation saw the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes swept away; but their differences remained and constituted the fundamental principles of the three Jewish schools which existed within the synagogue. And so it always is, that fundamental differences lead to outward manifestations before parties are conscious of the fundamental principles at issue between them, or of the tendencies which each of them is actually developing. The differences which subsist between them are so many attempts of the mind either variously to solve difficulties which are felt by all, or to develop tendencies which are natural to all. They always first appear outwardly, and are then generally accompanied by considerable bitterness and enmity. It is only at a later stage that men become con-

scious of, and scientifically elaborate these tendencies. On the first-mentioned supposition we have, as the case may be, *sects* or *parties* ; on the second we have *schools*.

These tendencies—especially in their peculiarly Jewish manifestations—appeared afterwards also in the Church. They gave a peculiar colouring to those heresies which, in themselves, present so many attempts at solving what the natural mind felt to be difficulties in the system of revealed truth. At first the Church retained such ordinances of the synagogue as were in agreement with the spirit of the Old Testament—such as the simple form of ecclesiastical government by *Ancients* or *Presbyters*. Of these one soon became chief amongst his equals, and was specially designated “bishop” (overseer)—a term indicative at first of duty and office, rather than of emolument or dignity. The introduction of the erroneous Jewish tendencies to which we have referred, was rendered more easy by the very gradual separation of Jewish Christians from the synagogue, and by the influx of Gentiles who had passed into the Church by the transitionary stage of mystic Judaism. Thus it came that a series of heresies sprung up, which, both in form and tendency, are peculiarly Jewish. The various modifications of Gnosticism, and other heresies, are distinctly of Jewish origin, as indeed most of the earlier heresiarchs were either Jews or Samaritans. The separation between the Jews and the Christians was completed by the removal of the Church from Jerusalem to Pella beyond Jordan. Only the first fifteen bishops of Judea were of Jewish descent. The decided estrangement in doctrine and life, which afterwards took place between them, led to the formation of an intermediate party of professing Christians, who still kept either part or the whole of the law, and entertained opinions, more or less unsound, on the person of Christ, and on other subjects. This party, which separated equally from the Church and from the synagogue, split again into sects more or less orthodox, which were known as the Nazarenes, Merites, Ebionites, &c. At the same time the general disposition of the Church gradually partook, under the manifold

provocations offered by the synagogue, more of the bitterness of carnal zeal than of the love of spiritual compassion. The tone of ecclesiastical writers becomes gradually more hostile, not to Judaism but to the Jews—a change this not isolated, but in organic connexion with the general spiritual declension of the period which ushered in the manifestation of Antichrist. Jewish authors even charge the Christians of those days with seeking to ingratiate themselves with the Roman authorities by denouncing them. But this statement, in itself improbable and unsupported, must appear incorrect when we recall the disposition of the Christians in those days, and their relationship to the Roman power. The charge may have owed its origin to prejudice, and to the increasing care which Christians took not to identify themselves with the synagogue. If the Church stood aloof from the synagogue, the latter manifested, in every possible manner, its bitterness and enmity. Not only were believers denounced in the synagogues, expelled, and when occasion offered, persecuted, but the Jews tried everywhere to stir up the multitude against them. Thus some of the fiercest persecutions were instigated and encouraged by the Jews. They also endeavoured to fix charges of an atrocious character upon Christians. Thus the calumny, afterwards so fearfully retaliated upon themselves, that in their feasts the Christians used human blood, and indulged in disgraceful orgies, originated with the Jews.¹

However, Christianity had from the first taken a deep hold on Jewish society. Even the many ordinances passed by the synagogue to prevent its spread, prove that it retained this position. There was specially one practical argument in favour of Christianity which appealed to the experience of all. We refer to the miraculous cures performed in the name of Jesus. As intercourse between the two parties had not at first been strictly prohibited, this mode of appeal was for some time practicable, and probably the capability ceased with the opportunity of employing it. The New Testament record offers many instances of converts, whose domestic relations with their uncon-

¹ *Vide* Orig. contra Cels., vi. 27; Just. Apolog., i. 50.

verted friends, were apparently not immediately interrupted. Some Christians obtained considerable influence by their character, or by an attestation of their Divine mission in their ability to perform miracles. Thus Jewish authors mention a certain Hebrew-Christian physician, James, with whom one of the most exclusive and bigoted Rabbins¹ maintained a friendly intercourse. When the nephew of another teacher² had been bitten by a serpent, we are informed that he intended to apply to that disciple for a miraculous cure.³ Another young man,⁴ connected with the leading Jewish sages, joined the Church at Capernaum, and was removed by his friends to Babylon, in order to withdraw him from Christian influences.⁵ But gradually as Christian Jews understood more, and perhaps felt less, ignominious epithets were applied to the Jews. The latter retaliated by calling the Christians "Minim," or heretics. So great became at last the enmity, that a celebrated Jewish sage⁶ declared that although the Gospels and the other writings of the "Minim" contained the sacred names of the Deity, they ought to be burnt; that heathenism was less dangerous than Christianity; that heathens offended from ignorance, while Christians did so with full knowledge; and that he would prefer seeking shelter in a heathen temple, rather than in a meeting-place of the "Minim."⁷ Another and more moderate Rabbi⁸ also recommends the burning of every copy of the Gospels, as in his opinion inciting to rebellion against God, and to hatred against the commonwealth of Israel.⁹ By and by all friendly relations between the two parties entirely ceased. Religious discussions were interdicted as tending to weaken the faith; Jewish Christians were anathematized as worse than heathens or Samaritans; and Christian books placed in the same category with works on magic. Such was the mutual estrangement that the ordinary civilities of life were not to be exchanged,

¹ Rabbi Eleazar.

² Ben Dama, nephew of Rabbi Ishmael.

³ Aboda Sara, ii. 2.

⁴ A nephew of Rabbi Joshua.

⁵ Joseph. ; Aboda Sara, 43; Eisenmenger Entdecktes Judenth., vol. i. p. 610.

⁵ Midr. Kohel., 5, b.

⁶ Rabbi Tarphon.

⁷ Shabb. 116, a.

⁸ Rabbi Ishmael.

and the bread, wine, oil, and meat used by Christians declared polluted. Especially all miraculous cures in the name of Jesus were strictly proscribed. At last a form of imprecation against the "Minim" was introduced into the daily prayers of the synagogue. As all these ordinances were communicated by letters to the different congregations out of Palestine, a simultaneous and combined effort was thus made by the synagogue to resist the progress of the Gospel. These measures, which were well known to the Christians,¹ naturally increased their animosity.²

If Christianity made rapid strides in Palestine before the destruction of Jerusalem, it will readily be inferred what an impulse the latter event must have given to its spread. This great national calamity forced itself upon the Jewish mind as a fearful retribution of their great national crime, and as a distinct fulfilment of the prophecy of Christ. Judaism had now become an impossibility, and all those to whom religion was a reality, must have felt the want of the temple with its sin-cleansing sacrifices—a want which nothing but a substitute, in the truest sense of the term, could have met. The Jewish national and religious hopes were now also, to all appearance, for ever blasted. Under these circumstances some Jews resolved to lead a life of continual penance. They renounced all pleasures, abstained from meat and wine, and would not even have their houses, the dwellings of mourners, white-washed. The zeal of Christians soon discovered many who were prepared to listen to their tidings of "the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." Another of the secondary causes which powerfully contributed to the spread of the gospel, was the entire and felt want of real

¹ Comp. Just. Dialog. cum Tryphone, Jud.

² However bitter the enmity between Jews and Christians, we believe that writers such as Eisenmenger and others misrepresent the former. It will not do to quote as instances of Jewish hatred the writings of *later* Rabbins, after a long series of relentless persecutions had taught the Jews to consider Christians as their natural and uncompromising enemies. When read along with the *history* of those ages, we have sometimes felt as if the expressions employed by the Jews were not wholly unjust or misapplied. Even the language of the Jews, however bitter, does not contrast unfavourably with the expressions which professing Christians applied to the Jews.

religious provision in the synagogue for unlettered Jews, and the contempt in which they were held by the learned. From the very nature of the case, as their religion was very much a system of casuistry, and individual religious duties became in the classrooms of the teachers matters of dispute, which often depended for decision on the most ingenious sophistry, the unlettered became by and by estranged from the synagogue. Add to this the self-complacency and hauteur which sought merit, connected temporal and spiritual greatness with a mere knowledge of the law and of traditions, and excluded from all honours, and even from the kingdom of heaven, those who were ignorant; and think of the hatred which this exclusiveness must have engendered in those classes which are, at any rate, suspicious and envious of their superiors, and their mutual relations will be readily understood. Thus, according to the statement of the Pharisees, there is scarcely any crime of which the country people,¹ the peasants, or unlearned, are not guilty. They are described as dishonest in their transactions, indelicate in their families, without honour or self-respect, as observant of only so much of the law as suited their convenience, along with other similar charges. The patrician Hebrews abstained from all intercourse with them, forbore from eating at their tables, and even avoided touching their garments from fear of being thereby polluted. Marriages between the two classes were deemed mis-alliances, and compared to throwing one's daughter to a lion, or coupling one's son with cattle. The illiterate were not to be allowed to bear witness, to be curators of orphans, or to discharge any office connected with the synagogue. Journeying in company with them was to be avoided. Indeed, almost any treatment of, or crime against them, was deemed allowable. It will readily be understood that such conduct evoked the hatred of the lower classes. One Rabbi² goes so far as to declare his belief that the illiterate would murder all the sages if they could get on without them. Another sage,³ who had sprung from the lower classes, confesses that formerly he had often wished to have an opportunity of in-

¹ The "Am ha-arez."² Rabbi Eleazar.³ Rabbi Akiba.

juring any of the patricians.¹ While the synagogue despised and neglected the lower classes, Christianity not only addressed itself to them, but as it broke down the middle wall of partition between Jew and Gentile, so also that between learned and unlearned. At the same time it ennobled all, and elevated them into one royal priesthood. To this benignant influence of the gospel we may add, as another argument in its favour, that the general conduct and bearing of the Jewish Christians were such as to constrain the respectful attention of the Jews to their message. We have already recorded an instance of this in the intercourse between the physician James and a Jewish Rabbi. We add, as another illustration, the circumstances which attended the death of the apostle James. The care of the church in Judea had probably at first devolved on James the Just. For a period of thirty years he had watched over the flock at Jerusalem, when (62, A.D.) the enemies of the truth succeeded in silencing his testimony. He was generally and deservedly respected not only by Christians, but also by Jews. His influence, which was uniformly employed for the spread of the gospel, was felt to be great. Making use of this circumstance, the Sadducees took him to an elevation in the temple which overlooked the worshippers, and called on him to warn the assembled multitude against the doctrines of the gospel. As his enemies had probably anticipated, James availed himself of the opportunity for giving a decided and distinct testimony for the Lord Jesus Christ. As pre-arranged, a tumult was now raised, in which James was thrown down amongst the people, and stoned by some who had come for that very purpose. While he yet breathed to pray for his murderers, a person in the crowd dashed out his brains with a fuller's club.

If the Church Catholic exercised such influence upon the Synagogue, the latter, as already indicated, made itself felt in the way of inspiring the views of many of the heretical sects. Some of these were, as mentioned above, purely Jewish. To this number belonged those who observed the law, (in whole or

¹ Pesach. 49, b; Eisenmeng., i. 338.

in part,) and the various sects who rejected the doctrines of the Trinity and of the Incarnation of the Son of God. But, as already hinted, even Gnosticism derived its principal elements from the Synagogue. The tendency of that heresy, as a whole, was, as its name indicates, after "gnosis," or knowledge. The various speculative difficulties connected with the creation of the world, its government, and the relation of the Supreme God to it, were objects of inquiry to the various Gnostic sects. But if the general direction of Gnosticism was rationalistic, just as Judaism was, its form and method were not only analogous, but actually derived from, or at least closely related to Jewish mysticism. The latter propounded to itself questions similar to those raised by Gnosticism, and, as we shall show, proposed to answer them in a similar manner. As the system itself was Jewish, so were the majority of its authors or leading representatives. Thus Simon Magus, whom tradition designates as the originator of Gnosticism, was by birth a Samaritan,¹ and educated in Alexandria,² where a peculiar direction of Jewish mysticism—the theosophic, or the philosophy of theology—was not only first taken, but became so general as to give its shade to later Alexandrian heathen philosophy, and even to Christian theology. Christian legends describe Simon as equally corrupt in practice and in doctrine, and mention Rome as the field of his labours. It seems not unlikely in itself that the impostor should have resorted to the capital, the more so as, according to the statements of cotemporaries, all religious adventurers flocked to it to make religious capital of the corruption and superstition of the degenerate Romans. It has been suggested, that the allusions which Paul makes in some of his Epistles to an interest in Christianity, excited in Rome by some of his enemies, and to their personal opposition to him, refer to the presence of these heresiarchs. Their corrupt practices may have helped to excite the popular indignation against Christians as the supposed enemies of mankind, which had attained such a height as to

¹ *Vide* Just. Apol., i. 26; Euseb. Hist. Eccles., ii. 13; Theodor. Hæret. Fabul. Compend., i. 1, p. 286.

² Clement. Homil., ii. 12.

encourage Nero (64 years after Christ) to lay at *their* door his own crime in setting fire to the capital. The consequences of this accusation are well known. The Christians were exposed to tortures apparently invented for them. Thus some were sewed up in the skins of wild beasts, and exposed to the attacks of dogs, while others were covered with pitch and lighted as torches. The Gnostics escaped in this and similar persecutions by a temporary denial of their faith, and conformity to idolatrous observances,—an expedient to which Simon allowed his followers to resort under such circumstances.¹ A later and apparently fabulous tradition² details the circumstances of Simon Magus's death. It is reported that he challenged the Apostle Peter to a comparative trial of their powers; that he had attempted to traverse the air in a fiery chariot, but had failed in consequence of Peter's prayers, and finally in vexation destroyed himself. It is impossible to say what connexion this legend may have with the account of profane authors³ of an attempt (somewhat similar to the supposed exploit of Simon) made at Rome under the reign of Nero, which had ended in the destruction of the adventurer.

The second heresiarch and leader of the Gnostics, to whom ecclesiastical history refers, was Menander, like Simon a Samaritan by birth. Under his auspices, and those of his successors, Gnosticism assumed more and more its definite shape. In general, that system had two great branches, the one more purely mystical, and derived from Persian elements (in part the corrupt elements imported into Judaism during the Babylonish captivity); the other more theosophic (an attempt to combine theology with Platonism), and bearing traces of Egyptian culture. In like manner we may also, from a practical point of view, distinguish between the two branches of Gnosticism, which more or less enjoined or else opposed an observance of the law. This distinction led in turn to different modes of conduct, ac-

¹ Orig. contra Cels, vi. 11.

² Arnob. ii.

³ Dio Chrysost. Or. xxi. p. 271; Suet. Nero, 12. Comp. Burton's Lectures on Eccles. Hist., i p. 295.

ording as their knowledge (gnosis) of "the deep things" (the "depths" of the Book of Revelation) led them either into asceticism or into licentiousness, agreeably to their views of the character and authority of the law, and of the relation subsisting between a true Gnostic and the world around him. The ascetic sects found a point of internal connexion, and gradually gave a peculiar shading to the whole system of theology, resulting in, or at least contributing not a little to the formation of Romanism. The licentious sects necessarily soon passed away, though not without inflicting serious injury. As the ascetic so the licentious sects had their counterparts in Judaism. The latter, happily, were rare, and almost foreign excrescences, which manifested themselves more prominently in distant places, as in Persia and Arabia. However, the licentious Gnostics seem to have entangled some Jewish youths, partly by their peculiar mode of interpreting Scripture (which in many particulars resembled the rabbinical), and still more, perhaps, by ministering to lust under the cloak of religion. Jewish history¹ records well-authenticated instances of this kind, details the Gnostic perversions of Scripture for the purpose of justifying their licentious practices, and adds the appropriate exclamation of horror on the part of a Rabbi when called to witness such a scene,—“And is it possible that such deeds are enacted by Jews!”

We shall, in conclusion, rapidly glance at the spread of the gospel amongst Jews and proselytes *out of* Palestine. History and legend are here unfortunately so frequently and closely intertwined, that it is next to impossible to indicate where the one ends or the other commences. Thus much only can be affirmed with confidence, that while Paul pursued his missionary labours, the other disciples were also engaged in the same blessed work. Mark carried the gospel to Egypt, Thomas to Parthia and Ethiopia (by which perhaps the ancient Yemen may be meant), and Andrew to Scythia. Bartholomew planted the cross in Persia, and Philip in Phrygia, whilst other Jewish heralds brought the glad tidings to the benighted heathens, and with

¹ Comp. Grätz, *ut supra*.

the simplicity and earnestness of a realizing faith went forth to the ends of the then known world, with their lives in their hands. While multitudes of Jews and proselytes became obedient unto the faith—the dispersed of Israel—the ten tribes—were not forgotten. James and Peter addressed themselves particularly to them in their Epistles. Thomas and others laboured amongst them, and signal success seems to have attended these efforts. Little if any impression indeed appears to have been made on the Jews in Babylonia (meaning by this term the country between the Euphrates and Tigris), but the remnants of the ten tribes, despised by their brethren, received the word gladly, and afterwards distinguished themselves by missionary zeal. They largely contributed to carry the gospel to Persia, India, and other places. We have abundant evidence¹ that Adiabene, Elam, Persia, and Media, and as we have reason to believe specially the Jews in these countries, received the gospel soon after the ascension of our Lord, and afterwards zealously spread it to other countries. Some of the churches in these lands date almost from the earliest periods of Christianity. It is interesting, for example, to notice in connexion with the evangelistic labours, the sufferings, the resistance to Popery, and the recent spiritual revival of the Nestorians, that in all probability they are of Jewish descent.² Thus even when the synagogue rejected Christianity and persecuted its disciples, the Lord left not himself without witnesses among his ancient people.

¹ Assemani *Bibl. Orient.*, iv. 414.

² Comp. Dr. Asahel Grant's *Nestorians*,—a work of great interest and importance.

CHAPTER V.

INTERNAL HISTORY OF THE SYNAGOGUE FROM THE RETURN OF THE
CAPTIVITY TO THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM.

THE return from Babylon marked a new period in the history of the synagogue. Many important changes had taken place in the political and religious condition of the nation. When Ezra¹ attempted to restore the Jewish polity to its former state, he found his countrymen on the whole religiously inclined, but much neglected, and consequently very ignorant. Elements were also at work within the synagogue which did not give promise of good to the people generally. It was Ezra's first care, when undertaking the religious reformation of his brethren, to collect the different books of which the Old Testament is composed, to clear them of any errors which might have crept into the text, and to cause them to be read and expounded to the people. It was his desire that the restored Jewish commonwealth should rest upon a scriptural foundation. To enable him the more readily to carry out the needful measures, tradition affirms that he associated with himself in the spiritual government of the people 120 men² learned in the law ("Soferim," scribes,) who are known in history as "the men of the Great Synagogue." Most probably these 120 men rather represent a succession of *Soferim* than one council. Under their administration, (from about 532 to 167, B.C.,) the traditions to which value had probably been first attached during the Babylonish captivity, increased in num-

¹ The Chaldeo Paraphrase and others represent Ezra as being the same with the prophet Malachi.

² Comp. Othonis Histor. Doctor. Mishnic.; Wolff's Bibl. Rabbini., vol. iv. p. 341, &c.

ber and authority. Hence numerous purely ceremonial ordinances could afterwards be traced to this period. A few of them are even ascribed to the authority of Ezra himself,¹ although their character scarcely bears out these pretensions. A more important part of the functions of the Great Synagogue was that which concerned the arrangement, division, and interpretation of the sacred text. It is said that the Soferim arranged the Old Testament into three classes, according as certain portions were to be publicly read and interpreted, or only to be read, or in some cases to be wholly omitted in public reading. The duties connected with this reading and exposition of the Scriptures naturally devolved upon the more learned, who appear to have been regularly set apart for this purpose, and on stated days to have lectured in the various synagogues which speedily sprang up throughout the length and breadth of the land. As the readers had mostly to translate the original text into the dialect of the people, to which they probably often added a brief exposition, the religious education of the people was almost entirely committed to them. The influence which they thus gained, the fact that from the paucity of books and the general ignorance, the people depended *entirely* on this religious aristocracy, together with the growing tendencies of the age in that direction, contributed not a little to place religious eminence in mere knowledge and outward observances, without spiritual experience or love. It also laid the foundation of the exaggerated notions which both teachers and taught afterwards formed of the dignity of the Rabbi or teacher. Ordinarily, the various congregations met on Sabbaths, on Mondays, and Thursdays; on the latter occasions for the adjudication of causes according to the law of Moses, as well as for the reading and interpretation of the Bible. These teachers have generally left behind them one or more theological commonplaces, which are chiefly valuable as indicating the bearing of their theology and the direction of their teaching. They were afterwards collected into one of the treatises of which the "Mishna" or traditional law is composed, and which bears

¹ Baba Kama, 82, a.

the name of "Pirke Aboth," or sayings of the Fathers. One of the most celebrated of the "men of the Great Synagogue" was the high priest *Simon the Just* (221-201, B. C.) His motto is recorded¹ to have been, "The world rests on a three-fold foundation; on the law (here in the sense of 'gnosis,' an acquaintance with its meaning), on worship, and on acts of beneficence." This sentiment sufficiently indicates that Simon belonged to the Pharisaical party. With his successor a new era commenced. *Antigonus* of Socho is the first of the Soferim who bears a *Greek* name. He probably belonged to the Grecian party which, by an imitation of Grecian practices, sought to bring about an intimate union with those foreign masters of Palestine who were objects of pious abhorrence to the Pharisees. It is to this tendency that the sect of the Sadducees, which traces its origin to the successors of Antigonus, owes its origin. Unlike the Pharisees, the Sadducees were primarily a political, and only secondarily a religious party. Their theology, which is rather negative than positive, was modified in accordance with their political aspirations. The motto of Antigonus fully accords with this view. It was,² "Be not like those servants who serve their masters only for the wages which they are to receive (probably a polemical allusion to the Pharisees), but imitate servants who serve their master without a view to the wages which they expect—and may the fear of Heaven be upon you." About this time the terrible persecutions of the Syrians, who sought to force Grecian culture and idolatry upon the Jews, led to the popular rising under the Maccabees. The independence of Israel was secured for a time, and the Maccabees ascended the Jewish throne as the *Asmonean* princes. During these troublous times the activity of the men of the Great Synagogue was necessarily interrupted, and when we meet again with a supreme Jewish council, it re-appears (about 142, B. C.) under the name of *Sanhedrim* and the auspices of the Asmoneans. In the interval Simon the Just had been gathered to his fathers as early as the year 202, B. C. The presidency of Antigonus of Socho

¹ Pirke Aboth, i. 2.

² *Ut supra*, i. 3.

had probably extended to about 190. During the half century which intervened between his death and the establishment of the Sanhedrim, Zadoc and Böothus, disciples of Antigonus, probably directed the theology of their time.¹ It is said that a perversion of the principles of their teacher Antigonus, led them to found the sect of the Sadducees. It is impossible to determine whether these Rabbins were really at the head of the Grecian party, which, as a religious sect, bore the name of Sadducees; or whether at a later period, the sect in question had, from a desire to trace their principles to the Soferim—claimed these Rabbins as the first propounders of their principles. In the days of Antigonus of Socho flourished Eleazar ben Harsum, a man equally celebrated in Jewish history for his wealth and for his devotedness to the study of the law.

We have already stated that the men of the Great Synagogue were succeeded by the Jewish tribunal known as the Sanhedrim.² The somewhat indefinite accounts of their spiritual activity become more distinct as we approach the period of the Saviour's advent. The Sanhedrim was the supreme court. All juridical and theological questions were, in the last instance, to be submitted to its decision. It consisted of seventy-one members, with two clerks. Their first meeting-place (for the necessities of the times obliged them to remove to different localities) was one of the spacious apartments connected with the temple-buildings. From its splendid flooring, it was termed the "hall of polished stones." The members of that court were not professional men in the sense of devoting their whole time to their peculiar avocation, or deriving their livelihood from it. In fact, they were engaged at various trades on which they entirely depended for support, with the exception of a small compensation made from the temple-treasury for any loss of time. Their ordinary avocations appeared so much the less incongruous with their duties in the Sanhedrim, as in general every truly devoted

¹ Comp. Zunz Gottesd. Votr. p. 37, note. Frankel (in his Monats Schr. for 1852, p. 409) places the formal establishment of the Sanhedrim at an earlier date.

² Comp. the valuable work of Selden de Synedriis. More ample details will be furnished in a subsequent chapter.

or Pharisaical Jew was, according to the current notions of the time, expected chiefly to devote himself to theological studies, and to follow his worldly calling only in order to support himself, or to minister to other students of the law. Hence as the honour of being a member of the Sanhedrim was not reserved for the priestly order (although a considerable proportion of its members probably belonged to it), so the members of any trade, except those which were supposed to be degrading or to have a tendency to harden, might aspire to this distinction. The members of the Sanhedrim were chosen for life, and regularly ordained by the imposition of hands (the "*Semicha*.") Every description of their arrangements and order of procedure necessarily dates from a later period, although it was probably substantially the same at all times. It was said that the members sat in a semicircle, with the *Nasi* (Prince) or president in the middle; the *Ab-beth-din* (the father or head of the juridical college) or vice-president at his right; and the *Chacham* (wise man, perhaps the head of the theological department) at his left. The other members occupied places according to their rank in the college, so that the fourth, the sixth, &c., in dignity sat to the *Nasi*'s right hand, and the fifth, the seventh, &c., to his left. At a still later period a certain punctilious etiquette (originating in the pride of some of the *Nasis*) prevailed. Thus when the *Nasi* entered, all the members were expected to rise, and to remain standing till he had invited them to resume their places. When the *Ab-beth-din* entered, all were expected to rise, but allowed again to sit down without intimation to that effect; while the *Chacham* was only saluted by each individual member rising as he passed, and immediately sitting down again. It is, however, right to add that the more independent Rabbins resisted regulations like these. Twenty-three members were necessary to form a quorum. The high-priest was not *ex officio* either president or even member of the Sanhedrim. In general, it would appear as if there had been two classes of priests—the working and the studying. The working clergy would necessarily be almost entirely engaged in the performance of the

services of the sanctuary. The studying clergy, although occasionally assisting and perhaps enjoying the emoluments of their station, were chiefly engaged in theological pursuits. This supposition is corroborated by the fact, that the traditional law contemplates and makes provision for cases when the high-priest might be unacquainted with the meaning of the rites, and the laws concerning them.¹ The occupation of the high-priestly office was purely a matter of accident, which required no knowledge-qualification—the high-priest was manifestly a *typical personage*. It was the *office* and not the *person* which was of importance—the priest was merely the temporary occupant of what in itself was designed to point to certain spiritual facts yet future.

Opposite to the Judges, in twenty-three rows, (each row containing twenty-three), sat the students arranged according to their merit. Another body of hearers were ranged all around the hall. There were thus two orders, the members of which expected promotion. The hearers might be elevated to the rank of regular students, and the students might advance from row to row, and finally become members either of any of the provincial colleges, or of the Sanhedrim itself. Vacancies in the latter were filled up by the promotion of members of provincial colleges, or by that of distinguished students. In order to understand the position of the Sanhedrim, and its relation to other colleges, it is necessary to recall certain general principles. The Jewish state was meant to be a theocracy, and the spiritual and secular administration in it were in reality not separated. The authorities of the synagogues were at the same time the Ministers of Justice. Thus every considerable synagogue had its Sanhedrim, or College of Justice, consisting of twenty-three ordained members, who were entitled to pronounce sentence even in capital cases. The smaller synagogues, or those in towns with fewer than 120 heads of families and ten synagogue-officials, possessed an infe-

¹ Thus in the laws referring to the day of atonement, members of Sanhedrim are appointed to instruct the high-priest; and, in general, it is evidently contemplated that he may be an ignorant person. Comp. *Yoma* (Mishn.)

rior College of Justice, which consisted of three members, who were only allowed to adjudicate on civil cases. From the College of three an appeal might be taken to the nearest College of twenty-three, and from the latter to the lowest of the three Sanhedrims of twenty-three in Jerusalem (said to have been in connexion with as many synagogues in that city), and so on till the case reached the great Sanhedrim, which must be viewed as the College connected with the Temple. The priests seem to have had a College of their own, which decided on all matters purely relating to them, or to the Temple police.

If certain judicial duties devolved on the members of the various Colleges throughout the land, it was theirs also to provide for the spiritual instruction and edification of the people. Hence, on Sabbaths and feast-days, lectures were delivered in the synagogues, and at a later period in the various school-houses also, at which all were invited to attend. Men and women sat separately, and listened respectfully to the lecture of the presiding rabbi, to the *Chacham* (wise man), or *Darshan* (preacher), as he was designated. But in case the preacher should use language too abstruse, or fail to adapt himself to the weaker capacities of his hearers, an arrangement was made by which the preacher communicated his discourse in a low tone to an "interpreter" (the *Meturgeman*), or "speaker" (*Emora*), who in turn rehearsed it to the audience in a plain and popular form.

After these few explanatory remarks, we turn to the history of the Sanhedrim. The first president and vice-president of the Sanhedrim were Joses ben (the son of) Jooser, from Zereda, and Joseph ben Jochanan, from Jerusalem. They flourished from about 140 to 130, B.C. Little is known of their peculiar teaching. Their fundamental principles are somewhat vague, but point in the direction of increasing rabbinical influence and pretensions. The Nasi said, "Let thine abode be ■ meeting-place for sages; cover thyself with the dust of their feet, and eagerly (with thirst) drink in their words."¹ The vice-president said, "Let thy house be wide open, and let the

¹ Pirke Ab. i. 3.

poor be the children of thy house. Do not multiply speech with a woman. If this applies to one's own wife, how much more to that of another man? Hence the sages say, that the man who multiplieth speech with a woman bringeth evil upon himself, swerves (forsakes) from the words of the law, and will finally inherit destruction."¹ The vice-president differed from the Nasi as to the necessity of the imposition of hands on the head of a sacrifice.² Joses was afflicted with unruly and wicked children, whom he disinherited, devoting his ample means to religious purposes. A martyr to his faith, he died generally and deservedly respected. Such was the esteem in which both sages were held, that at their decease it was said, "those in whom every excellency was found had now departed."³ They were succeeded in the Sanhedrim by Joshua ben Perachia as Nasi, and Nithai as Ab-beth-din. Their administration fell in troublous times. The throne and priestly office were conjointly occupied by John Hyrcanus, one of the Maccabees, who, justly or unjustly, was supposed by the Pharisees to have been derived from a mother who at one time had been a captive. In their view, this incapacitated him for being high-priest. Whether this was a pretence to hide their general opposition or not, their enmity soon manifested itself. At a banquet, an imprudent Pharisee ventured to call upon John to resign the mitre on the ground above-mentioned. The king, who had hitherto belonged to the Pharisaical party, perhaps glad of the pretext, interpreted this demand as an avowal of the views of the party, and immediately joined the Sadducees. In the persecution which now ensued, the leading Pharisees fell victims. The president of the Sanhedrim, Joshua, managed, however, to escape to Alexandria. Hyrcanus having scattered the existing Sanhedrim, did not summon any other similar tribunal. He was succeeded in the government by Judas Aristobulus, and, after the brief reign of that prince, by Alexander Jannai. The latter also belonged to the sect of the Sadducees. This circumstance, together with the despotism of

¹ *Ut supra*, i. 3. Comp. Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. v. iii. 290.

² Chagiga, ii. 2.

³ Sota, ix.

his reign and the many sanguinary wars in which he engaged, rendered his administration more than ordinarily unpopular. The feeling of the masses displayed itself unmistakably, when, on the feast of tabernacles, the worshippers threw at Alexander, who officiated as high-priest, the pomegranates which at that feast they always carried in their hands, and loudly reproached him with his descent from a slave. Alexander Jannai took fearful revenge. His body-guard slew not less than six thousand of the rebels; and a persecution ensued in which the Rabbins, as the supposed ring-leaders, were specially singled out and almost wholly extirpated. Only one man of note, Simeon ben Shetach, a pupil of the former Nasi, and the brother-in-law of Alexander Jannai, escaped to Egypt, where he joined his former teacher. These two sages seem, especially during their sojourn in Egypt, to have engaged in the study of cabbalistic or mystical doctrines. It is of course impossible to determine what proportion of these doctrines was derived from, and what brought with them into Egypt, by these Rabbins. Certain it is that they found there a soil ready for such teaching; and that tradition mentions, that, on their return to Palestine, they introduced—more probably spread—cabbalistic doctrines in Palestine. By a strange anachronism some Jewish authorities declare the Ex-Nasi Joshua to have been the teacher of Jesus of Nazareth,¹ perhaps because they supposed that both were conversant with the mysteries of the Kabbalah. Through the influence of his sister, the queen, Simeon was soon recalled, and now exerted himself to remodel the Sanhedrim, which had in the interval re-assembled, but now consisted almost entirely of Sadducees and ignorant persons, whose sole claim to distinction was their political support of the king. Simeon's plan for expelling these persons deserves mention,² both for its success, and as in itself an important step in the development of Rabbinism. He first trained a number of students, and being thus prepared to substitute orthodox Rabbins for the old members of the Sanhedrim, he prevailed upon that body to resolve that in future every theo-

¹ Comp. Bartolocci and Wolfius.

² Megill. Taan. x.

logical or juridical discussion should be supported by an appeal either to Scripture or to tradition. An occasion soon offered for putting this resolution in force. Whether by pre-arrangement or accidentally, the king and queen honoured the Sanhedrim with their presence. As usual, questions were proposed and answered by the Sadducees in a sense contrary to the written and the oral law. Simeon insisted on the requisite proofs. One of the senators promised, indeed, to bring them forward at the next sederunt, but being unable to do so, he felt obliged to resign. His place was filled by one of Simeon's students. By similar measures the benches, formerly occupied by the Sadducees, were gradually filled by Simeon's adherents. Only the old Nasi, *Judas ben Tabbai*, a man of good intentions, conscientious to scrupulosity, but weak and wholly under the guidance of Simeon, was retained. Simeon had now become Ab-beth-din. His next move was to procure, through the queen, a pardon for his former teacher and friend Joshua, who was still in Egypt. He communicated to him the intelligence of his liberation from exile in the following enigmatical epistle:—

“From me, Jerusalem, the holy city, to thee, Alexandria in Egypt. My husband lives in the midst of thee, and I mourn desolate and lonely.”

Joshua readily understood the purport of this message, and immediately returned to Jerusalem, where, together with Simeon, he now exercised in matters of faith an influence almost unbounded. His motto, as handed down, is very characteristic of the peculiar form of Pharisaism at the time. It was, “Have a teacher—procure an associate—and view the acts of others in as favourable a light as possible.”¹ The reader will readily understand that the first two statements expressed the views of the Rabbins. But the third also is highly characteristic. One of the most marked differences between the Sadducees and the Pharisees, was the scrupulous mode in which the latter adjudicated in criminal cases, giving every benefit to the accused, and often rendering the law of God and man wholly void by their

¹ Pirke Aboth, i. 6.

traditions. However excellent the motive of diminishing the number and severity of punishments, it was carried by them to a most dangerous excess. Whether the severity of the Sadducees had arisen from their religious or their political principles, or else from their connexion with a certain class of rulers, they certainly went in this matter also to an opposite extreme from the Pharisees. Ready as the latter were to prosecute their personal or religious opponents, yet in criminal cases the ends of justice were frequently defeated by their punctilious adherence to the letter of certain rules. Thus the accordant testimony of at least two witnesses was always necessary—the evidence required to be clear and decisive, while merely circumstantial evidence, however plain, was not admitted, at least in capital cases. Again, the witnesses were to be scrupulously cross-questioned; every particular, favourable to the accused, was to be brought forward, while every consideration adverse to him, required to be narrowly sifted. Hence, though in civil causes the most impartial justice was administered, it must be allowed that in criminal cases the judges too often acted rather as pleaders for the accused. This is well illustrated in a case related by Simeon.¹ “As I hope for consolation! I saw a man pursuing another into a ruined building. I ran after him, and beheld the sword yet in his hand. It was reeking with blood, and the murdered man lay wallowing on the ground. I exclaimed, Thou wicked man, who has committed this murder—I or thou? Alas! thy life is not in my power, for two witnesses are requisite for conviction before sentence of death can be pronounced. But He who knoweth man’s thoughts will recompense the murderer of his neighbour.” It is added that Divine vengeance speedily overtook the malefactor, and that a viper bit him so that he died.

The importance attached to these differences on legal questions is sufficiently evidenced by the frequent references made to them in the fundamental principles or mottos of various Rabbins. As already mentioned, the latter in general indicated the peculiar development of doctrine and practice in

¹ Talm. Mas. Sanh. iv.

the synagogue. On such points the old Nasi, Judas, and his colleague Simeon, frequently differed. Judas had, indeed, abjured Sadducism, but he still retained in practice much of the judicial severity to which he had formerly been accustomed. Sometimes, curiously enough, he would exercise Sadducean rigour in enforcing the principles of Pharisaical leniency. One instance of this deserves to be specially mentioned, as showing the scrupulosity of the old Nasi, and the mode in which Simeon gained so unlimited an ascendancy over him. On one point the Sadducees were more lenient than the Pharisees. They deemed it unlawful to punish a false witness with death, unless the victim of his false testimony had actually been executed—thus rather avenging the injury inflicted than punishing the crime committed. In his excess of anti-Sadducean zeal, Judas had on one occasion, under the above-mentioned circumstances, gone to the opposite extreme, and actually ordered the execution of a false witness. On relating it to Simeon, the latter allowed, indeed, the soundness of the Nasi's principle of procedure, but, by a characteristic Pharisaical quibble, demurred to its application in this case, and charged the old Nasi with having shed innocent blood. Henceforth the conscience of Judas gave him no rest, and day by day he would resort to the grave of the victim of his orthodoxy to bewail his sinful rigour. At last the congregated multitude would have proceeded to acts of violence, under the impression that the wailing proceeded from the murdered person, had not the matter been explained to them. It is added, that after this occurrence the Nasi never pronounced sentence in the absence of his Ab-beth-din. This circumstance must have contributed not a little to increase the influence of the latter.¹

From what we have said, and from the high dignity attached to the judicial office, as shown in the origin of the name of Ab-beth-din, (the head of the College of Justice), the importance attached by all parties to the mode of administering justice will readily be inferred. The recorded principle of the Nasi was,—“Be not like the orderers of judges (probably

¹ Chagig. 16.

the procurators or governors). When parties are before thee, treat them as if they were guilty; and when sentence is pronounced and they depart, act towards them as if they were innocent."¹ On the other hand, it was the principle of Simeon,—"Be extremely careful in examining witnesses, and beware lest from thy mode of questioning they should learn how to give false testimony."² But Simeon's judicial laxity was the occasion of a sad increase of crime. Perhaps the civil authorities also made this a pretence for their unconstitutional administration of summary, and often personal vengeance. It also encouraged the rulers to attempt, as it prepared the people to witness, a decline of the judicial authority of the Sanhedrim, which speedily became changed into an assemblage whose sole duty it was to discuss theological questions. One instance is, however, recorded,³ in which Simeon deviated from his usual leniency. It deserves a place as exhibiting the superstition of that period. Ashkelon was one of those cities which could scarcely be claimed either by the Jews or the Gentiles. There they lived in closest proximity, though in continued hostility. It happened that a celebrated sage had died at Ashkelon. The funeral was of course attended by the principal Jewish inhabitants of the place. At the same time another procession carried the body of a publican to the same cemetery. When both parties had reached the place of interment, but before the last rites could be performed, a troop of hostile strangers surprised and quickly dispersed the mourners. Only one friend of the departed sage lingered behind, and anxiously watched all night by the body of the Rabbi. Next morning the funeral attendants returned to finish their sad offices. But notwithstanding every remonstrance, the coffins, which were similar in appearance, were exchanged, and the Rabbi descended into the publican's grave, while the latter reaped all the Rabbi's honours. This mistake had deeply grieved the faithful friend, when in a vision the departed Rabbi appeared, to console him by a description of

¹ Pirke Aboth, i. 8.

² *Ut supra*, i. 9.

³ Talm. Jerus. Sanh., 23; Bab. Sanh., 46; Lightfoot Centur. Chor., cap. xiv.

the happy mansions in which he now resided, and of the tortures which the publican suffered. At the same time he gave such explanations of certain events in their lives as satisfactorily to account for the permission on the part of God of the deplored mistake in the burial. Satisfied on this subject, inquiry was next made as to the period at which the publican's torments were to end. The heavenly visitor simply replied: when Simeon ben Shetach comes to take his place. Naturally enough the astonished sage asked of what crime the Ab-beth-din were guilty. He was then informed that, before his elevation, Simeon had vowed that if he should ever be advanced to the high dignity which he now occupied, he would exterminate all witches in the land. But he had failed to perform this promise, and no less than eighty of these women were at that moment practising the black art unmolested, in a cave near Ashkelon. At last the anxious sage obtained leave to warn Simeon of his impending danger. Simeon resolved to put an immediate stop to witchcraft. The only difficulty anticipated was, that the witches might, by the aid of magic, resist if not altogether elude capture. But an idea had gained ground that magic could only be practised on "*terra firma*,"—perhaps because the unclean spirits were supposed to stand in a peculiar connexion with the material of the earth. Simeon resolved to avail himself of this fact. Accompanied by eighty youths, of whom each had a white garment concealed about his person, he went on a rainy day to the "cave of the witches." While the youths concealed themselves, ready, at the first call, to throw on their white garments, and, at the second, to enter the cave and act their pre-concerted part, Simeon entered alone, representing himself as a magician. In his account of this expedition, he pretended that he had seen the witches practising their magic art, producing viands, wine, &c. At last they had asked him to display his powers. "I undertake," said he, "when I call twice, to produce eighty youths, who, in spite of the rain, will appear dressed in white, and with whom ye may dance and enjoy yourselves." "Be it so," exclaimed the witches! The Rabbi now gave the pre-concerted

signals, and the young men appeared. While dancing, each youth lifted his partner from the ground. Having thus deprived them of their magic powers, the witches were dragged out, and without further investigation, immediately executed. This summary proceeding was contrary to the course of ordinary justice, and only excusable on account of the supposed difficulties of the case. In general, the Jewish law did not allow capital sentence to be pronounced on more than one criminal in one day. Some of the relations of the supposed witches had, however, vowed vengeance. They concocted a false accusation against Simeon's son; and so concurrent were their testimonies, that the youth was wrongfully sentenced to death. On his way to the place of execution, he emphatically declared his innocence, and called God to witness against his accusers. So convincing were his assertions, that the judges wished to arrest the sentence, and to proceed anew to an examination of the witnesses; but the law forbade the re-opening of closed testimony. The witnesses also, afraid of the vengeance which had been invoked upon them, now requested, though in vain, to be allowed to recall their testimony. The unhappy youth died a victim of judicial formalism; but the law still remained in force by which witnesses were not allowed to recall their testimony,—an enactment probably meant to make judges and witnesses specially guarded in their procedure. The same inflexible rigour which Simeon had displayed on this painful occasion, induced him also, in another instance, to summon even the king before the Sanhedrim. The king appeared; but the divine displeasure was so signally manifested in consequence, that a law was enacted to this effect:¹—"The king neither judges, nor is he judged."

Another incident which occurred at that period, although partly fabulous, deserves notice as affording an insight into the state of religion, and into the different elements which contended for spiritual supremacy. Among the contemporaries of Simeon, none was so reputed for piety, or at least for cabbal-

¹ Comp. the above quoted authorities and Sanh. ii. 1.

istic power of working miracles, as Honias, termed Hamagaal.¹ A season of unusual drought threatened the land with famine. A deputation of the Sanhedrim came to Honias to bespeak his prayers. At their request he entered the magic circle; nor did he leave it, till in answer to his prayers rain descended; at first in drops, but afterwards in such quantity that he had again to intercede for its cessation. While the Sanhedrim voted thanks to the successful Rabbi, Simeon, who disapproved of the embassy, and of Honias' conduct, as divulging the secrets of the Kabbalah, sent the following characteristic message:—"If thou hadst not been Honias, I would have excommunicated thee; for it would have been better for us to have suffered famine as in the days of Elias, than that the name of the Lord should have been profaned by thee. But what can I do? Thou sinnest against God, and yet he yieldeth to thee even as a father to a spoiled child. If it says, lead me to a *warm* bath, the parent obeys; if it demands to be bathed in *cold* water, he still yields; if it asks for nuts, almonds, peaches, or pomegranates, it obtains its request. Holy writ refers to thee in the passage, 'father and mother rejoice over him, and she that bare him exults over him.'" But soon afterwards this Honias met with a violent death at the hands of his brethren. The occasion of it was the civil war in Palestine between the sons of King Alexander Jannæus. The latter had, on his death-bed, from political reasons, advised his queen (the sister of Rabbi Simeon) to go over to the rising party of the Pharisees. These now declared Jannæus to have been a saint, interred him with pomp (forgetful of their previous opposition to his reign), and cordially supported the queen and her children. But the Pharisees did not know how to use with moderation their newly acquired influence. Such was their persecuting spirit, that the Sadducees had, in self-defence, to shut themselves up in some fortresses which the queen assigned to them as places of safety. After the queen's death, her eldest son Hyrcan was proclaimed king; but Aristobulus, his more energetic brother, put himself at the head of the

¹ Bartol. Bibl. Rabb., iii. 267; Jost, iii. 96.

Sadducean malcontents, and forced the weak Hyrcan to abdicate. But, as before related, the Idumean, Antipater, the father of Herod, whose ambition, vigour, and talent were equally great, sensible that the exaltation of a weak prince was the surest means of promoting his own schemes, persuaded Hyrcan, after his abdication, to flee to Aretas, king of Arabia. Antipater gained Aretas for the cause of the fugitive prince. No sooner was the irresolute Hyrcan made aware that he could depend for assistance on the Arabs, than he broke the compact with his brother, and at the head of a Jewish and Arab force advanced upon Jerusalem. Aristobulus, who appears to have in the interval conciliated all parties by administering the government according to moderate Pharisaical principles, was the more cordially supported even by the extreme Pharisees, that the latter dreaded an interference by heathens in the affairs of Palestine. However, he was unsuccessful, and obliged precipitately to flee to Jerusalem, where he defended himself behind the temple walls. It was at that stage that Honias Hamagaal was accidentally found by the superstitious army of Hyrcanus, and urged to pronounce some magical curse against the defenders of the temple. Unable to obey, he is recorded, instead of the desired curse, to have uttered the following beautiful prayer:—"Lord God of heaven, and king of the world, in whose hand are the hearts of all living, and the thoughts of the hearts of thy people, and of thy priests, direct thou their hearts, and do not hear their prayers against each other for evil, but only for good, seeing the one are thy people, and the others thy priests." It is added that Honias was immediately stoned by the disappointed claimants of his aid. During the protracted siege which now followed, another plan, if possible more absurd and superstitious, was resorted to, in order to gain possession of the temple. Hitherto a regard for the temple and its services had induced the besiegers to furnish the priests besieged in the temple with the animals required for the daily sacrifices. One of the Grecian Jews in the army of Hyrcanus now suggested as the most likely means of success, that this supply should be discontinued. The

advice was acted upon, and although a high price was taken from the defenders of the temple, yet when the vessel was lowered over the wall, instead of the lamb destined for the altar usually placed in it, an unclean animal was sent up. It is said that this profanation was the occasion of an earthquake throughout the land. To mark the national horror of this blasphemous scheme of the Grecian, an anathema was pronounced against all who kept unclean animals, and against the study of Grecian science generally.¹ Probably the latter ordinance had a broader reference than merely to the above-mentioned scheme. At any rate, none of these devices succeeded, and Aristobulus obtained temporary safety by securing the protection of the Romans. We pass over the different intrigues by which Antipater at last deprived him of this, and managed to secure the countenance of Rome in favour of Hyrcan. During these political disturbances the Sanhedrim had been at one time dissolved, but was again re-established under the protection of Cæsar. However, under the Roman protectorate, the Jewish tribunal was shorn of its power, and by and by became only an ecclesiastical court.² During part at least of the reign of Hyrcan, the presidency and vice-presidency of the Sanhedrim were respectively occupied by Shemaja³ and Abtalion, who seem to have filled these posts previous to the dissolution of the Sanhedrim (56 B.C.), and its after-restoration under the administration of Cæsar (about 44 B.C.) That the political relations subsisting between Palestine and the Romans prevented anything like independent action on the part of that tribunal, requires no proof. At the same time Herod, the son of Antipater, and successor of Hyrcan (the Charlemagne of Judea), was not disposed to tolerate any independent authority co-ordinate with his own. His first appearance before the San-

¹ This anathema is said to have been again and more strictly pronounced when the Romans laid siege to Jerusalem.

² Jewish authorities assert, that the Sanhedrim voluntarily surrendered their power of judging in capital cases, on account of the prevalence of murder; but this account of the matter seems more than doubtful.

³ The Sammias of Josephus.

hedrim even during the lifetime of Hyrcan, when he occupied only a subordinate position, had already proved that he did not acknowledge its sacred character; for, when summoned to answer for some arbitrary acts, he appeared at the head of a considerable force before the overawed Senate, not in the garb of a culprit, but armed from head to foot, and more like an accuser than one accused. Of all the Senators only Shemaja ventured to protest against this presumption. He reprobated energetically the insolent conduct of the youth, and Herod had to flee, but soon returned again at the head of an army to take vengeance. From the execution of this purpose he was only diverted by the entreaties of his father and brother. Among the celebrated sages of that time, Akiba ben Mahalaliel¹ deserves special mention, as venturing to oppose some of the received traditions. In general, learning seems to have flourished at that period. Thus we read of Admon and Chanan ben Abishalom, whose sometimes diverging legal decisions are recorded;² of Rabbi Miasa, who, together with his father, are quoted as authorities on theological subjects,³ and of Rabbi Dosa ben Harchinas, a man of great wealth and profound learning, however fabulous his supposed longevity may appear. The vice-president, Abtalion, contributed not a little to the development of rabbinical science. A number of traditions, which bear the stamp of his name and authority, were frequently appealed to by his successors.

The change in the duties devolving upon the Sanhedrim had two important consequences. The first of these, to which we have already referred, was an increase of legislation on purely religious questions, or rather on the civil institutions connected with religion, consisting not so much in an elaboration of a system of doctrines or dogmatics, as in a kind of *jus canonicum* (canon-law). Accordingly, we find that subsequent teachers appeal with more than ordinary frequency to Shemaja and Abtalion, as authorities for their own juridical decisions in these matters. Perhaps the recorded principles of these two doctors

¹ Eduj., v. 6.

² Kethub., xiii. 1, &c.

³ Peah, ii. 6.

contain a reference to this change in the synagogue. Of She-maja few distinct notices are left besides the principle, "Love thy business (trade), hate dominion, and do not press forward into places of authority." Of his Ab-beth-din Abtalion, tradition has chronicled more particulars.² Jewish legendaries, who love the wonderful, and delight to connect their names with an ancestry inimical to the Jews, so as to shew the triumphs of their faith, state that his father was a heathen, and had descended from Sennacherib. His learning and authority were very great. The principle to which he gave utterance, was, "Be cautious, ye sages, in your words, lest ye be condemned to captivity, and led into exile, to places of noxious waters, from which if your pupils drink, they will die, whereby the name of God would be dishonoured."³ The second consequence of the change in the occupation of the Sanhedrim, was the increase of colleges, instituted for the purpose of initiating the youth in the traditions of the elders, and in theological casuistry. These colleges differed from the more elementary schools, which also were established about this time (at least in the capital), in that the pupils instructed in them were young men, who had received previous training in other branches, some of them having studied medicine, astronomy, languages, &c.; and that the education imparted was exclusively theological (in the sense above explained). The arrangement of these schools, of which there were many throughout the land, was similar to that of the Sanhedrim. The chair was occupied by the president or teacher, who was termed *Rabbi*, in contradistinction to the president of the Sanhedrim, who bore the title *Rabban*. On seats around him sat the members of the college, called Chaberim (associates); and opposite to them, on the ground, the students. When a student was deemed worthy of the honour, the Rabbi laid his hands on him, and thereby set him apart to be a Chaber, or member of the college. He was then allowed to take part in

¹ Pirke Ab., i. 10.

² Mas. Sanh. cap. Chel.; Bartol. Bibl. Rabb., i. 9.

³ Pirke Ab., i. 11. This saying contains probably a warning against the consequences of erroneous teaching.

the deliberations, and to vote on the subjects under discussion, which were generally introduced by the Rabbi by some verse of Scripture, or by some "Halacha," or traditional principle, and commonly bore reference to some knotty point of theological jurisprudence. The opinions of the Chaberim were not, however, mentioned with the authority of their names appended to them. Their record was prefaced in the following curious manner:—"Thus said the son of Joma, or the son of Bethera." Another limitation consisted in this, that a mere Chaber was not allowed to preside over a college of his own. To obtain these privileges, a second imposition of hands, and a formal setting apart to the office of Rabbi, was requisite.¹ The more the Sanhedrim occupied itself with the settlement of religious disputes, the greater became the influence which the schools exercised upon it. We have seen how Simeon changed the whole character of the sacred college, by gradually filling its seats with his own pupils, and by introducing a test which must have forced the Sanhedrim to fall back upon the schools in the election of its members.

The school of Abtalion was even more celebrated than that of Simeon. Three of its members, Menachem, Shammai, and Hillel, deserve special notice as having successively filled the highest places. For some time after Hillel's elevation to the office of Nasi, Menachem acted as his Ab-beth-din. But when Menachem retired to the court of Herod, where he played the part of cabbalistic soothsayer, he was succeeded by Shammai. Of all persons mentioned in the literary and religious history of the Hebrew nation, few if any equal Hillel in fame. He may well be singled out as the man who gave its peculiar tone to the religious thinking not only of his own period, but to that of Jewish theology in general. This period was the golden age of Talmudism. The personal history of Hillel is exceedingly interesting. Born in Babylon about the year 112 B.C., of poor parents, although descended in the female line from the house of David, he married when twenty years of age. His son was

¹ For particulars see a subsequent Chapter.

Rabban Simeon, thought by some to have been the Simeon of the New Testament, who waited for the consolation of Israel, and was honoured to take the infant Saviour into his arms.¹ Jewish legend extends the life of Hillel much beyond the usual period. It is said that at forty years of age he emigrated into Palestine, where he studied and taught for forty years, at the termination of which period he was elevated to the rank of Nasi, which he is supposed to have filled for other forty years. Like many other sages he was poor, and obliged to support himself by the labour of his hands.² It is asserted that he earned daily a very small sum, the half of which he gave to the doorkeeper of the college, in order to be admitted to the lectures of Abtalion and Shemaja, and that with the rest he supported himself and his family. The mode in which he attracted notice is curious. One day his supply of money had failed, and the janitor would not admit him into the lecture room. Although in the depth of winter, the zealous scholar, rather than lose the day's instruction, climbed from the outside up to the window, where he sat till he was completely covered with snow, and rendered insensible by the cold. Sabbath morning dawned, and the teachers wondered why the light remained excluded from the schoolhouse. On examining the window they discovered their zealous hearer. Glad for the sake of so promising a student even to break through the sanctity of the Sabbath, the requisite remedies were applied, and to the joy of all present Hillel was restored to life. From that time his fame increased. When, after the death of Hillel's teachers, and during the troublous times which followed, the sons of Bethera, or as some would have it, in lieu of a regular Sanhedrim, the elders of Bether presided over the deliberations of the Jewish sages, the question arose,³ Whether, as the Passover occurred that year on the Sabbath-day, the solemnities of the feast were to take precedence of those of the Sabbath or not? The question does not seem to have been discussed at any previous period, and the sons of Bethera confessed their inability to decide it. Hillel was now sent for as having been a distinguished pupil of

¹ Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. ii. 786, &c.

² Joma, iii. 35, b.

³ Pesach, vi. 66.

Abtalion. His arguments failed, indeed, to convince the members of the college, but his appeal to the authority of Shemaja and Abtalion settled the question. The sons of Bethera resigned their office, and Hillel was elevated to the presidency of the Sanhedrim. After the defection of Menachem, Shammai,¹ inferior only to Hillel in reputation, occupied the post of his Ab-beth-din. The learning of Hillel, whom tradition places side by side with Ezra, was celebrated in hyperbolic language. It was said to have embraced not only Scripture and tradition, but languages, geography, natural history—in fact, all sciences human and superhuman. To shew the extent of his influence upon the rising generation, it is asserted that Hillel had no less than 1000 pupils, of whom eighty were said to have been specially distinguished. Of these,² thirty were, in the language of the time, described as worthy that the Divine Glory should rest upon them as it did upon Moses; thirty that at their command the Sun should stand still in the firmament as in the case of Joshua, while only twenty were less noted. Amongst them Jonathan the son of Uziel was the most distinguished, while Jochanan the son of Saccai, who afterwards sustained so important a part in Jewish history, was the least celebrated. Statements like these are meant to impress posterity with a sense of the greatness of Hillel. He also originated some changes in the management of the theological schools, and was the first to introduce the distinctive titles of Rabban, Rabbi, and Rab (the latter being applied to extra-Palestinian teachers). The following are amongst the theological principles of this sage, as handed down to us. “Be thou of the disciples of Aaron, who was a lover and follower of peace, a lover of mankind, and one who bound them to the law.” He was also wont to say, “Whoever aims after fame, shall only lose his name. Whoever does not increase in learning, decreaseth. Whoever does not acquire knowledge, becomes guilty. Whoever tries to make gain of the crown of learning, shall perish.” He also said, “If *I* am not to be for myself, who

¹ By some Shammai is deemed to have been originally a pupil of Hillel.

² Succ. ii. 28.

³ Pirke Ab., *ul supra*.

then shall be for me? and as long as I only am for myself, what am I; and if not now, when then?" We subjoin a few other choice sayings of this father of the synagogue: they will indicate the direction of theology at the period of our Lord's advent, when Hillel flourished. "Do not separate thyself from the congregation, and do not put confidence in thyself till the day of thy death. Judge not thy neighbour until thou art in his situation. . . . Say not, When I shall have leisure I will study, for perhaps thou mayest never have that leisure." He also said, "An ignorant man cannot properly abhor sin; a peasant cannot be pious; a bashful person cannot become learned; an irascible man cannot become a teacher, nor he who engageth much in business a sage; and where there are no right men, see to it that *thou* prove thyself such an one." His views of the coming and kingdom of the Messiah, although widely different from those entertained by the multitude, are too vague to allow us authoritatively to interpret them. They do not, however, seem to have directed him to the future. Like the other Rabbins, he ascribed the highest merit to, and connected the kingdom of heaven with the study of the law. Although his learning was so great that it had procured for him the place formerly occupied by the sons of Bethera, yet in the multitude of traditions even he is said on one occasion to have forgotten a certain ordinance.¹ Hillel was extremely simple in his mode of living, modest, meek, patient, and kind. The mildness of his principles, which generally betokened a rather rationalistic turn and a liberal disposition, often degenerated in the hands of his followers into laxity. To him the merit is due of having made the first attempt at collecting the various traditions which had hitherto been arranged in 600 sections, according to their contents, under six general heads. But the most prominent, though perhaps the least tangible consequence of his teaching, was the peculiarly speculative direction which he gave to Jewish theology, to which he may be said to have given its peculiar form, as he imparted to it that bias which it has ever since preserved. The voice from heaven,²

¹ Jost. iii. 14.

² Termed the Bath-Kol.

to which the Rabbins in the last instance appealed for decision, declared indeed at first that the principles of the school of Shammai, which were opposed to those of Hillel, were equally correct with those professed by the Nasi. But with the increasing popularity of the latter, this oracle became modified; and while Shammai's views were allowed not to be false, those of Hillel were adjudged as authoritative (*Halacha*).¹

Although agreeing with Hillel in all essentials,² a greater contrast could scarcely be conceived both in method of teaching and in manner of life, than that between the Nasi and his Ab-beth-din, Shammai. If the former was poor, frugal, and mild to laxity, the latter was rich, irascible, intolerant, given to the pleasures of the table, and yet towards other offenders severe to harshness. As the speculative principles of the former were liberal, so those of the latter were strictly traditional, and as the method of Hillel was that of free development of thought, so that of Shammai consisted in a rigid adherence to the letter without progress, or even a liberal interpretation of the letter of tradition. That such an adherence to literality, consistently carried out, must often have sanctioned manifest injustice, and reprobated evident duty, is manifest. This was sometimes strangely exemplified.³ Thus, a rich man had disinherited his wicked sons, and left his property to Jonathan, the son of Uziel, the ablest of Hillel's scholars. Jonathan had sold one-third of this bequest for his own behoof, given another part to the temple-treasury, and returned the remaining portion to the legitimate heirs. Shammai took exception to Jonathan's conduct as contravening the will of the deceased, nor could the reply of the disciple of Hillel, that he had only done with his own what he thought right, satisfy the scrupulous Shammai. Of the learning of Jonathan, fabulous accounts are left. Besides the cycle of ordinary human and even supernatural knowledge, it seems to have

¹ Beracoth iii. 2. Some writers maintain that Hillel only carried the day on account of the large majority in the college which adhered to his views. Comp. Wolfi Bibl. Hebr.

² The points in controversy between the schools of Hillel and Shammai are variously mentioned as five, as three, and even as eighteen. Comp. Shabb. iii. 13; xv. i.

³ Sanh., fol. 11.

comprised a considerable acquaintanceship with branches not often cultivated at that time, such as mathematics and astronomy. Jonathan is best known as the author of a Targum, or paraphrastic translation of the Prophets, which bears his name, although many passages in it are evidently altered or curtailed by the pens of later Rabbins. This work is to be distinguished from the Targum of a pseudo-Jonathan on the Pentateuch, and is chiefly interesting as being the oldest Commentary extant. His labours were highly appreciated by the sages, and the Deity was supposed to have specially owned this paraphrase, and even to have assisted in its execution. Tradition ascribes to Ezra and other prophets a share in the composition of this Targum. Jonathan seems to have died before the birth of our Lord, so that we cannot judge what influence that event would have had upon his mode of interpreting the Scriptures. Shammai was very wealthy. He was said to have carried his punctiliousness so far as to have "daily eaten in honour of the Sabbath."¹ Deeming it meritorious to reserve the best food for the Sabbath, he was wont to purchase for that purpose any fine animal exposed in the market. This process he is said to have repeated daily, until at length he always dined on what had originally been selected for the Sabbath meal. His recorded theological principle is characteristic both of his scrupulosity and his peculiar method. He said, "Let the study of the law be fixed; say little and do much; and receive all men with a frank and respectful countenance." Both he and the teachers who followed in his wake were strict traditionalists in matter and method, in opposition to the school of Hillel, which adhered indeed to traditions, but was rationalistic in their application and development. Although the starting principles of these two teachers seem almost identical, their application and continual development would gradually bring to light and continually increase any real differences which obtained between them. Ultimately the difference became such, that it was said that, by the opposing teaching of Hillel and Shammai, the one Thora (law) had be-

¹ Bartol., iii. 318.

come two.¹ Even during the lifetime of Hillel, great enmity prevailed between the rival schools, and, when on one occasion the parties accidentally met, blood was actually shed.² Altogether, such was the authority enjoyed by these two teachers, that a Christian father³ reports Jewish Christians were wont to apply the prediction (in Isaiah viii.), that Christ should be a stumbling-block to both the houses of Israel, to these two schools; nor does this estimate of their influence upon the theological thinking of their own and the following generations seem extravagant. Among the other prominent sages of that and the next period, we may mention Rabbi Papias, whose evidence was afterwards frequently adduced in the decision of dubious theological questions; Ben Bagh Bagh, who did not live to see the destruction of the Temple, and had, during his life, earnestly sought the advancement of the study of the law; and Rabbi Chananja ben Chiskia ben Goron, a person well known in Jerusalem, whose dwelling had so often been the scene of bitter disputations between the adherents of Hillel and of Shammai. Amongst other things, Chananja was said to have written a Commentary on the prophecies of Ezekiel, by which he restored to the Jewish Church the use of the writings of that prophet which the Rabbins had interdicted, from an apprehension that it contradicted, on the subject of sacrifices, the law of Moses. Baba ben Bota is mentioned as a disciple of Shammai, and a great favourite of Herod. Rabbi Jochanan ben Hachorani was considered an authority on all questions in dispute between the rival schools. Rabbi Nahum Halliblar (Libellarius) had been one of the secretaries of the temple Sanhedrim. He was the maternal grandson of the noted Honias Hammagaal. The son of that personage, Chanin Hanachba, transmitted the wonderful gifts of his father to Abba Chilkia, a man equally distinguished for scrupulosity in legal observances and the faculty of working miracles. An incident in the life of

¹ Sanh. fol. 85; Menor. Ham. ii. 2, c. iii.

² Shabb. xxxiii.

³ Hieron. in Isa., c. viii.

this sage will sufficiently illustrate both qualities.¹ Want of rain induced the Rabbins to send a deputation to Abba Chilkia, to bespeak his prayers for relief. The sages found him busy working in the fields. To their salutation, "Peace to you!" he returned no answer, deeming it dishonest to his employer to interrupt himself in the work for which he was to be paid by him. The sages remained beside him till even, when, after having collected a bundle of sticks, and laid an upper garment which he had borrowed over his shoulder in order to save it, he led the way home with the same punctiliousness which had throughout marked his conduct, taking care neither to waste his shoes nor to injure his feet. At the entrance of his house, his pious wife, clean, and beautifully arrayed, so that her husband might always fix his regards only on her, awaited his return. Chilkia made her enter first, as he did not know his guests sufficiently to allow them to remain alone in her company. He did not invite the strangers to partake of supper with him, as there was scarcely sufficient for all, and he felt unwilling to accept thanks for what was not sufficient. After the meal, Chilkia communicated to his wife the errand of the strangers, but asked her to ascend with him to the roof, in order to pray there, so that the strangers might not know that the rain had descended in answer to their prayers. While engaged in that exercise the desired refreshment came, the clouds first gathering over the spot where Chilkia's wife stood. For this circumstance, Chilkia accounted on the ground that his wife, who was always at home, was able, by an immediate supply to gladden the poor, while he could only give them money, which could not procure instantaneous relief of their wants. In connexion with this anecdote, and as an illustration of the duty of charity, the author of the book from which we quote it, relates an ordinance (ascribed to Ezra) which enjoins housewives to bake bread every Friday morning, so as to be able to distribute it amongst the poor for their use on the Sabbath, while fresh and palatable, and to accompany the gift with kind

1 Comp. Menor. Ham. iii. 7, 2, 11 c. We have largely availed ourselves of the mass of Rabbinical information scattered over the pages of that work. 3 vols. ed. Krotoschin, 1848.

and encouraging words, that the recipients of the charity might, if possible, for a time forget their misery.

Two other sages deserve in this brief sketch a passing notice. Of the first, Chanina ben Dosa, it was said, that his worth had been such, that a voice from heaven had daily declared that the whole world was only preserved for the sake of Chanina. His fundamental principle is remarkable as being more practical than those of many others. "The wisdom of a man will be abiding if his fear of sin is greater than his desire after wisdom only; but where search after wisdom takes precedence of the fear of sin, the former also will only prove a temporary possession." In the same sense he used to say, "The man whose works exceed his wisdom really possesses firm and lasting wisdom; but he whose wisdom excels his works, will find that the former also will prove unstable."¹ Many anecdotes are related to shew this Rabbi's power over angels, &c.² It was supposed, that when praying for the sick, he felt by his liberty of utterance, or by the want of it, whether the person prayed for would recover or die.³ Thus, when Rabban Gamaliel sent to entreat Chanina's intercession for his son who lay dangerously ill, after complying with the request, Chanina communicated to the messengers that the lad was restored, a fact which he gathered from his liberty in interceding for him. It is added, that the event proved the correctness of his assertion.

The last in that circle of sages whom we shall name, was Nechunjah ben Hakanah, a man specially distinguished for his cabbalistic lore and powers.

Such were the most prominent among the sages whom their theological attainments, cabbalistic powers, or reputation for sanctity, placed at the head of Jewish religious society. We have faithfully traced their portraits, and purposely dwelt at some length on incidents in their history, that the reader may be enabled to judge for himself of the state of religion amongst the people, and of the direction which theology, piety, and

¹ Pirke Ab. iii. 9.

² Comp. Lightfoot in Matt. xxiv. 24.

³ Berac. v. 8, comp. Bartol. and Wolf, *passim*.

religious ardour assumed at that period. The age of Hillel was, in many respects, the most distinguished. It was also that in which Jesus Christ appeared. Most, if not all the Rabbins whom we have named, must have witnessed His advent, have taught during His lifetime, and had a more or less direct share in His rejection and death. Considering the state of the Synagogue, can we still wonder at this? Could their pride and exclusiveness, their wrangling and learning, their religious zeal and ardour, have found satisfaction in the life, the work, or the teaching of Jesus of Nazareth?

Hillel survived for some years his son Simeon. The latter is supposed to have for a time been associated with him in the office of president of the Jewish Senate. We do not pronounce an opinion on the supposition of some that this Simeon was the individual who took the infant Saviour into his arms. It is certainly remarkable that so little is recorded in the writings of the Jews about Simeon I.,¹ and that his son Rabban Gamaliel became afterwards so favourably distinguished for mildness towards the Christians. Hillel was succeeded by his grandson Gamaliel I. (the elder), the same who gave the temperate advice which led to the suspension of the persecution of the early Church. It is not easy to indicate who acted as Principal of the theological School, and who as President of the Sanhedrim, in the troublous times which preceded the destruction of Jerusalem. We conceive that, like Hillel, his immediate successors sustained both dignities at the same time. At any rate, the patriarchs who presided after the destruction of the Temple united in themselves the two offices. Rabbi Gamaliel was deeply versed in the current theological lore, but did not belong to the strict Pharisaical party. Like Hillel, who had throughout supported the government of Herod, he also abstained from political agitation; and unlike the school of Shammai, who were ardent nationalists, was not opposed to Roman supremacy. It is asserted by some, that about this time Gamaliel transferred the seat of the theological college to Jamnia, a town a few miles

¹ Comp. Dr. Owen's learned Comment. on the Hebrews, (ed. London, 1840), vol. i. p. 78.

to the west of Jerusalem. If such was the case, he may have removed to that city partly in order to disarm all suspicion of political agitation, and partly to withdraw himself from the influence of parties in Jerusalem. Nor would his residence in the country prevent his taking part, at least on important occasions, in the deliberations of the Sanhedrim. Of his scientific acquirements, acquaintance with the Greek language and literature, and with astronomy, deserve special notice, as indicating a more liberal spirit than that of some of his contemporaries.

In other respects also, he manifested a similar independence from the prejudices of the Pharisees. Thus, while other Rabbins, and especially the school of Shammai, scrupulously avoided every contact with heathens, and all that could be construed into the appearance of conformity with heathen practices, Gamaliel felt himself at liberty to do things which would have been denounced in any other as little less than apostasy. Trifling as it may appear to us, such indulgences as having a figure carved upon his seal, bathing at Ptolemais in a place where a statue of Venus had been placed,¹ and in general displaying a taste for the beautiful in nature and art, were serious innovations to a Pharisaical Jew. Gamaliel's descent, position, and influence alone could protect him in such a course of conduct, and later writers have felt it necessary to frame certain excuses for those apparent deviations from strict rabbinical principles. Probably Gamaliel had imbibed at least so much of Christianity as to abhor the hypocrisy and religious affectation of the Pharisees, who very soon declined in influence and importance. At any rate, he only carried out the principles of his grandfather. We must not omit to mention an important measure which he introduced into the synagogue. The appearance of the new moon was of the greatest importance for the computation of the Jewish feasts and the arrangement of the calendar. It had been the practice for those who first observed its appearance, to hasten to Jerusalem and intimate this to the Sanhedrim, by whom they were closely questioned on the subject. To secure more certainty, and to be less dependent on unsatisfactory reports, Gamaliel drew up lunar

¹ Ab. Sar. iii. 4.

tables and representations to guide the Jewish senate in the examination of these witnesses.

Notwithstanding his liberality, which probably was more rationalistic than spiritual, Gamaliel remained to the end firmly attached to the traditions of the Fathers. At his decease, about eighteen years before the destruction of Jerusalem, it was said in the magniloquent language of the period, and perhaps not without reference to subsequent events, that the glory of the law had departed, and that general wickedness had seized men. The recorded¹ theological principle of Gamaliel expresses his adherence to traditionalism, and his abhorrence of Pharisaical wrangling and hypocritical over-scrupulousness. It is "Procure thyself a teacher, avoid being in doubt, and do not accustom thyself to give tithes by guess." In the Christian world Gamaliel is known as the teacher of the apostle Paul.

Of Simeon the Second, the son of Gamaliel, little is known save that he took an active part in the defence of Jerusalem, and fell one of the many victims of the national struggle. The principle to which he gave utterance was, "All my life have I been brought up among sages, nor have I found anything better than to keep silence,—for, to act and not to explain, is the principle and basis of all; but he who multiplieth words, only induceth sin."²

We cannot omit from this record a distinguished cotemporary of these Rabbins, of whom the New Testament makes mention, we mean Nicodemus, who came to Jesus by night. It seems probable that this Nicodemus was the same person whom Talmudical writings describe as one of the three wealthiest men of Jerusalem (Zizith and Kalba Shabua being named as the other two).³ His name, Nicodemus, is derived by Talmudists from a miracle which is reported to have taken place in answer to his prayers. His former name is recorded to have been Bonai, and

¹ Pirke Ab., *ut supra*.

² *Ut supra*. Reland in his Notes to Othonis Hist. Doct. Mishn. ascribes this saying to Simeon I. It would be peculiarly interesting to know that believing Simeon had given utterance to that principle. The internal evidence is certainly in favour of Reland's hypothesis.

³ In another passage four wealthy men are mentioned, of whom one is named Joseph ben Gorion. Altingius supposes that the latter was Joseph of Arimathea; but this is merely a conjecture.

this Bonai is expressly enumerated in the Talmud¹ as one of the disciples of Jesus. It may be mentioned as a circumstance by no means incompatible with the supposed conversion of this Nicodemus, that after the destruction of Jerusalem, his daughter, who seems to have remained a Jewess, was exposed to such want as to be obliged to pick up from the ground grains of barley. A saying of Rabbi Jochanan ben Saccai is also chronicled, who ascribed this change of fortune to a dereliction of the law. The poverty of the family of Nicodemus may be accounted for not only by the destruction of Jerusalem and the subsequent persecutions, but by the cessation of the income which, as priest, he had formerly derived from the Temple.²

In the course of time, as authoritative principles were laid down for guidance, in all possible cases and circumstances, the traditions increased with the ingenuity of the theologians, until traditionalism, as it rolled onward, grew into that mighty avalanche which buried all spirituality and liberty. The two fundamental principles on which that system rests, are mutually connected and dependent. The first and most important of these consists in an attempt to produce religion, or to control and stimulate it by something *from without*. The contrast between the religion of Jesus Christ and that of the Rabbins, consists in this—that it is the principle of the former to work from within outwards, while the latter reverses this procedure. Christianity addresses itself to the *inner man*; the outer man, and the changes and appearances observable in it, are only the spontaneous consequences of the great change wrought within. It is indeed true, that the Gospel brings before us not only those great truths which are to make us wise unto salvation, but also the great principles of right, of virtue, and of holiness. These, however, are not so defined as to give us rules applicable to every individual case; nor does the Gospel prescribe the exact mode in which these duties are to be discharged. In connexion with

¹ Taan. xx. Sanh. x. xliii.

² Comp. also Lightfoot, Horæ Hebr. pp. 981, &c., where Nicodemus is described as a priest.

this first, we have another equally important principle contravened by Rabbinism, but embodied in the New Testament economy,—that of individual liberty. It was foretold of Messianic days, and it became fully verified, under the dispensation of the Spirit, that man was no longer to legislate, nor to attempt authoritatively or effectively to instruct his fellow. Nor is aught more repugnant to the spirit of the Gospel, or more certain to carry with it the most serious consequences, (as history has clearly shown,) than any systematic attempt to legislate for other men's consciences on questions of practice. As each man will have to stand for himself in the day of account, so also should the leaven put into the lump be allowed freely and gradually to leaven the whole. Questions of theological casuistry, however grateful to the pride of the self-righteous, must inevitably estrange the individual from the sole director of his conscience and help to duty. The Gospel finds the realization of such spiritual necessities in a continued holy heart-converse with our reconciled Father, through the risen Saviour, and in a continual walking up to our light, in humble dependence on the aid of the Holy Spirit. The fundamental ideas of the Christian life may, we conceive, be summed up in the two words, *spiritual liberty*. That any departure from these principles must, from the nature of the case, have thrown men, for the authoritative settlement of individual questions, back upon carnal devices, have alienated them from the word of God, and, in the last instance, shut them up to the traditions of men;—that such habits had grown, and that as they grew they quenched every spark of true religion—all these are principles which, however apt we may be to forget them, are in themselves abundantly evident, and painfully illustrated in the religious history of the period which we have just described. Considerations such as these will also help to explain how it is that, with the Bible in their hands, with great religious zeal, and so much around them to guide it in a right direction, the Jews should to this day have shut their ears and their hearts against the truth as it is in Jesus.

CHAPTER VI.

HISTORY OF THE SYNAGOGUE FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM TO THE JEWISH WAR OF LIBERATION.

THE destruction of Jerusalem and its sanctuary, which shook the Hebrew commonwealth to its foundation, and removed the last remainder of national independence, produced few if any marked consequences upon the Synagogue and the Sanhedrim. It is true that the Temple rites, and those sacrifices which constituted the central point of the Old Testament economy, had now become impossible ; but, as we have seen, they had long before that period lost to the Synagogue their typical meaning, and with it their only interest and importance. In point of fact, the religious views of Israel had undergone a gradual modification, to which the destruction of the Temple, and the cessation of its ritual, served only as the completion. The people clung, indeed, with passionate tenacity, to the sanctuary and its ordinances, but what of that attachment was not purely national, belonged to the form and letter, not to the spirit and meaning of these rites. We cannot recall a single instance in which the latter were in any proper sense discussed, or even referred to in the religious teaching of the Rabbins. The remembrance of the spiritual meaning seems to have wholly passed away, and what were designed to have been *types* had become only *ceremonies*. Throughout, it was the outward observance, and not the spiritual effects of any ordinance, which were made the subject of study and discussion in the Jewish colleges. Dogmatics, or any system of *doctrines*, were not professed in the Synagogue. The doctrinal views of the sages were indeed of the most loose and unsatisfactory character, and can only be gathered in an indirect

manner from a consideration of their religious poetry, of their prayers, &c., to which we shall have occasion to refer more fully in the sequel.

It was on grounds such as those above indicated, that however much the loss of the Temple was deplored by the people, its want was in reality little felt from the first. The worshippers had clung to it only as they clung to the letter of the law. In both cases it was the form which was of importance, and, as in the latter, the traditional took the place of the written law, so in the former the Synagogue, with its prayers and ordinances, took the place of the Temple with its rites and sacrifices. When the substance of a thing is gone, it is always easy to modify or even to substitute one form for another.¹ Besides, in the present instance, the change had been fully prepared. Under Gamaliel I., Jamnia had taken the place of Jerusalem. The Synagogues had long been the proper centres of religious life to the masses, and one set of ordinances might now be substituted for another, in agreement with the wants of the times. We would even go further and say, that in the existing state of the Synagogue such a change had become necessary, and the detachment of the sole remaining member of the old economy could only promote the development of traditionalism. In reality, then, so far from being affected by the cessation of the Mosaic economy, and the removal of the Sanhedrim from the capital, Judaism afterwards not only grew, but rapidly attained its full maturity.

Twice before had the Sanhedrim been obliged to change their place of meeting. From the "hall of polished stones" they removed to the bazaar of Beth-Chanan, situate in the immediate vicinity of the Temple. Again, during the last war, when these shops were destroyed, they transferred their meeting-place, about three years before the burning of the sanctuary, to the city itself.² As noticed in our last Chapter, it is supposed by some that Rabban Gamaliel I. had, before the destruction of the city, removed

¹ As, for example,—at a later period, the idolatry of Paganism was readily exchanged for that of Romanism.

■ Rosh-ha-Shanah, 31, a, b,

his residence and theological academy to Jamnia or Jabne, a city near the shores of the Mediterranean, and between the ancient cities of Joppa and Ashdod. But the Sanhedrim itself remained in Jerusalem till shortly before its destruction, when it also was removed to Jamnia under Jochanan ben Saccai, whom we have before mentioned as, according to tradition, the least amongst Hillel's eighty students. To this Rabbi belongs also the honour of having been the first Nasi or President of the new Sanhedrim. This office (which had become hereditary in the family of Hillel) he obtained partly owing to the circumstances of Hillel's descendants, and partly on account of his own political and religious moderation.

Jochanan (or John) ben Saccai (Zaccheus?), by descent a priest, is known by name to the readers of the New Testament as one of the members of that council before which the Apostles were summoned (Acts iv. 6).¹ Although the history of that examination properly belongs to a previous period, it presents so lively and truthful a picture of the religious views and mode of procedure of the Sanhedrim, that we shall refer to its leading outlines, even at the risk of going back upon our record. Questioned by the council how or in what name—whether by cabbalistic power, or by pronouncing the sacred name—they had wrought the miracle, the Apostles declared, that unlike the Jewish mystics, they had neither used magical means, nor profaned the ineffable name of the Deity, in order to heal the impotent man, but had done it simply in the name of Jesus, and in order to prove the reality of His divine mission. The council easily gathered that they were “unlearned” in the traditions of the fathers, and “ignorant” of the mysteries of the Kabbalah. Accordingly they were dismissed, not with the injunction to abstain from healing (which by some of them was not looked upon as so extraordinary a procedure), but from speaking or teaching in the name of Jesus. If we remember that cabbalistic miracles—if real, wrought by satanic agency which at that time appears to have been specially exerted—were not considered ex-

¹ Compare Lightfoot, *Op. Posthuma*, p. 37.

traordinary or even uncommon, the objection of some that the knowledge of such a miracle must have convinced the council and the people of the truth of Christianity, will lose its point. But as in this case the cure was performed in a manner differing from that commonly adopted, and by men ignorant of the Kabbalah, the council marvelled, and took notice of them that they had been with Jesus. We almost feel as if the remembrance of that interview could have never been effaced from the mind of any serious person that had witnessed it. We believe its impression never left Jochanan ben Saccai. Perhaps his theological laxity and eclecticism were in part due to doubts which then forced themselves upon his mind. At any rate, we connect with it that anguish of spirit about his eternal state which Jochanan displayed on his deathbed. We repeat, it would have been impossible for any seriously-disposed person to have seen and heard John and Peter on that day, and then to have looked forward to a judgment-seat without a Mediator, otherwise than did Jochanan ben Saccai.

Jochanan was a consistent disciple of the great Hillel, and, in some points, developed the principles laid down by his master. For the first forty years of his life he had been engaged in business; after that he wholly devoted himself to the law. Besides giving glowing descriptions of his learning, which, as usually, is said to have comprised the whole cycle of the knowable, Jewish legends furnish abundant notices of his life and teaching. He is represented as scrupulously observant of the traditions, as entirely engaged with the study of the law, and as surrounded by a numerous and intelligent class of hearers. His virtues were afterwards summed up in the following characteristic catalogue. It was said,¹ he had never been known to engage in any profane conversation; he had always been the last to leave the academy; he had never wittingly or unwittingly allowed himself to be overtaken by sleep while in the academy; he had never gone abroad a distance of four cubits without carrying about his person a copy of the law and the phylacteries; he

¹ Succ. xxviii., a.

had never been found idle, but had always been occupied with the study of the law; he had always in person lectured to his pupils; and he had never taught anything which he had not received from his teachers. To complete the sum of his excellencies, he had never been heard to say that it was time to leave the college. Cotemporaries also celebrated his longevity, which he himself ascribed to scrupulous observance of the traditions, and to diligent study of the law. He afterwards recommended these measures to others as the surest means of prolonging life. No doubt Jochanan's fame was in great measure due to the influence which he afterwards exercised at Jamnia. But even before the destruction of Jerusalem he had been a member—according to some, one of the leaders—of the sacred college. Tradition reports the arguments¹ with which he contended with the Sadducees on four points, partly religious and partly juridical, which they controverted. These were, Whether the Feast of Weeks (Pentecost) required always to be celebrated exactly on the Sabbath-day? What was the precise portion of the sacrifices due to the priests? Whether the daughters of the original testator had a claim to an equal share in the inheritance if the male heir-at-law had died leaving only female successors, (a point asserted by the Sadducees and denied by the Pharisees;) and lastly, Whether the restrictions imposed by the school of Shammai upon the use of the Scriptures, the handling of which they declared levitically defiled the hands, were binding—an ordinance this which must have greatly restricted their use. The grounds on which the orthodox opinions were defended by Jochanan, however powerful they may have appeared to a Rabbinit, are in themselves not very convincing.

In some respects Rabban Jochanan may be designated rather as the representative of all the various tendencies in the synagogue, than as member of any party or as an independent thinker. He employed and developed Hillel's method. Like Hillel he was also liberal in his general views. Thus he seems

¹ Comp. for this and the following, Bartol. Bibl. Rabb.; Wolfii, Bibl. Rabb.; Menor. Ham.; the book Kusari, iii. 65.

to have frequently engaged in discussions with heathens, and such was his general affability and courtesy to all, that no man was ever known to have anticipated his salutation.¹ On the other hand, like the school of Shammai, he was tenaciously attached to the traditions of the elders. To complete the cycle, he also busily occupied himself with the study of mystical theology. Thus, from his peculiar cast of mind, Rabban Jochanan was exactly the man for the times, and his deficiency in independence did important service in the way of consolidating parties and preserving peace at a very critical period. Another trait in his character was a love of peace, which inclined him to favour Roman domination. During the siege of Jerusalem he had often besought the zealots not to bring certain destruction upon the city and the sanctuary. He went even further, and from some evil omens ventured to predict the impending desolation.² These declarations, no doubt reported to the Roman general, afterwards secured for him a favourable reception in the camp of the enemy. But the suspicion of the zealots had been roused, and Jochanan had to flee. Having obtained the assurance of personal safety from the Romans, he forthwith prepared to leave Jerusalem; but the accomplishment of this was matter of considerable difficulty, as the zealots guarded the city gates and prevented all egress. At last he caused tidings of his decease to be spread. It was proposed to elude their vigilance by carrying the Rabbi in a bier out of the city. One of Jochanan's relatives was captain of a company of zealots in charge of the gate through which the party was to pass. Although the precaution had been taken to put a piece of putrid flesh into the bier, some of the zealots had almost insisted on examining it, but their leader, who was privy to the plan, restrained them by protesting against a profanation of the obsequies of so great a teacher. Ultimately, the procession was allowed to pass, and safely reached the Roman camp, where Vespasian welcomed his arrival, and allowed him to proffer a request. Rabbi Jochanan is said to have first conciliated the general's favour by predict-

¹ Berac. xvii. 1; Comp. Eisenm. Ent. Juden. 1. ch. xv.

² Yoma xliii.

ing his future accession to the purple, on the ground that the Temple could only be taken by a monarch (Isaiah x. 34). Then, instead of asking any personal favour, he only requested permission to continue at Jamnia those schools which had hitherto flourished in the capital. This request was granted; and he now settled with his disciples in Ramla, near Jamnia, there to await the issue of events. When tidings of the destruction of the Temple reached, the assembled scholars rent their garments, and mourned as for the death of a relative; but their master comforted them by reminding them that Judaism still existed, and that works of beneficence might now be substituted for sacrifices, as it was written, "I have chosen mercy, and not sacrifice,"—an interpretation (be it observed) in perfect agreement with the spirit of traditionalism. The next step taken by Jochanan and his friends was to convoke a Sanhedrim at Jamnia, of which he was chosen president, the more readily that the rightful claimant of this dignity was probably a minor, and had only escaped the vengeance of the Romans through Jochanan's special intercession. Besides, Simeon's share in the defence of Jerusalem would have excited suspicion against the Sanhedrim of Jamnia, if any of his immediate descendants had been named its president. In the hands of this council the work of transforming and adapting Judaism to the altered political circumstances, proved a task of little difficulty. Jamnia had only to be substituted for Jerusalem, a few ordinances to be discontinued or slightly altered, and certain prayers or good works to be substituted for the sacrifices; and the change was effected without leaving any trace of violent revolution.

From what has been stated, it will not be difficult to form a correct estimate of Rabbi Jochanan's character and activity. Although destitute of originality or brilliant talents, he was specially the man for the circumstances of the Synagogue. With considerable learning stored up in a faithful memory, he combined an earnest assiduity to do all in his power to recommend himself to the favour of the Deity. Besides, he served as a channel for communicating traditional lore to more independent thinkers.

The absence of independence in his religious teaching secured for him the support of all parties, while it enabled him to furnish from his pupils Rabbins belonging to all the different tendencies of Rabbinism. The most notable act of his public administration was the transference to the Sanhedrim of many of the privileges which had hitherto been claimed exclusively by the patriarch, such as the authoritative fixing of the commencement of the new month, &c. In principle, the Nasi was a Hillelite. His liberality induced him, for example, to admit that even heathens, if deserving of it by acts of beneficence, might inherit the kingdom of Heaven. In strange contrast with a liberality so unusual in those days, was Jochanan's strict practice, in which he followed the school of Shammai. The only branch of theology in which the Nasi really excelled was that known as the Hagada. In general, traditionalism may be divided into two portions, which respectively treat of the legislative enactments of the Fathers (the Mishna, Deuterosis, second law), or engage in the Hagada, or free interpretation. While the latter expressed the varying views of the times, the former was strictly traditional. Both are referred to in Scripture, and characterized, the one in 1 Tim. vi. 4, as "questions and strifes of words;" the other as "fables and genealogies" (1 Tim. i. 4). The Mishna, using that term not in the ordinary but in a much wider sense, as comprising traditional ordinances generally, was again subdivided into Halacha or statutory ordinance, in which the various legal principles were laid down; and Talmud (termed by the Babylonians Gemara), or the explanation and application of the Halacha to certain cases in dispute. A third discipline, which served as connecting link between the Halacha and the Talmud, in some respects as basis of both and as transition to the Hagada, was the Midrash. It consisted in explanations of Scripture according to certain defined rules, and was meant to derive the various Halachas from the sacred text, or at least to connect them with it. The Hagada was a peculiarly fascinating branch of study. Attractive to the hearers by brilliant sallies, by displays of

ingenuity, or by wonderful stories, it gave special scope for the cleverness or the imagination of the Rabbins. By it a Halacha might be illustrated, or more frequently a passage of Scripture commented upon in a novel fashion. Without binding himself to any strict or even rational exegetical principles, the Hagadist would bring almost anything out of the text, and interweave his comment with curious legends. A sign or a particle in the verse under consideration, would be twisted so as to convey a special meaning—in short, it was an ingenious play upon the Scriptures. Yet such was the disregard of the Word and the general pride of the Rabbins, that they did not scruple to declare that all such interpretations of the Bible (however conflicting) were correct so far as they went. Probably they meant to indicate that the various rabbinical principles enunciated or defended by the Hagadists were correct, and that their interpretations, or rather illustrations of Scripture, were of comparatively secondary importance. Nor should it be overlooked that the student of the Kabbalah derived considerable assistance from the Hagadic method of interpreting Scripture. It enabled him, although according to certain defined exegetical principles, to elicit the hidden meaning of the text. We shall have an opportunity of dwelling on these points in the sequel. To return: Jochanan excelled principally in Hagadic and mystical studies; and some rather ingenious rabbinical comments, which bear his name, have descended to us. It was his fundamental principle, “If thou hast much learned in the law, attribute it not to thy goodness, seeing thou hast been created for that very purpose.” Among the pupils of Jochanan were Gamaliel, the son of the former Nasi, who succeeded his teacher in the presidency of the new Sanhedrim, and five others,¹ who afterwards attained to considerable eminence in the Synagogue. They were Eleazar the son of Hyrcanus, whom, on account of his tenacious memory, and attachment to the Halacha, Jochanan compared to a well-plastered cistern, which does not let out a single drop; Joshua, the son of Chananja, whose mother he

¹ Comp. the afore-mentioned authorities.

declared a happy woman ; Joses, whom he termed “ the pious priest ;” Simeon the son of Nathaniel, “ who feared sin ;” and Eleazar the son of Arach, who is described as “ a fountain whose waters continually increased.” Among these five youths, Eleazar ben Arach and Eleazar the son of Hyrcanus were the most prominent. The former was chiefly engaged in the study of Jewish mysticism. To such a degree did he excel in this, that on one occasion the divine glory was said to have shone around him, and his delighted teacher pronounced Abraham happy to have had such a descendant. On the other hand, his colleague Eleazar ben Hyrcanus was a faithful representative of strict and simple traditionalism. Rabbi Jochanan’s peculiar mode of instruction, in its most favourable aspect, is illustrated in certain questions which he is said to have put to his five favourite pupils. They were to determine respectively the most desirable and the most undesirable object. Among the various replies offered, Jochanan assented to that of Ben Arach, who found the most desirable object to be a *good*, and the most grievous an *evil* heart. Of the sages who had gathered round the Nasi in Jamnia, there were many who had seen the Temple in its glory. Amongst these, seven deserve particular notice. Rabbi Chanina was one of the few who prayed for the Roman empire : he had acted as substitute for some of the high priests.¹ Upon Rabbi Nahum the Mede had devolved the sad duty of absolving from their vows some who only reached Jerusalem in time to find the Sanctuary desolate. Rabbi Zadock was a pupil of Shammai’s. Foreseeing the destruction of the Temple, he had, in grief for the anticipated event, fasted for forty years. In consequence of these privations, his health had become so shattered, that it never afterwards became completely restored. Rabbi Doza ben Harchinas was a man of great wealth (able to accommodate his guests on golden chairs), and a bitter partisan of the school of Hillel. He did not hesitate to warn others against the opinions of his own brother, who belonged to the school of Shammai, characterizing them as the suggestions of Satan. But

¹ Pirke Ab. iii. 2.

his extravagant views were not always homologated by his contemporaries. Abba Saul ben Bothnith had been a wine-merchant in Jerusalem, and was noted for his conscientious honesty in business transactions. It was said that he had not retained for himself even the dregs of the wine, deeming them the rightful property of his customers. On his deathbed he extended his right hand, and declared that it had always been scrupulously exact in its dealings. The more noted Abba was for uncompromising honesty, the more painfully truthful appears the sad picture which he drew of the general corruption prevailing amongst the noble priestly families before the destruction of the sanctuary.¹ But the two most remarkable Rabbins at Jamnia were Nahum from Gimso (the present Jimzee near Lydda), and Nechunjah the son of Kanah. The former of these sages was severely tried. With rabbinical resignation, he viewed his trials as so many consequences of his own harshness and unkindness. It seems that on one occasion he had carried to the house of his father-in-law some valuable presents. A poor person had asked him for assistance while he was engaged unloading the beasts which had carried the rich burden. Nahum bade him wait. But before he was at leisure to attend to him, the person who had asked his help had sunk from want and exhaustion. In grief for an unkindness which had caused the poor man's death, he invoked blindness upon his eyes, and paralysis upon his hands and feet. These imprecations were soon verified, and Nahum gladly suffered in order to expiate, as he thought, his sin. Accordingly when his pupils, at the sight of his sufferings, exclaimed, "Alas! that we see thee in such suffering," he replied, "Nay rather, alas! if ye did not see me so suffering." Rabbi Nahum was distinguished in theology as an original thinker; he followed Hillel's method of biblical interpretation. The latter had laid down a number of rules, according to which the meaning of the text was to be ascertained. To these exegetical principles (which we shall mention by and by) Nahum added another canon, important in the development of

¹ Comp. Grütz iv. ; Jost. &c.

Rabbinism. Certain articles and prepositions in the text were now stated to serve not only a grammatical purpose, but also to indicate that the obvious meaning of the text required either to be enlarged or else restricted. It will readily be conceived what a wide door this canon opened to fanciful interpretation, particularly when afterwards carried to all its consequences. To this exegetical innovation, Rabbi Nechunjah was, on the other hand, decidedly opposed. Naturally of a mild and kindly disposition, this teacher occupied himself chiefly with mystical theology. So much was this the case that later tradition ascribed the composition of the oldest cabbalistic works to him, or to his father. Like his colleague Jochanan, and on similar grounds (according to popular opinion), Nechunjah, who obtained the title of *the Great*, attained to a very old age. Himself a living protest against the supposed worldliness of some of his contemporaries, he was heard to declare that the person who submitted himself to the yoke of the law would find exemption from the burdens of this world, while an opposite course would entail corresponding burdens. It is interesting to notice that Nechunjah was one of the few who were wont to ejaculate a short prayer, both when entering the college, and again when leaving it. He assigned the following reasons for this unusual practice:¹—“When I enter,” he said, “I pray that I may not be the occasion of error, and when I leave I bless the Lord for my calling.” Later writers² have, without sufficient reason, supposed that he became a convert to Christianity. Certainly both the ground and the objects of his prayers savour more of the pride of the Pharisee than of the spirit of the Christian.

Rabbi Jochanan the Nasi died as he had lived. Before his decease he manifested,³ to the astonishment of his disciples, deep spiritual anguish, in the prospect of meeting, as he expressed it, not an earthly king who might be appeased, but the righteous Judge who punishes sinners with everlasting destruction. He dreaded to be called in question for his manifold iniquities, and wept in the uncertainty whether heaven or hell would become

¹ Berac. iv. 2.² Bartol. iv. 246, &c.³ Ber. xxviii. 2.

his portion. Before expiring, he expressed to his friends the wish, that the fear of God might as much influence their conduct as the fear of man.¹ Thus, in his life and death, a signal instance of the unsatisfactory character of Rabbinism, the Nasi was made to feel and to exemplify, that "by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified."

His successor in the sacred office was Rabban Gamaliel II., the great-grandson of Simeon, Hillel's son. He obtained the dignity of Nasi rather in virtue of his extraction than of his merits. Destitute of decided capacity either for guiding the deliberations of the sages on doubtful theological questions, or for managing public affairs, like many others in similar circumstances, he sought to compensate for lack of capacity by assertions of his authority. Unable to brook contradiction, he exercised the prerogatives of his office in the most despotic manner, silencing by excommunication those whom he could not convince by argument. This attempt at spiritual tyranny, however, ultimately issued in his own humiliation. Gamaliel was surrounded by his former class-fellows who had now become Rabbins, by some of the colleagues of his own teacher, and by their pupils. But jealousies were not wanting among these theologians. At the very outset, and immediately after Jochanan's death, Eleazar ben Arach withdrew from Jamnia to Emmaus, probably in the expectation that the sages would feel his presence indispensable, and that the Sanhedrim would thus become virtually dependent on him. If such had been his hope, he was doomed to disappointment. It is said that living at such a distance from the Sanhedrim, and cut off from intercourse with the other Rabbins, the man whom Jochanan had at one time declared to outweigh all the sages of Israel put together, came at last to be ridiculed for his ignorance of the law.

Rabban Gamaliel was a close imitator of his predecessors of the house of Hillel. His character exhibited a curious, though not unusual combination of different elements. On the one hand he was kind to his inferiors, readily moved to pity, well versed

¹ Ber. xxv. ; Men. Ham. i. 93.

in traditional law and the cognate sciences, and of such liberal principles as even to cultivate intercourse with Gentiles. But these virtues were, on the other hand, marred by stubbornness, and a determination to carry his own views, if necessary, by violence—by ambition, and even by a measure of cunning. Perhaps delicate health may have added a degree of nervous irritability to his natural disposition. His public and private conduct (if impartially viewed¹) bear out this view of his character. His extensive properties he let to farmers, demanding in return only a share in the harvest; and so scrupulous was he in his dealings with them, that when they repaid the seed-corn which he had supplied, he would only compute its value at the lowest figure at which it sold in the market, so as to avoid even the appearance of usury. The Nasi had a favourite slave, Tabi, distinguished for his rabbinical lore. His master would willingly have restored him to liberty, but some rabbinical ordinance prevented it. When at last poor Tabi died, the Nasi's feelings overcame his scruples, and he mourned for him as for a relative.²

We have already indicated that jealousies prevailed between the sages at Jamnia. The first question which caused serious disagreement was an attempt to settle the controversies long pending between the schools of Hillel and of Shammai. During the short term (probably extending only over a few years) of Rabbi Jochanan's presidency, these controversies had remained in abeyance, not more from the necessities of the times, which required combined action, than from the peculiar disposition of the Nasi. But the greater the inactivity of parties during that interval, the more violent was the shock of the collision, when a direct descendant of Hillel's, of the disposition of Gamaliel, led the ranks of a party whose opinions were at any rate in the ascendant amongst Jewish theologians. But there were men of note and influence among the Shammaites also. Accordingly, an attempt was first made to reconcile both parties. For three years were the discussions continued which bore on the fundamental principles of the two schools. At last, as might

¹ Grütz's view of his character is very one-sided.

² Ber. ii, 7.

have been expected, compromise was found impossible. To settle the dispute, it was now asserted by the Hillelites that a voice from Heaven (the Bath-Kol, literally daughter of the voice) had declared that the principles of both parties were the words of God, but that the Halacha,¹ or traditional law, was to be fixed in accordance with the teaching of the school of Hillel. Naturally enough, not only the Shammaites, but others also, and specially Rabbis Joshua and Eleazar, were unwilling to yield to so summary a mode of settling controverted points; but their opposition was vain, and they were at last obliged to submit. Rabbi Joshua gave vent both to his scepticism and his dissatisfaction by observing, that such miraculous solutions of difficulties must always prove unsatisfactory, as the law was designed for those on earth, and not for those in Heaven,² adding, that he attached authority to the decision of the majority of sages, but not to supernatural interpositions. To allay the general dissatisfaction, it was felt necessary to pass a by-law, which left both parties at liberty to follow in practice their own theological convictions. But one important consequence of this discussion was, that both parties became sensible of the necessity of having some independent and ultimate basis for, and criterion of traditional law, instead of the mere assertions of rival schools and authorities. By common consent this was sought in a more general reference to, and interpretation of Scripture, according to certain fixed exegetical canons. In this particular branch of theological science, Rabbi Akiba became specially distinguished; but any hope of good which the prospect of recurring more frequently to the sacred text might have opened, was soon disappointed by the fanciful method, and the ingenious devices which the various doctors employed in their attempts at Scripture interpretation. Meantime Gamaliel was resolved to follow up the victory of his party. In the prosecution of his plans he adopted peculiar tactics. To prevent any popular declaration against himself, and at the same time the increase of the opposite party, he stationed a door-keeper at the entrance of the College, whose

¹ Erub. xiii., Men. Ham. 144.

² Bava Metzia, lix. 2.

duty it was to prevent the admission of parties who might prove dangerous or disagreeable. At the same time he assumed a more dictatorial tone in the College, putting down all contradiction with a strong hand. When his authority failed to insure submission, he laid an interdict upon the refractory individual. There were at the time four kinds of spiritual censures in use. The first of these,¹ rather a reproof than a punishment, was adjudged for trifling offences. During its continuance, persons so visited had to stay at home and to abstain not only from amusements, but even from needless intercourse with others. The second, a kind of interdict which always lasted for at least thirty days, was inflicted for graver offences, especially for contempt of the law, of recognised traditions, of the person of any of the sages, or for any other breach of religious statutes, of which a later Rabbi instances twenty-four.² If the person thus punished showed no signs of repentance within that month, this ban was confirmed, and along with it the nature of the offence published. A person under the ban was deserted by all except the members of his family, or those who resorted to him for strictly necessary purposes. He was not allowed to change his garments, and had to share in many of the observances of those who were in deep mourning. If he died while under this ban, a stone was laid on his coffin.³ The last and highest censure was excommunication, which was, however, but rarely pronounced. The individual upon whom this sentence rested, was neither allowed to expound the law, nor even to listen to its exposition. The Patriarch or Nasi arrogated to himself the power of pronouncing these sentences, and Gamaliel was not sparing in the exercise of his spiritual prerogative. Thus an unfortunate sage, Rabbi Joses ben Tadaï of Tiberias, who had ventured to demur to a rabbinical conclusion (an application of the conclusion *a minori ad majus* to ritual questions), and to exhibit its fallacy in a somewhat sarcastic manner, was amongst the first to be punished for his temerity. His ingenuity was visited by the Nasi with excommunication. The same

¹ Bab. Mœd Katan, fol. 61, 1. Comp. Selden de Synedrîis.

² Orach Chaj. 359.

³ Sanh. v. 6.

punishment was inflicted on Rabbi Eleazar ben Chanoch, for venturing to doubt the necessity of washing one's hands before partaking of bread.¹ Even Rabbi Akiba, one of the most influential men in the Synagogue, barely escaped excommunication, which the Nasi at length hurled against his own brother-in-law, the celebrated Eleazar ben Hyrcanus, on occasion of a trifling dispute between them. This overbearing arrogance of one who, in theological lore, was inferior to many of his opponents, naturally evoked strong opposition. For, besides doing violence to the convictions of others, he paid no regard to their personal feelings, when attempting to gratify his personal ambition or to carry his point. Foremost in the ranks of his enemies, as their most able, determined, and therefore most dangerous representative, was Rabbi Joshua Ben Chananja. By extraction a Levite, he had enjoyed the honour of assisting, along with his brethren, in the solemn services of the Temple. Since its destruction he had lived in great poverty, supporting himself and his family by the manufacture of needles, or, as others assert, by working as a blacksmith. Probably Joshua had felt the hauteur and pride of the patriarch the more, that the latter and his friends lived in affluence, while he and other deserving men were exposed to want. Treatment like that to which the Rabbins were now exposed on so many occasions, a man of Joshua's independent and haughty disposition could ill brook. Their mutual ill-will could not long remain concealed. The occasion only was wanting for open rupture, and this was soon afforded. The question had privately been proposed to Rabbi Joshua, whether an animal accidentally wounded in the lip might afterwards lawfully be presented in sacrifice by a priest learned in the law, and who could not be suspected of having intentionally injured the animal in order to render it unfit for sacred use? It will be observed that this question was not one of any possible practical importance, and it presents a fair specimen of the subjects commonly chosen for theological discussion. At any rate, Joshua gave it as his opinion that such an animal

¹ Eduj. v. 6.

might be offered in sacrifice. Whether by preconcert or not, the question was next proposed to the Nasi, who decided in an opposite sense from Joshua. Gamaliel resolved to bring the matter before the Sanhedrim. Here Joshua, without regard to his former opinion, pronounced a sentence in agreement with Rabban Gamaliel's views. The Nasi now charged his opponent, in presence of the whole college, with prevarication. Not satisfied even with this public humiliation, Gamaliel did not invite Joshua to resume his seat, while he himself complacently entered on a long disquisition of the subject, until the indignant exclamations of the sages interrupted him.¹ Nor was this the only manifestation of his enmity towards Joshua. On another occasion, Rabban Gamaliel, who was proud of his lunar observations—a subject of considerable importance, it will be remembered—had rashly given credit to insufficient testimony about the appearance of the new moon, and had, contrary to the opinions of Rabbis Joshua and Dosa, fixed the day of atonement accordingly. Rabbi Joshua's astronomical knowledge was infinitely superior to that of the Nasi; and, besides, the observations of others had clearly established the erroneousness of Rabban Gamaliel's reckoning. Still it was in vain that Joshua proposed to lay the matter before the sacred college. The Nasi refused, and not only insisted on carrying out his own views, but to humble his opponent, ordered him to appear on the day on which Joshua had calculated the solemn fast should fall, as arrayed for a journey with scrip, staff, and purse—an injunction which, besides doing violence to his convictions, could not be viewed otherwise than as a studied public affront. Rabbi Akiba, one of Joshua's disciples, was selected to deliver the Nasi's message. At first Joshua determined to resist, but at the earnest request of his pupils, and of Rabbi Dosa, he yielded. When the aged sage appeared before the haughty Nasi, obedient to his arbitrary command, even he could not repress a generous emotion, and embraced him with these words, "Welcome, thou, my teacher in wisdom, and my pupil in obedience. Happy the age in

¹ Bechor. xxx.

which the greater obey the less!" But this fit of humility, and the reconciliation which ensued, were alike temporary. Conscious of mental inferiority to his opponents, the number of whom daily increased, Gamaliel omitted no opportunity of publicly humbling them. At last his tyranny became intolerable, and led to a general resistance. Once more, whether by pre-arrangement or not, a question had been privately put to Rabbi Joshua. This time it was, whether the recital of the customary evening prayers were absolute duty or only a matter of choice? Joshua took the latter, the Nasi the former view. The above-described scene, of prevarication on the part of Rabbi Joshua, and of public humiliation, was now re-enacted. Recriminations between the sages ensued. At last the whole college, incensed at the treatment to which one of their number was systematically exposed, rose against the president, and on the spot deposed him from the sacred office. The choice of his successor was a matter of some difficulty. Joshua did not possess sufficient means properly to sustain the dignity of Nasi; nor would it have been delicate to place in the president's chair the opponent of Gamaliel. Rabbi Akiba's rising fame would have qualified him for the honour, had his reputation been established. Ultimately the choice of the sages fell on Eleazar ben Azaria, the wealthy representative of a noble priestly family. The Nasi elect was scarcely the person to preside over the college. He was too young, and withal too modest, to command the submission of the angry theologians at Jamnia. It had been well had he followed the advice of his wife and declined the post. But the offer of the highest dignity was too tempting. Eleazar accepted it, and was installed on the day of his election. The Sanhedrim immediately entered upon a course of reforms. The first measure was to dispense with the services of the door-keeper, whom Gamaliel had employed, and to give free admission to all who chose to attend the sittings of the Sanhedrim; the next to re-open the questions in dispute between the schools of Hillel and of Shammai, which had formerly been so summarily settled

¹ Berach. xxvii.

by the Bath-Kol. The various Halachas were re-examined, and as their reception depended only on the weight of the authorities from which they had been derived, witnesses were summoned and examined on these points. Their statements were carefully considered and taken down. On some subjects the sages took a middle course between the opposing schools; on others the decision leant rather towards the school of Shammai. The depositions of the various witnesses (termed Edujoth) constituted probably the basis of the most ancient collection of Halachas. In many respects the discussions of that day, in which the ex-Nasi also took part, were interesting. The reader must not, however, suppose that they were conducted in an impartial spirit. Thus, amongst other witnesses Akabja ben Mahalaleel, a man of learning and probity, had deposed in regard to four Halachas in a manner unpalatable to the sages. As nothing could shake his testimony, an attempt was made to bribe him into compliance with the theological wishes of the Rabbins, by the tempting offer of raising him to the office of Ab-beth-din. But the old man remained firm. "Rather," exclaimed he, "may I be termed a fool all my life, than for one hour stand as a transgressor before God."¹ It was in vain that a decision of Shemaja and Abtalion was quoted against him; Akabja would not yield. Argument failing, he was excommunicated, and in the conviction of the righteousness of his cause, he patiently bore this sentence to the day of his death. But before his decease Akabja admonished his son to submit to the Sanhedrim. He could not have done so, as he had received the traditions from more than one Rabbi, but his son had only heard them from the lips of his father, whose solitary testimony should not be set in opposition to that of all the other sages. Before expiring, the Rabbi also directed his son not to seek the patronage of men, but the recommendation of deeds which would deserve the praise of others. It was the maxim² of Akabja, "Ponder on three things, and thou wilt be kept from committing sin. Consider whence thou

¹ Eduj. v. 6.

² Pirke Ab. iii. 1.

comest, whither thou goest, and in whose presence thou must shortly render an account."

All the questions discussed in the Sanhedrim on the day of Eleazar's election were not of a purely ceremonial or speculative character. Amongst them were some of general importance to the synagogue and even to the world. One of these concerned the inspiration of some of the books of Scripture. Even at that period doubts were raised as to the claims of the books of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon to be received into the number of canonical writings. The school of Hillel defended, that of Shammai opposed their claims to inspiration.¹ Ultimately the Sanhedrim decided in favour of the views of the Hillelites. In this discussion Rabbi Akiba took a leading part, and vindicated especially the Song in very energetic terms, amongst other arguments declaring that if all Scripture were "holy," the Song was "the holy of holies." Another point of some importance was that raised by the request of a descendant of Ammon, a proselyte, to be allowed to marry a Jewess, and thus to "enter the congregation of the Lord." It will be remembered that the law of Moses expressly forbade such admissions. But whether from liberality, or from a sense that the synagogue required in measure to relax its strictness, the temper of the majority of the sages was in favour of the admission of the proselyte. However, the ex-Nasi as violently opposed as Rabbi Joshua advocated this measure. Both parties appealed to the law of Moses, and tried to defend their views by scriptural arguments. The discussion affords so fair a specimen of the method employed that we give it in an abbreviated form.²

The ex-Nasi urged against the admission of the proselyte the Scripture injunction, (Deut. xxiii. 3,) "An Ammonite or Moabite shall not enter into the congregation of the Lord, even to their tenth generation shall they not enter," &c. Rabbi Joshua replied by quoting Isaiah x. 13, "I have removed the bounds of the people, and have robbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants like a valiant

¹ Jad. iii. 5.

² Jad. iv. 4.

man." From this passage he inferred the removal and the mixture of all these nations under Sennacherib, and argued that the passage in the book of Deuteronomy no longer applied to them. The ex-Nasi retorted by quoting Jeremiah xlix. 6, "And afterward I will bring again the captivity of the children of Ammon;" from which he concluded that they must have been again restored. To prove that this prediction was yet unfulfilled, Joshua quoted the analogous promise, Jeremiah xxx. 3, "I will bring again the captivity of my people Israel and Judah." At last the Sanhedrim decided in favour of allowing the marriage of the proselyte—whether convinced by Rabbi Joshua's arguments, or because they wished to support his authority against the ex-Nasi, we will not attempt to decide.

It will have been noticed that Rabban Gamaliel, though deposed from the presidency, continued in the Sanhedrim and took part in its deliberations. Indeed the ambitious prelate had no intention readily to relinquish the office which he had so long held. However little that day's discussions might have added to his theological attainments, it had taught him at least the necessity of abating his pretensions and conciliating those whom he had hitherto only sought to control. Accordingly, he was now as ready to make concessions as he had formerly been overbearing. In fact, he had resolved to leave no means untried to regain the lost patriarchate. Accordingly, on the day after his deposition he waited on the leading members of the opposition, ostensibly to ask their forgiveness for his former harshness, but really to secure their support. The most humiliating part of this duty was the necessity which it involved of condescending to appear as suppliant before Rabbi Joshua. He found the latter engaged at his trade. The Nasi expressed well-feigned surprise and concern when he entered the humble dwelling of the sage, the blackened walls and empty rooms of which testified to the laborious occupation and to the difficulties of its inmates. But Joshua was not deceived, and with his usual bluntness, bitterly reproached Gamaliel for his want of interest in the sages. "Alas!" exclaimed he, "for the age of which

thou art the leader, and the ship of which thou art the helmsman; thou art equally ignorant of the cares of the sages and of their difficulties."¹ Nothing daunted by this reception, Rabban Gamaliel tried all the arts of persuasion to conciliate Joshua, but in vain. At last he implored his pardon, appealing at the same time to the sacred memory of his ancestor, Hillel the Great. To this plea Joshua yielded, and even promised to use all his influence to restore Gamaliel to the lost dignity. In the execution of this promise, which may partly be accounted for by the manifest incongruity of elevating a youth like Eleazar to the presidential chair, Joshua immediately despatched a message to the college. Indeed, it must soon have occurred to the sages, that as the proceedings had altogether been somewhat irregular, being prompted by the feelings of the moment, so the choice of a mere youth as their Nasi, and the deposition of a descendant of Hillel, was, to say the least, undignified. The senators had now had time to consider all this, and their feelings were changed with the humiliation of Gamaliel. When now even his old opponent appeared in the council to plead *for* him with as much zeal as he had erst pleaded *against* him, a perfect revulsion of feeling ensued. The sages resolved to reinstate Gamaliel in his former dignity. But the difficulty was to set aside their nominee of yesterday. The delicate task of inducing Eleazar to resign was intrusted to one specially qualified for its discharge, and who had formerly been selected by Gamaliel to convey an equally disagreeable message to his friend and teacher Joshua. But the noble youth had anticipated the deliberations of the council. No sooner had Eleazar heard of the reconciliation between Gamaliel and his former opponents, than, of his own accord, he proposed to reinstate him, and in token of homage, on the following morning, to wait, together with the whole college, upon Rabban Gamaliel. This unexpected act of generosity met with acknowledgment from the sages, and it was ruled that, in future, Gamaliel should preside for two weeks in

¹ This history, contained in Jerus. Ber. iv. 1, is related in Men. Ham. ii. 7, 1, and by Grätz, vol. iv., &c.

the Sanhedrim, and Eleazar take the chair during the third week. After this occurrence, peace and order seem to have been preserved in the sacred college. Little definite is known of the activity of Eleazar. Throughout he seems to have been distinguished for uprightness, and to have enjoyed general esteem. Great as was his learning, his recorded axiom shows that he preferred practice to mere knowledge of the law.¹

Altogether, Rabban Gamaliel occupied the presidential chair about thirty years. At his decease, which must have taken place nearly at the same time as that of his colleague Eleazar (during the reign of the Emperor Hadrian), the temporary administration of spiritual affairs devolved on Rabbi Joshua. That sage seems, indeed, to have acted as Ab-beth-din, and to have occupied the post of Nasi, either on account of the youthfulness of Gamaliel's son and eventual successor, or of the political necessities of Palestine. Rabbi Joshua and his pupils honoured the memory of the Nasi by a public mourning. So great was the respect in which he was held at the time, that the celebrated proselyte, Akylas, well known as translator of the Bible into Greek, burnt, in honour of his memory, effects to the value of about twenty guineas, according to a custom usual on the decease of kings. But Rabban Gamaliel was useful not only during his life, but even at his death. Hitherto the foolish practice had obtained amongst the Jews of burying the dead in costly garments,—a custom which involved the surviving relatives in great and needless expense. To do away with this, Rabban Gamaliel expressly requested that he might be buried in plain white raiment. To mark the public sense of this seasonable reform, it was enacted that in future, at funeral meals, an additional cup should be emptied to the memory of Gamaliel. The Nasi left several sons, during whose minority Joshua presided in the college.²

We have before referred to the vicissitudes of Eleazar ben Hyrcanus, who distinguished himself so much both as a student

¹ Pirke Ab. iii. 17.

² Comp. the above-quoted authorities, specially Grätz, iv. 152.

and as Rabbi for his knowledge of traditions, but who afterwards incurred the Nasi's ban. We add a few particulars connected with the history of that remarkable man.¹ The son of a wealthy farmer, he was up to his thirtieth year engaged in agricultural pursuits. Some domestic disagreement then induced him to leave his father's house, and resort for employment to Jerusalem. Here he conceived the somewhat romantic idea of giving himself wholly to religious and literary pursuits. With characteristic ardour and energy he attended the college of Rabbi Jochanan ben Saccai, who, under his uncouth appearance, soon recognised the peculiar talents of his rustic pupil. By diligence and perseverance he secured the affection and respect of his master. In course of time Eleazar's father, who had remained ignorant of the fate of his son, came to the capital for the purpose of formally disinheriting the fugitive. Jochanan, to whose knowledge the intention of the old farmer had come, resolved to bring about a reconciliation. Without acquainting either party with it, he invited the old man into the college, and commissioned Eleazar to deliver a theological discourse. That his modest pupil might not be confused, Jochanan himself withdrew, but listened unobserved. At the close he came forward and publicly honoured Eleazar by declaring, "that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were blessed indeed, since Eleazar had sprung from them." The feelings of the astonished parent on recognising in the honoured student his long-lost son, may be imagined. When Eleazar left his paternal home, so ignorant was he, that with difficulty he had mastered even the customary prayers; but by piety, frequent fastings, and diligence, he had now become so distinguished as to be deemed by his teacher even worthy of being initiated into the secrets of the Kabbalah. The rude peasant had now become a master in Israel. It would scarcely be possible more strongly to indicate the honour which the Rabbins enjoyed at the time, than by the occurrence which now took place. Contrary to all established custom, when his father recognised him, he rose before him in

¹ *Ut supra.*

token of respect, and now proposed to disinherit in his favour his other children; but the devoted student would not allow either the one or the other mark of distinction. Indeed, such was the general esteem in which Eleazar was held, that he could aspire to the highest connexions, and obtained the hand of Emma-Shalom, the sister of Rabban Gamaliel. On the death of his teacher, Rabbi Jochanan, Eleazar opened an academy in Lydda. Here, seated on a large block of stone, in a place formerly used for horse-races, he expounded to numerous and devoted hearers the traditions which he himself had received from his teachers. Not a word would he either add or diminish from them. Rather than develop traditionalism he would plead ignorance. The opinion entertained of him by his cotemporaries may be gathered from the fact, that Rabbi Joshua, his former class-fellow, compared the stone on which he was wont to sit to Mount Sinai, and Eleazar himself to the Ark of the Covenant. We have already mentioned, that his master had characterized the peculiar merits of Eleazar by comparing him to a well-plastered cistern, which would not let out a single drop. Most tenacious of the teaching of the elders, which his faithful memory had treasured up in all its fulness,—honest, strict, and conscientious,—he refused to answer questions when he had no authority to quote in support of his sentiments, or to avail himself of Hillel's principles for the further development of traditionalism. In fact Eleazar belonged rather to the school of Shammai than to that of Hillel. He was wont to warn others "to keep their children from speculation, and rather to train them up on the knees of the sages." His acquaintance with the traditions of the elders, more extensive and accurate than that of any of his cotemporaries, would have made him invaluable in the deliberations of the Sanhedrim, had not the ban pronounced by his brother-in-law excluded him from its meetings. It need scarcely be repeated, that the ground of dispute had been a trifling question in theological casuistry, in which both parties strongly insisted on opposite decisions. On this occasion also, Rabbi Akiba was commissioned to intimate

the sentence to Eleazar. Dressed in mourning, he presented himself in Lydda, and announced his message in the following delicate manner:—"It seems to me as if thine associates had separated themselves from thee!" Rabbi Eleazar understood the hint, and retired to Cæsarea, where he spent the remainder of his days. During his stay in that city he associated with some Jewish Christians, and, at one time, incurred the suspicion of having joined the Church. He was in consequence summoned before the proconsul to recant his supposed profession of the gospel. The explanations which he offered satisfied the authorities that he had never belonged to the hated sect. But Eleazar was not so easily satisfied as the Roman governor. He bitterly reproached himself for having given any ground for such suspicion, by holding intercourse with heretics. It has already been noted that he meekly submitted to the Nasi's sentence of excommunication; but he felt it not the less that he bore it patiently. Indeed it seems to have embittered his life and spirits. Thus, he used to say, perhaps not without reason, "Warm thyself at the fire of the sages, but beware of their coals, lest thou burn thyself with them. Their bite is as the bite of jackals, their prick as that of scorpions, their tongue as that of serpents, and their words are like burning coals." At last his health broke down, and the most learned and conscientious man in Israel was about to descend into the grave laden with the ban of his brethren. When tidings of his approaching decease reached Jamnia, Rabbi Joshua and his colleagues hastened to his side. Eleazar received them with reproaches for their past neglect, which had not only embittered his own existence, but operated so detrimentally on theological science. However, there was little time now left for recrimination. In the conversation which ensued, Eleazar communicated to his visitors valuable information on a number of Halachas. The presence of his former friends, and the long-desired but forbidden theological discussion, seem to have revived the dying Rabbi. Alike forgetful of the past and present, he continued expounding on his deathbed as he had been wont

to do on the stone bench at Lydda, and died while replying to an inquiry addressed to him. The last word he was heard to utter was "pure," a circumstance which the Rabbins present took as a certain indication that Eleazar's soul had departed in purity. On his death, those present rent their garments, and Joshua solemnly removed the ban from him who had been summoned to the bar of another judge. It was the eve of the Sabbath, when Eleazar died in the midst of those engagements to which he had given his mind and heart during life. The sages remained at Cæsarea during that day, and at the expiration of its rest the body was conveyed to Lydda, where it was buried, attended by a vast concourse of students and people. The funeral oration on the occasion was delivered by Akiba, who chose for his text, "My father, my father—the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof." In the exaggerated language usual on such occasions, the preacher declared that the book of knowledge had now been buried, adding for himself that "he had many coins to change (theological difficulties to solve,) but that the money-changer was gone."¹

The merits of Rabbi Eleazar were as extravagantly extolled after his decease, which took place about 117 A.D., as they had been overlooked during his lifetime. In hyperbolical language it was said that "if the expanse of the heavens had been parchment, the trees of Lebanon pens, and the waters of the sea ink, all would not have sufficed to write down what Eleazar knew." Although chiefly engaged with the committal and exposition of the traditions which he had received from his predecessors, and to which he would suffer no addition to be made, he also zealously employed himself in the prosecution of mystical studies. Of the various works ascribed to him, the best known is one which bears the name of "Pirke di Rabbi Eleazar," containing a scientific and theological medley on subjects connected with Jewish dogmatics, mysticism, and astronomy. Eleazar had trained, at least in part, numerous pupils. Although he imparted to them much of his own solid learning, he had, strictly speak-

¹ Bab. Sanh. fol. 68.

ing, no successor—he rather closed and completed an epoch than originated a school. Amongst the students who attended his teaching, we only mention at present Mathias ben Charash, noted for his singular chastity. At a later period he left Palestine with his garments rent, like one in mourning, and ultimately settled at Rome, where he is said to have presided over a theological academy.

The other leading Rabbi of that age was Rabbi Joshua ben Chananja, to whom we have already frequently referred, as first the opponent, and then the successor of Rabban Gamaliel. Properly speaking, this sage was rather distinguished for readiness and ingenuity, than for depth and accuracy of learning. It has already been stated that in his youth he had, as Levite, assisted in the ritual services of the Temple. After the destruction of the Sanctuary, Joshua was thrown entirely upon his own resources, and with difficulty supported himself by his trade. The privations to which he was exposed, together with his frequent fastings, contributed to sour a disposition naturally imperious, sarcastic, and jealous; and to render an exterior, which at least was far from attractive, unusually repulsive. But the contorted and emaciated little figure, and the blackened face, concealed a vivacious intellect, ready to grapple with intricate questions, or to give a telling repartee. So distinguished was Joshua for the latter quality, that after his decease, some entertained serious apprehensions for the cause of Judaism, from the want of one who had always been ready to give an apt reply. Various anecdotes are related to illustrate this feature in our Rabbi. The best known of these refers to an interview at Rome, during Joshua's presence in that capital on an embassy, which took place between the Rabbi and the Emperor's daughter, or probably rather the daughter of some Roman noble. Be this as it may, it is said that the young lady had been equally struck with the Rabbi's mental attractions and his repulsive exterior. With the arrogance so natural at the time, and in the circumstances, she had rallied Joshua with the question, "How so much wisdom could lodge in so ugly a body?" In reply, the sage advised her

in future to keep her best wine not in earthen but in golden vessels. The lady took the advice literally, and when afterwards the Rabbi was challenged for offering a suggestion which had spoiled good wine, he retorted by shewing her how it might be necessary to preserve the most precious substances in the most worthless vessels. Gradually, perhaps together with his growing political importance, of which more hereafter, Rabbi Joshua's position in Jamnia became more commanding, till after the death of Gamaliel, when he temporarily presided over the Sanhedrim. His poverty had formerly been relieved by an ingenious device² of some of his pupils. Eleazar ben Asariah (Gamaliel's colleague in the presidency) had, after the destruction of the Sanctuary, continued to claim, and appropriated for his own use, the tithes which the priests derived from the faithful. By such means he had enriched himself, while Joshua and others were exposed to want. But a Jewish ordinance prevented the defilement of a descendant of Aaron by touching anything connected with the dead, while another statute forbade the collection of tithes through a third party. Accordingly, in order to oblige Eleazar to make some arrangement with Joshua, a number of students agreed in future to deposit their tithes on gravestones, instead of handing them, as hitherto, to Eleazar. By this ruse, the income of the priest was so much diminished, that he was at last glad to make terms with his less fortunate brother of the tribe of Levi.

The theological and literary activity of Joshua was very considerable. After the decease of Rabbi Jochanan his teacher, he had, like Rabbi Eleazar, opened a college at Lydda. There he trained a number of most intelligent pupils, of whom some became distinguished for attainments in the Halacha, others for their mystical pursuits. Some also became famous for their attainments in mathematics.¹ In the latter branch, Rabbi Joshua himself attained considerable celebrity. An anecdote is related of him

¹ Two of his pupils were specially distinguished for their knowledge of mathematics. They seem to have been as poor as their teacher, who at last procured for them from the patriarch lucrative appointments.

which, if true, as there seems no reason to doubt, displays an acquaintance with mathematics and astronomy far beyond that of the age in which he flourished. It is related that when on a long sea voyage, in company with Rabban Gamaliel, perhaps on their journey to Rome, the provisions of all on board began to fail, with the exception of those of Joshua, who could even supply the wants of his less provident colleague. In fact, the journey had lasted far beyond its anticipated duration, and Joshua had foreseen this by calculating that about that time a comet, visible once in seventy years, would appear, which the ignorant sailors would mistake for a star, and alter the direction of the vessel accordingly. This circumstance is the more remarkable, that the calculation of the course of comets was at that time wholly unknown.

Another particular, which claims our special attention, was the influence which Joshua possessed with the Roman authorities. Frequent allusions have already been made to his journey to Rome, where, as in Palestine, he seems to have lived on terms of intimate intercourse with those high in power. Indeed, he was probably the only Jewish doctor who not only enjoyed the full confidence of the Roman authorities, but who also employed his influence for the advantage both of his countrymen and of their rulers. This relationship was the result of his mild and liberal views on all theological and general questions, and of an unhesitating adoption of the political principles of Jochanan and of the great Hillel. It cannot, however, be denied, that this liberality tended to degenerate into an indifferentism, and when conjoined with the excessive value which the Rabbins attached to a mere *acquaintance* with the law, even into moral laxity. So much was this the case as to induce some of the more celebrated Jewish doctors, to whom personal religion was at any rate but secondary to the study and observance of the letter, lightly to treat things which persons less punctilious but more enlightened would have reprobated. In opposition to his former associate Rabbi Eleazar, Joshua conceded to virtuous heathens a share in the world to come. In a similar spirit of liberality, when, after

the destruction of the Temple, some zealous Jews mentioned their scruples about partaking in future of flesh or wine, since these could no longer be presented upon the altar, he shewed the absurdity of these views by reminding them that on the same ground it might be deemed improper to eat bread or to drink water.¹ In general, Joshua was opposed to the unnecessary imposition of legal burdens. He declared himself dissatisfied with certain measures which, during the half century before the fall of Jerusalem, the school of Shammai had carried (known by the name of the eighteen enactments), and which were designed to prevent as much as possible all intercourse with Gentiles. "On that day," said he, "the school of Shammai in reality diminished the measure of doctrine; just as when water is poured into a vessel filled with oil, the more water is poured in, the more oil will run over." In fact he went even further, and viewed with suspicion the indefinite multiplication of Halachas, some of which he thought, referred to subjects on which Scripture contained little, if any information. He expressed his scepticism in figurative language:—"One pair of tongs," said he, "may indeed be made by means of another, but how are the first to be made?" The same sceptical tendency we have previously noticed in his opposition to decisions by the Bath-Kol.

Amongst the many pupils of Joshua, none was more justly renowned than Akiba ben Joseph.² Indeed, it may well be doubted whether in some respects he did not surpass even Hillel the Great. Combining originality and even genius, with moral earnestness and integrity, he could not have played a secondary part in any community. If to these natural qualifications we add delicacy of feeling, a glowing enthusiasm which invested with a halo every conviction, and made it as much matter of the heart as of the intellect—and finally, the necessary condition in his circumstances—extensive and thorough erudition, the picture is complete. His early history is almost as romantic as his end was tragic. Tradition makes him a proselyte, and de-

¹ Comp. Menor. Ham. iii. 277.

² Comp. the above-quoted authorities, and Ganz's Zemach David.

rives him ultimately from no less a personage than Sisera. Born in humble circumstances, and nurtured in ignorance, we first meet the youth as a shepherd in the service of the celebrated Kalba Shabua, one of the richest men (of the three rich men) of Jerusalem, who had undertaken to keep the city in provisions during a siege of many years' duration. His beauty, if not his mental qualities, attracted here the attention, and at last secured for the young shepherd the affections of Kalba's daughter, the beautiful and accomplished Rachel. It was in vain that her father opposed a union apparently so unsuitable, and at last disowned his child with a vow. Rachel gave her hand to Akiba. Only one condition did she attach to it, that he should in future devote himself to theological studies. Akiba had formerly equally hated theology and theologians. His proud spirit could ill brook their pretensions, or the contempt which they heaped on him and others, whom circumstances alone had prevented from attaining to equal, if not greater distinction. According to his own statement, he could have killed them; but now everything was changed. Akiba departed immediately after his marriage, by desire of his wife, for the college—determined to shew himself worthy of her he loved; and poor Rachel had to leave her father's abode. And now began a period of unexampled devotion on the part of the faithful bride. Twelve years, it had been agreed between them, was Akiba to stay away. Meantime Rachel lived in a wretched hovel, in extreme poverty. She had been delivered of her eldest and only child on a straw litter. Such was her destitution that she had even to cut off and sell her beautiful tresses to procure a miserable subsistence. Meantime her father, bound by his vow, was unable to assist her unless she renounced her husband. The twelve years of separation had elapsed, and Akiba was hastening to his beloved Rachel. He had reached her abode, when he overheard a conversation in which Rachel replied to the objections of her father, by expressing a desire that her husband should remain with the sages other twelve years. Without entering the cottage, Akiba immediately returned to his studies. At the close

of the second period, he returned the most famed amongst the sages.

At the head of an immense number of followers, some state them at 2400, Akiba approached the place where his devoted Rachel lived in wretchedness, and the people flocked from all parts to see the celebrated teacher. The procession moved on, when one whose haggard face was lit up with a more than ordinary glow, pressed through the wondering crowd, and unable to control her feelings, fell at his feet, which she embraced. Already his followers were preparing to push aside the forward intruder, but the Rabbi stayed them. "Let her alone," said he, "for what I am, and what you are, we owe it all to her." The poor sufferer was none other than his faithful Rachel, who from that day shared her husband's honours and wealth. It is said that her neighbours had offered to lend her new garments to go and meet her husband, but the devoted woman preferred meeting Akiba in the rags she had worn for his sake. Tradition adds that Kalba Shabua was freed from his vow as applying to ignorant and not to learned Akiba, and that he left his ample fortune to his celebrated son-in-law. Akiba's affection towards Rachel manifested itself in every possible way. It is said that on one occasion he presented her with a golden head-dress, representing Jerusalem in its beauty. So gorgeous was the ornament, that Rabban Gamaliel's wife, jealous of Rachel's distinction, would fain have had her husband interdict its use. But the Nasi refused, remarking, that she who for Akiba's sake had parted with her own hair, might well wear any ornament on her head. In general it would have been very difficult seriously to disagree with Akiba. Better than any other, he knew how to overcome prejudices, to disarm suspicion, and to conquer envy and jealousy. He could whisper comfort into the heart of the mourner, or stimulate the languishing into energetic action. Equally beloved and respected by his teachers and his pupils, by the learned and illiterate, his devotion to his country and its cause was only equalled by his readiness to act and to suffer for it. Withal, he was so modest, that during the lives of Rabban

Gamaliel and of Joshua, he only filled a subordinate post, although his extensive learning and influence might long before have raised him to the highest dignity. Ever ready to perform a delicate or a disagreeable duty, from which others might shrink, it will be remembered that he was selected to announce to his former teacher Rabbi Eleazar the sentence of excommunication, and on another occasion to request Eleazar ben Azaria to resign the presidency in favour of Rabban Gamaliel. These and similar difficult tasks he performed with admirable tact and grace. The noisy "*odium theologicum*" of Jamnia left Rabbi Akiba alone in the peaceful enjoyment of his honours. Alas, that his end should present so sad a contrast to his prosperity! Happily the loving Rachel was taken away before Akiba's martyrdom. After her death he is said to have married a proselyte—as some say, the widow of that Terentius Rufus who had drawn the ploughshare over the site of the ruined Temple.

Rabbi Akiba had studied under three different doctors, and derived from each a claim to peculiar distinction. From Nahum of Gimso he had learned those exegetical principles which attached such celebrity to the name of that theologian. Eleazar ben Hyrcanus had probably laid the foundation of his more solid learning, while Rabbi Joshua ben Chananiah initiated him in the mysteries of the Kabbalah. In these various departments he seems almost equally to have distinguished himself, and to have outshone his teachers. Rabbi Eleazar had, indeed, for a long time, been doubtful of the spirit and tendencies of his quick, inquisitive pupil. His was not the disposition immediately to gain upon Eleazar. For thirteen years, tradition asserts, would Eleazar not condescend upon one single thorough explanation in answer to the questions with which Akiba overwhelmed him. Nor can we wonder at this when we remember, on the one hand, Eleazar's strict adherence to pure traditionalism, and, on the other, that Akiba's exegetical principles must have led him in an almost opposite direction from his teacher. But in theological controversy Rabbi Eleazar was not the peer of his pupil. Notwithstanding the contrast between them, Rabbi

Akiba was probably indebted to Eleazar for that thorough acquaintance with the Halacha which enabled him afterwards to introduce a new arrangement into that science, known as the Mishna of Rabbi Akiba. Before that period, considerable difficulty had been felt in the study of the various Halachas, which were neither committed to writing, nor properly arranged upon an intelligible plan; hence it required enormous labour and a very faithful memory to retain this mass of traditions. Rabbi Akiba arranged the Halachas first after their contents: as, for example, into those concerning Sabbath-days, marriage questions, &c., and then enumerated them in such a manner as to assist the memory of the student. Thus, for example, *thirty-five* kinds of crime were designated by Scripture as deserving of the punishment of being "cut off;" *fifteen* degrees of relationship constituted valid obstacles to marriage with a deceased brother's widow, &c. Besides this arrangement of the Mishna, he also grounded its text upon Scripture, or at least made the first systematic and consistent attempt towards it. By the ingenuity of his interpretations, and the authority which he enjoyed, he secured a general reception of this method, and frequently even succeeded in substituting his own decisions for older ones. A teacher of the reputation and originality of Akiba could scarcely fail to attract numerous students. But more than the enumeration or exposition of the Halacha did his peculiar and novel method of expounding the Scriptures fascinate the hearers. The Word had so long become a dead letter to the Jews, that any person who, by the wand of exegetical canons, could open its hidden treasures, was sure to be respectfully listened to. It was something new—it opened ways for the exercise of ingenuity, and its results were made subservient to the interests of traditionalism. Not that this method was entirely new; it had been originated by Hillel the Great, who had proposed seven exegetical rules. It had been further developed by Nahum of Gimso, under whom Akiba had in part studied. According to the view of Nahum, certain defined particles employed in the text were to be looked upon as so many indications of a hidden

meaning in the words. Rabbi Akiba not only adopted this principle, but went much beyond it. Starting with an erroneous notion of the character of inspiration, he refused to submit the sacred text to the same critical rules as other writings. He maintained that *every sentence, word, and particle* in the Bible must have its use and meaning. He denied that mere rhetorical figures, repetitions, or accumulations, occurred in the Bible. *Every* word, syllable, and letter, which was not absolutely requisite to express the meaning which it was desired to convey, must, he maintained, serve some ulterior purpose, and be intended to indicate a special meaning. Akiba reduced his views to a system. The seven exegetical principles of Hillel were enlarged into forty-nine, which were now strictly applied to every possible case, irrespective of the consequences of such conclusions. Contrary to former practice, he applied these principles not only in hagadic interpretations, but in the study of the Halacha, in the highest judicial procedures, and even as groundwork for fresh inferences. The adoption of views apparently so dangerous will in part be accounted for, when we remember the increase of traditions, and the felt necessity of finding some support for them in the Scriptures, if the written and the oral law were not to be placed in irreconcilable antagonism to each other. Sometimes, however, these principles were put to a severe test. Thus, on one occasion, they were to be applied to the text, "Thou shalt honour the Lord thy God," in which a particle not absolutely requisite was discovered. One of Akiba's pupils objected that it might be inferred that some one else besides God was to be supremely revered, but Akiba removed his doubts by replying that the particle in question was intended to point to the law, which ought to be honoured next to the Lord.

In fact, strange as it may appear, this method of interpretation had in reality become necessary, and met the deepest wants of traditionalism. Owing to the number of Halachas, to the controversies which they elicited, and the difficulty which attached to their application in the different circumstances which

the ingenuity of the sages conceived, or the changes of time brought to light, it was feared that these unwritten traditions, which depended on the authority of individuals, would either be forgotten, fall into disrepute, or by and by prove insufficient. On the other hand, while Akiba's method dazzled the sages by its ingenuity and speciousness, it also promised to elevate tradition above passing opinions, and to place it on an immovable basis. We need scarce point out the groundlessness of this hope, but meantime the synagogue indulged in happy anticipations of the future. Akiba's method was hailed as the commencement of a new period. His cotemporaries yielded to the most extravagant transports of delight. Thus Rabbi Tarphon—probably the Rabbi Tryphon who afterwards disputed with the Christian philosopher, Justin Martyr,—who had formerly been looked upon as Akiba's superior in lore, now yielded this place to him with these words,—“He that forsakes thee, forsakes eternal life: what tradition had forgotten thou hast restored by thy method of interpretation.” Rabbi Joshua, Akiba's former teacher, although wary on these subjects, could not repress a wish that Jochanan ben Saccai had been alive to witness the firm establishment of the Halacha. In their extravagance, the Rabbis went so far as to assert that Akiba had discovered many things of which even Moses had been ignorant. After the manner of the time,¹ a legend related that Moses had at one time inquired of the Lord as to the meaning and purpose of the marks which He had added to the Hebrew letters in the Bible, and had in reply been informed, that after many generations Rabbi Akiba was to make them the basis of the Halacha. It was added, that Moses had requested to be allowed to see this great teacher, but that he had to sit eight rows behind Rabbi Akiba (in token of his inferiority), and felt unable to comprehend the meaning of his interpretations.

From statements like these, it will be easy to infer what amount of authority Rabbi Akiba enjoyed in the Sanhedrim. Indeed, such was his influence, that in his absence the sages would not decide on any important question. It was held that

¹ Menach. xxix.; quoted in Men. Ham., i. 178.

"when Rabbi Akiba was absent, the law was away." But it must not be inferred that his principles met with no opposition from any of the eminent men of that age. Amongst them none was more distinguished by birth, personal character, or learning, than Rabbi Ishmael ben Elisa, the son of one of the last high-priests, probably a descendant of the priestly family of the Fabi. He had for a long time been detained a hostage at Rome. There Rabbi Joshua had seen him, and ultimately procured his liberation by a large ransom. On his return he became Joshua's pupil. From that Rabbi he derived much of that sobriety of judgment which was his distinguishing characteristic. Afterwards Ishmael retired to his ancestral possessions in the south of Palestine, where he employed his ample means in bestowing dowries on Jewish maidens, whom the late disasters of his country had impoverished. Like his teacher, he refused to acknowledge the validity of any Halacha which was not directly based upon the Word, and only acknowledged the existence of three exceptions to that rule. As formerly Nechunjah ben Hakanah had opposed the exegetical principles of Nahum of Gimso, so now Rabbi Ishmael rejected those of Rabbi Akiba, and kept by the rules of Hillel, which he somewhat altered by rejecting one, adding another, and subdividing a third into five parts. These principles of Rabbi Ishmael are known as his thirteen exegetical canons. The fundamental difference between these two sages consisted in this, that Ishmael always retained the natural sense of a passage, and held that superfluous words or syllables in a text were not meant to indicate something foreign to the obvious meaning of the passage. In short, he interpreted the Bible upon principles similar to those which regulate us in determining the meaning of any other work. In opposition to Akiba he also refused to apply mere logical deductions from biblical texts in criminal procedure. With an enlightenment far beyond his own, and even succeeding ages, he opposed the practice of employing one deduction from the law as basis for other deductions—a misapplication of logic which, while it confined Scripture within the narrow bounds of man's limited un-

derstanding, had originally given rise to most preposterous conclusions. His martyrdom in the cause of his country will by and by engage our attention.

Besides his merits in connexion with the Halacha, and his peculiar method of Scripture interpretation, Rabbi Akiba distinguished himself by acquaintanceship with the Kabbalah or mystical theology. This science, which was only to be communicated to a few initiated, treated especially of the history of the creation, of the glory and attributes of the Deity, and of His connexion with His creatures, as described by the prophet Isaiah, and specially by Ezekiel in his vision of the chariot. The Kabbalah was, in the strictest sense of the term, a system of theological metaphysics, in which the spiritual elements of Judaism were mixed up with the religion of Babylon, and partly with the Neo-Platonism of Egypt. It was thought that an acquaintance with its mysteries bestowed peculiar powers on the initiated. Flames of fire, it was said, played round their heads while engaged in studying the law; and, when necessary, even miracles could be performed by them. But, in some cases, this knowledge also endangered its possessors. But Rabbi Akiba had engaged in this study only with profit to himself. Before him Rabbi Joshua, and after him Chananja Chachinai, were distinguished cabbalists. Still such pursuits were always deemed dangerous, and, on one occasion, even Rabbi Akiba was admonished rather to devote his time to the study of the Halacha, and to beware of profaning the name of the Deity.¹ These apprehensions are illustrated in a parabolic account of the fate of four sages who entered "the enclosed garden," *i.e.*, engaged in cabbalistic studies. One of them, it was said, had looked round and died; another had looked round and lost his reason; a third eventually tried to destroy the garden; while the fourth alone had entered and returned in safety. The parable was meant to illustrate the history of three cotemporaries of Akiba, and of the latter sage. The first of these four, Simon ben Asai, died at an early age. From a desire to give himself wholly to study, he had abstained from a marriage

¹ Comp. Ersch. Encycl. xxvii. p. 42, &c.

which would have closely connected him with Akiba.¹ In the public orations which this doctor delivered in the market-place of Tiberias, he chiefly dwelt on the goodness of the Lord. So deep and earnest was his study of the law, that it was asserted flames of heavenly fire were frequently seen to play round his head. Such was his moral and ceremonial strictness, that his contemporaries gave him the title "Chasid," the pious. In popular opinion it was thought to indicate good luck if a person dreamt of him. The second of the four cabbalistic students was Simon ben Soma, renowned for his deep investigations into the meaning of Scripture, which procured for him the appellation of "the sage." Particularly he endeavoured to explain in a mystical sense the history of the creation. One of his inferences, which at the time caused great indignation, is specially remarkable, and in some respects interesting. From the expression "God *made* the firmament," he inferred that its *matter* had not been created at that particular period, but had previously existed,—an inference which, in his case, was probably connected with views of the eternity of matter. In other respects also, his teaching sometimes bordered on heresy, so that Rabbi Joshua formally pronounced, "Ben Soma has gone wrong." The Scripture saying was applied to him, "Hast thou found honey, eat so much as is sufficient for thee, lest thou be filled therewith and vomit it." The third of the students in the parable was Elisa the son of Abuja, a wealthy citizen of Jerusalem. He was early initiated in the study of the law, but afterwards apostatized from Judaism, and became a bitter persecutor of his brethren. To account for this anomaly, in one of the sacred order of Rabbis, Jewish legend has it that Abuja, Elisa's father, had one day invited to his house all the learned in Jerusalem, and amongst them both Eleazar and Joshua. While these two sages conversed about the law flames, played around their heads. The ambitious Abuja immediately resolved to train his own son to the study of the law, so that he also might obtain similar distinction. The motives which had influenced Abuja in devoting his son to the law

¹ Ber. Rabba, 4, a.

being impure, the latter was afterwards so far left to himself. Of his conduct and death we shall have occasion to treat in the sequel. It was said that the proximate cause of his fall was the study of mystical theology, which, improperly understood, upset his religious and even his moral principles. However the change had long been preparing. At a later period his former class-fellows would relate, that even while attending the Jewish college, he had often been noticed to carry with him writings of the "Minim" (probably of Gnostics), and that he had even been in the habit of quoting Greek poetry (perhaps that of Homer, who was in great repute with some of the Gnostics).¹ The apprehensions thus excited were realized by his apostasy, on account of which he bore the name of Acher (the other, the apostate). In popular belief it was supposed to be an evil augury to dream of him. However, even after his apostasy he was frequently consulted by his former pupil, the celebrated Rabbi Mëir, of whom more in the sequel. The fourth and only unscathed visitor of "the enclosed garden" was Rabbi Akiba, whose interpretations throughout bear traces of his favourite study.

Though naturally of an ardent and even enthusiastic temperament, Akiba knew better than his cotemporaries how to console them in sorrows, which he felt even more keenly than they, and how for a time to bear with patience the burden of his nation's oppression. He would always cheerfully express his conviction, that whatever happened was sent from heaven for good. This principle he was wont, after his own fashion, to illustrate by two occurrences in his history.² It happened, so he related, that on a journey night overtook him in a place whose inhospitable inhabitants refused him shelter; accordingly he had to spend the night at some distance from that village in the open air. He had with him a lighted torch, a donkey to carry his baggage, and a cock to awaken him at an early hour for devotions and study. To complete the catalogue of his miseries, the wind extinguished the torch, a lion devoured his donkey,

¹ Epiph. Haer. I. i. p. 200; Neander's Hist. vol. ii.

² Comp. also Jost iii. 206, &c.

and a fox killed the cock. But what was the astonishment and gratitude of our Rabbi for his escape, when he learned that on the same night the inhospitable place which had refused him shelter had been taken by enemies, and completely destroyed. On another occasion Akiba was travelling with some of his companions to Jerusalem.¹ At the sight of it his friends could not refrain from tears, and their grief deepened when they saw a jackal running across the mountain on which the Temple had once stood. Akiba alone preserved his equanimity, and comforted his friends by reminding them that if prophecy had so literally been fulfilled in the desolation of the Temple, they might also anticipate an equal accomplishment of the promised blessings. Alas! that erroneous views and too ardent anticipations should have so far misled him as afterwards to become the principal supporter of a wretched impostor. When at last he was roused from his dreams of hope, deep disappointment and bitterness seized him. To his son, Rabbi Joshua, he bequeathed the following misanthropic advice, "Teach not in the most elevated place in a city; live not in a town where the teachers of the law have the management of affairs; enter not suddenly into thy house, far less into that of thy neighbour (to avoid seeing any mischief); keep always shoes on thy feet, that every person may be aware of thine approach; eat early in summer lest the heat rob thee of the enjoyment—in winter, lest the cold benumb thee—(enjoy thy comforts before any deprive thee of them); convert thy holidays into work days, in order not to become dependent on others; and take care to choose as thy companions those on whom fortune smiles." We close this sketch by quoting a few of the most remarkable of Akiba's recorded sayings.² "Man is loved of God, for He created him in his own image; but the love which made this fact known to man was even greater than that which so created him. . . . Beloved are Israel in that they are called the children of God, but greater still was the love which acquainted them with the fact of their being called the children of God. . . . Everything is foreseen of God, but free-

¹ Macc. fol. xxiv.

² Pirke Ab. iii. 13, &c.

dom of choice is granted to man; the world is judged in mercy, but everything depends on the quantity of work done by man." He was also wont to say, "Everything is given to man on trust; a net is spread for all living; the shop is opened and the merchant gives credit, but a book is open and his hand records every transaction."

Besides those already mentioned, other eminent sages filled up the circle of teachers and scholars congregated in Jamnia. Some there were amongst them who had seen the Temple in its glory—some belonged to another generation. In general, tradition arranges them as follows: Four of the sages were distinguished as teachers, viz., Rabbis Eleazar, Joshua, Akiba, and Ishmael. Five "judged in their presence," namely, Simon ben Soma, Simon ben Asai, Simeon ben Nana, Chananja Chachinai, and Chanina the Egyptian, (some insert Eleazar ben Mathias instead of Ben Nana;) the rest were less distinguished sages or associates.

To complete our picture of the Sanhedrim, we add a short sketch of other notable personages in the sacred college. Rabbi Tarphon or Tryphon, to whom we formerly referred, was a friend of Rabbi Akiba, and afterwards his Ab-beth-din. He was very rich, and latterly dispensed much of his wealth to the poor. Noted as a bitter enemy of Christianity, he inclined towards the principles of the school of Shammai. The recorded sayings of this doctor prove how intimately that class of theologians had learned to connect a heavenly reward with the study of the law, and how largely the element of merit bulked in their personal piety. Rabbi Eleazar of Modin was deeply versed in the Hagada, and afterwards occupied a prominent position in the last Jewish war, in which his death formed one of the saddest episodes. Rabbi Joses the Galilean was well known. His three sons also distinguished themselves in the theological world.¹ An incident in the life of Joses is related to illustrate his almost proverbial kindness and forbearance. It seems that his wife had been so imperious and quarrelsome, that he was ul-

¹ Jer. Ketab. xi. 3; Num. Rabba, c. xxxiv.

timately obliged to divorce her. After her separation, she disposed of her hand to the watchman of the city. In course of time, when her second husband grew blind, and was consequently unable to follow his former occupation, she had to lead him about the streets to seek alms. Carefully had the now humbled woman hitherto avoided the street in which her former husband lived. However, the blind man at last, by continued ill usage, forced her to knock as beggar at the door of the house of which she had once been the mistress. The sound of her well-known voice attracted Rabbi Joses. He took her and her husband into his house, and from that time provided for them. Another of the sages, Rabbi Ishbab, was employed as secretary to the council, and at a later period fell a martyr while engaged in reciting the customary prayers. Rabbi Chuzephith had been public interpreter to Rabban Gamaliel. Rabbi Juda ben Baba afterwards nobly sacrificed his life in the endeavour to perpetuate the profession of Rabbi; and Rabbi Chananja ben Thardion was throughout a zealous student. He was afterwards burnt alive, together with the roll from which he had so often taught. His spirit and disposition may be gathered from the remark, that if two persons could sit together without discoursing of the law, theirs was "the council of the ungodly," (Ps. i. 1;) but if two, when in company, spake of these things one with another, the glory of the Lord was amongst them, (Mal. iii. 16.) From another passage (Lament. iii. 28), he also attempted to show that the prosecution of such inquiries was as incumbent on individual students as on a whole college. Rabbi Jochanan ben Nuri was a warm friend of the Nasi Gamaliel, although sometimes his opponent in theological discussion. When, after the decease of Gamaliel, his successor and former antagonist Rabbi Joshua proposed at once to abolish all ordinances which he had passed, Rabbi Jochanan successfully opposed this petty act of vindictiveness. He remarked at the time that it was scarcely proper "to fight the lion after he was dead." On some subjects, however, the views of this Rabbi were neither sound nor in agreement with those of his colleagues.¹ Thus

¹ Pirke Ab. iii. 2.

along with others he opposed¹ the doctrine of the eternity of punishments. It is remarkable how different and unsound were the views of the Rabbins generally on this subject. Thus Rabbi Akiba supposed that the punishments of the future world only lasted for one year, supporting this view by an appeal to Is. lxvi. 23. From the same passage Rabbi Jochanan inferred that they only lasted "from the feast of unleavened bread to that of weeks," or from one feast of a week to another. Lastly, amongst these sages Rabbi Joses ben Kisma was known as a warm supporter of Roman authority, and at the same time so zealous a student of the law, that he refused the most tempting offers to settle in a place where there was no regular college of sages.

Two other names deserve to be mentioned, as celebrated even beyond Jewish circles. They are those of Samuel the Less, and of Onkelos or Akylas, the translator of the Bible. Samuel the Less has been supposed by some to have been a pupil of Gamaliel I., and in fact the same who afterwards as Paul became the apostle of the Gentiles. However, this assumption seems unfounded, as Jewish authorities are not only silent on this point, but record his death in the midst of the Jewish community, and even a prophecy which he is said to have uttered about the troublous times which were so soon to come upon his countrymen. In fact, Samuel the Less was a bitter enemy of Christianity. At the request of the Nasi he composed a formula of excommunication against the "Christian heretics," which was ordered to be inserted as part of the daily prayers.² Samuel was also famed amongst his cotemporaries for modesty. As an instance of this quality, it was related that when Rabban Gamaliel II. had on one occasion summoned a council of seven sages to deliberate on the insertion of an additional month into the Jewish calendar, —instead of seven, eight Rabbins had appeared. The Nasi, indignant at the intrusion, without naming him, ordered the individual who had come uninvited to withdraw. To spare another the affront, Samuel immediately rose and declared that he had been the uninvited assessor, pleading as excuse that he

¹ Eduj. ii. 10.

² Compare a subsequent Chapter.

had only come to gain information. Rabban Gámaliel understood the motive of Samuel, and bade him stay as being in every way worthy to act as member of such an assemblage. This conduct, more accommodating than truthful, insured him general commendation. According to popular opinion a voice from Heaven pronounced him to be "the worthiest of his age." At his death the Nasi himself delivered a funeral discourse.

Few questions in Jewish history are more difficult or intricate than that which refers to the identity or diversity of Onkelos (from whose pen we have a paraphrase in Chaldee) and Akylas, who has left a Greek translation of the Old Testament. Those who suppose that Onkelos and Akylas were different persons, describe the former as a Babylonian Jew, who had lived about the time of Hillel. To us it seems most probable that the two personages are identical, and that the Chaldee paraphrase of Onkelos was in reality a translation of the Greek original, into which later editors introduced certain alterations. Recent Jewish writers¹ have, on most insufficient grounds, (and from motives which we will not characterize,) sought to identify this Akylas with Aquila, the husband of Priscilla, who was so eminent an ornament of Christianity. The facts connected with the history of Akylas or Onkelos, as recorded by the Fathers,² and in the writings of the Rabbins, however, are, that Akylas was originally a noble heathen, a native of Sinope, in Pontus, and related to the Emperor Hadrian;³ that at the time of the return of the Christians from Pella, he had, on seeing certain miracles performed by them, adopted Christianity, but never wholly given up mystical studies; that he had finally been expelled from the Church, and then adopted Judaism. Other authorities ascribe his apostasy to love of a Jewish maiden. Be this as it may, Akylas became at last a most zealous traditionalist, and, by his learning and influence, materially assisted the Jewish cause. He seems to have been acquainted with the Nasi, Gamaliel II., in honour of

¹ Grütz, *Gesch. d. Judenth.* iv. 124, 510.

² Hieron. in *Jes.* viii. 14; *Epiph. de Mens. et Ponder.*, xv., &c.

³ This, however, seems apocryphal.

whom he celebrated costly and even royal funeral solemnities. He is described as even more strict in his observance of the law than the patriarch himself.¹ After his father's death he received his share of the inheritance due to him, but would not consent to take an equivalent for the idols which his brothers had retained. In fact he threw the compensation sent him into the Dead Sea.² Akylas was a friend of Rabbins Eleazar and Joshua, but especially of the celebrated Akiba, by whose instructions he chiefly profited. His translation of the Bible was almost painfully literal. The expressions which in the original admit of a doubtful or double interpretation, are rendered into Greek in a manner analogous.³ In biblical interpretation he followed the method of his teacher, and adapted his version to the purposes of Akiba's exegesis. At a later period Akylas recast his translation,⁴ when it became, if possible, still more in agreement with the comments of his master. This version he submitted to Rabbins Eleazar, Joshua, and Akiba, who highly approved of it, and applied to it the Scripture prediction, according to which Japhet (the type of Grecianism) should dwell in the tents of Shem.⁵ It may here be remarked, that the version of the LXX. had formerly been reprobated by the Jews to such an extent that the rabbinists had compared the day on which it had been finished to that on which the golden calf had been worshipped. The day had even been converted into a fast. The ground of this abhorrence must be sought in the rationalistic tendency of some passages in it. On the other hand, the rabbinistic translation of Akylas was pronounced faultless, declared of equal sanctity with the Hebrew original, and its public use was recommended.

We shall afterwards have occasion to recur to this subject, and meantime return to the political events which befell Israel at this period.

¹ Tosifta, Chag. iii.

² Jerus. Damai, vi. 11.

³ Hieron. in Ezek. c. iv.

⁴ Grütz, iv. 127. Another accommodation is quoted by Wolfius, which would however be unintelligible in translation.

⁵ Megilla, 9, a.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LAST JEWISH WAR UNDER BAR COCHAB.

IT will be remembered that the aged Nerva had felt obliged to associate Ulpus Trajanus with himself in the empire. He did not long survive this event. Nerva died in January 98, and left to Trajan the sole direction of the empire. For some time the choice of the aged senator seemed to bode nothing but prosperity to Rome. Popular with the legions, strong enough to repress the licentious mob, and dreaded by foreign enemies, Trajan appeared actuated only by the principles of moderation and justice. He summoned around him men of undoubted probity and ability. His counsellors and deputies were the wisest and the best in the state. If we remind the reader that amongst them were such men as a Pliny and a Tacitus—some of the best and the wisest in the heathen world—it will be allowed that our description is not exaggerated. But while all seemed prosperous, a restless ambition seized the emperor. Perhaps his military training and talents may have contributed to the formation of a resolution to aspire to more extended fame than that of a Roman emperor only. He wished to inscribe his name on the page of history as a conqueror—he wished to place it side by side with that of an Alexander; nor did he stop to consider the circumstances of his subjects which made further extended conquests impossible, or those of the state which rendered them worse than inexpedient, even had they been possible. It is otherwise with a young nation which enters on the career of military grandeur and overruns older empires, which if once subdued may readily be incorporated, and a vast empire which has outgrown all

healthy dimensions, and whose boundaries only touch upon barbarous tribes. In general, the latter will rarely be permanently subdued, unless they are conquered by the civilisation as well as by the arms of their opponents, or unless their territory can be readily occupied. Neither of these conditions was possible in the wars carried on by Trajan, and instead of successful campaigns he only entered on endless contests, alike fruitless and exhausting to the empire.

About three years after his accession, Trajan led his legions against the barbarians who inhabited the eastern bank of the Danube (the present Moldavia and Wallachia), with whom Domitian had formerly concluded a dishonourable peace, by which he had even consented to become tributary to them. Trajan was more successful. His legions converted the country into a military colony, and "Trajan's Wall" marks to this day the boundary line of defence which he drew against future invaders. But these victories, so far from satisfying, only stimulated his ambition. On his return he celebrated them by splendid popular entertainments, which lasted for 123 days in succession, and perpetuated their memory by a column on which these exploits were represented, and a colossal figure of himself was placed. But it was principally the East which engaged his imagination. In that distant region, nations hitherto unknown must learn to feel his prowess, and lands the reports of which were as yet semifabulous must own his sway. Thus was the dream of Alexander the Great to be at length realized. Only when he had subdued India would he return to the Capitol, laden with new spoils and surrounded by captive kings of whom Rome and the civilized world had hitherto scarcely heard. In the somewhat dubious state of relations between the empire and the Parthians, it was not difficult to find a pretext for an expedition to the East, and when the dread of the Roman legions induced an unqualified submission to their demands, it was not even deemed necessary or expedient to wait for another pretext. At the head of his legions Trajan now overran the Parthian dominions. Hampered by dissensions within his realm, King Cosroes could

not resist his victorious progress. The occupants of the Armenian throne were deposed, and their country converted into a province of the empire. Penetrating still farther, Trajan subjugated Mesopotamia, and took a number of fenced cities, amongst which we specially name Nisibis as having been almost exclusively held by Jews. Even this circumstance proves that the Hebrews opposed the hereditary enemy of their race who now threatened their liberties in the lands of their dispersion. Without doubt they bravely resisted, and though again and again beaten, resumed their hostile attitude. The fact that Jews dared to withstand the Roman legions may probably have raised in their coreligionists throughout the empire, and especially in Palestine, a hope that by a combined movement they might succeed in effectually resisting their oppressors. It does not very clearly appear whether the Jewish rising in Parthia was followed by insurrectionary movements in the mother-country which were speedily suppressed, or whether the medal struck at that time in commemoration of "the subjection of Assyria and Palestine"¹ only refers to the victories over the Jews and others in the East. The latter seems to us more probable. At any rate, neither in the East had the war as yet become distinctively Jewish, nor had any extensive general movement taken place amongst the Jews.

In the year 114, Trajan entered on a second Parthian campaign.² He overran Assyria, and penetrated into Arabia. Thence it was supposed he had intended to push farther east towards India. Everywhere victory followed in his wake. He sent to Rome glowing accounts of his conquests. The astounded Senators felt difficulty in even pronouncing the barbarous names of the nations which he had subjugated; but Trajan was soon made to feel the folly of his ambition. The countries over which he asserted the supremacy of his arms could only be held by the presence of the victorious legions. As these disappeared, the barbarians rose once more against their new masters. Meanwhile, by the fatigues of this expedition, and the vexation occa-

¹ Eckhel, *Doctrin. Num.* vi. 464.

² Schlosser *Welt Gesch.* iv. 286, &c.

sioned by its fruitlessness, the emperor had contracted a disease which forced him to resign the command. In these new risings the Jews bore a conspicuous part; nor was their resistance to the Roman dominion now confined to the Parthian empire. Soon it became more or less general throughout the various provinces. It is not difficult to assign motives for this renewed attempt at liberation. Although on the whole Trajan was greatly superior to some of his predecessors, he was a bigoted idolater. His idolatry seems to have differed from that of many others, inasmuch as with him it appears to have been the result of personal conviction.¹ Besides, his despotism gradually increased, and with it his determination "to suppress all foreign superstitions." In the prosecution of these plans he persecuted the Christians. The most generally known of these victims was Ignatius, the devoted bishop of Antioch. The Jews, whose safety and religious liberty at all times greatly depended on the disposition of the Roman governors, did not escape unscathed. One of the first victims was Simon Cleophas, the venerable Hebrew-Christian bishop of Jerusalem,² who, after days of torture, died stedfast in the faith. The persecution of the Jews became now daily more continued and aggravated. The occasion of this increased severity was the warlike attitude assumed by the Babylonian Jews. However, the more clearly to show the wickedness of the Romans, Jewish authorities, although varying in their accounts, disclaim all political movements, and account for these persecutions entirely upon religious grounds. One legend informs us, that a national feast had fallen on the 9th of Ab, when the Jews, instead of joining in the general mirth, had mourned, as was their wont, in commemoration of the anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem, and that this had been charged against them as a want of loyalty. A second account has it, that while the imperial family were plunged in grief for the loss of a near relative, the Jews had, as usual at the feast of dedication, lighted up their windows,—a procedure which was misinterpreted into a demonstration of joy on their part. A third and more fanciful story circu-

¹ Plin. Paneg. cxi.

² Euseb. iii. c. xxxii.

lated to the effect, that when on a certain occasion the emperor's daughter had travelled in Palestine, and the axletree of her carriage had broken, her attendants had been prevented from repairing the damage with some trees growing near the place, because these trees had been planted by Jews in commemoration of the birth of their children; and that this resistance had been construed by the Romans into a manifestation of ill-will. Certain it is, that although the Romans had warm friends even among the teachers of the law, yet, as their contempt and insolence vented themselves in various acts of petty persecution, so the Jews, whose religious and national prejudices were at all times easily roused, would retaliate as opportunity offered.

But apart from these real or supposed occasions of mutual ill-will, another and a more important hostile element now came into play. The Jews were powerfully incited by one with whose theological activity we have already acquainted our readers. The Rabbi to whom we refer was none other than Akiba, one of those men who leave the impress of their character not only on the theology and literature, but also on the political events of their times. However limited the number of such persons, at every national crisis they always exercise a lasting influence, acting, as they do, upon the inmost centre of society, and consistently carrying out their principles to all the consequences which their comprehensive minds deduce from them. Rabbi Akiba's firm faith both in God's providence and in the speedy fulfilment of His promises to Israel, has already been illustrated in a former Chapter. In his ardent soul every conviction became a passion, every hope a conviction, and every possibility a hope. With his whole heart did he cling to his country and to its faith, and his calm and believing gaze into a brighter future for liberated Israel, animated him with a vigour and a determination rarely equalled. It also nerved him with a patience in sufferings and provocations under which less ardent souls might have sunk, or against which they might have risen in the madness of despair. Not so Akiba. More deeply than others did he feel his country's sufferings. Thus he was wont to exclaim

that no Israelite could feel a moment's happiness unless he habitually devoted the whole of the fatal anniversary of Tisha-be-Ab to solemn meditation.¹ Not that he meant to waste in empty sorrow the energy of his people. No!—it was his hope to kindle not an isolated rising only, but, if possible, at a given signal, to combine the dispersed of Israel in all countries in a holy war. For this purpose he undertook frequent and distant journeys to visit his brethren. He went to Rome, to Gaul and Africa, to Babylonia, Media, and Arabia. Hence it was said of him, and not without justice, that “his fame had extended from one end of the world to the other.” Only few indications of this activity have been handed down, but the simultaneous outbreak of the Jewish war in the countries he visited, the part which Akiba himself afterwards took in the rising in Palestine, and some direct notices, sufficiently indicate that everywhere he had preached a religious war on a terrible scale. It may indeed be doubted whether he set out with a settled plan of proclaiming such a general rising. Perhaps the fear of Roman vengeance may, in the first instance, have induced him to emigrate, and his resolution to employ the opportunity for bringing about a general insurrection may have been formed gradually, as circumstances seemed favourable. Certain it is, that he evoked emotions of that peculiar character, which, if turned into a warlike channel, lead to the most terrible energy. To multitudes of weeping hearers in Media he preached about the sufferings of Job, whom the Lord had meant thereby to prepare for better things, just as He now dealt with His beloved people. At other times his addresses bore the character of direct political harangues,—a fact which we may gather from an incidental statement, in which he recommends to his hearers the practice of the Medes, who, “when they took counsel, assembled in the fields, where their deliberations were less liable to be betrayed.”² With remarkable sagacity and foresight Akiba not only addressed himself to his own countrymen, but sought to establish alliances between the Jews and those nations who were anxious either to

¹ Comp. Ersch. Enc. xxvii. 13.

² Ersch. *ut supra*.

resist the aggressions or to shake off the yoke of Rome. Thus we find it recorded that he conferred amongst others with the king of Arabia.

If such was Akiba's mission, its eventual success was chiefly due to the circumstances of the Jewish people and of their oppressors. Galled by a long series of persecutions, exposed to the insults of heathen settlers, and to the caprice or the cupidity of the Roman governors, the Jews were ready when the occasion seemed favourable, rather to try again the chances of war, and, if so appointed, to succumb in battle, than to suffer the tortures of a slow national death. Besides, they had not foregone the hope of heavenly assistance. On the contrary, these expectations were as strong, if not stronger than ever. It only required a preacher like Akiba to evoke them. Was not Jehovah the God of their fathers? How easily might His outstretched arm crush their blasphemous enemies! Had they not stout hearts and strong arms to defend their hearths and to recover their sanctuary? Already the Parthians had weakened the power of Rome; even the victories of their enemies had been dearly bought and had led to no lasting result. Again were the Parthians now risen, and to enclose the Romans between two hostile armies, to kindle a fire in distant provinces, thus to divide, and if possible to crush the formidable enemy;—such seemed to be a not unpromising plan in which Judea might play the last and decisive part; such at all events were their hopes. Accordingly, while Trajan was engaged in the second Parthian campaign (about the year 115), the Jewish rebellion broke out at one and the same time in Africa, in the island of Cyprus, and in Mesopotamia, perhaps also partly in Palestine. Other enemies of the Romans joined with the insurgents. The hostile standard seems first to have been raised in Cyrene, where, as formerly stated, the Jews had for a long period enjoyed great privileges.¹ The leaders of the insurgents in these provinces were Andreas and Lucuas, (or perhaps only one individual who may have borne

¹ For the description of this war compare Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 2; Dio Cassius, xviii. 14.

these two names.) At first the movement had only the appearance of a common revolt. The Jews rose against their Greek and Roman neighbours, and killed all on whom they could lay hands. As the people were wholly unprepared, and the choice Roman troops had accompanied Trajan on his Eastern expedition, the rising became daily more formidable as the number of rebels increased with their successes. Gradually the insurrection assumed the appearance of a civil war. It spread, and the Jews of Egypt now made common cause with their victorious brethren. Then commenced a series of the most shocking cruelties against the heathens, such as only deep-rooted hatred could have suggested, or long-restrained vengeance perpetrated. Would that we might throw a veil over the particulars of this war of creeds! The mixed multitude which follows in the wake of every religious movement, destitute of principle, has only passions. If these are no longer restrained, the result must always be terrible. In the present instance, these passions had long only awaited an occasion for their outburst. Now that the Jews were victorious, they fell upon the Greeks and Romans. They literally tore them in pieces, they sawed them asunder, they ate their flesh, they wallowed in their blood, they wound themselves round with their entrails, and dressed themselves in their skins. It was comparatively a mild fate awarded to some of the heathen captives to fight against each other, or with wild beasts in the arena. Though some Jewish historians have attempted to cavil at these details, none has ventured to deny their substantial accuracy. However we may shrink in horror from such deeds, we need scarcely wonder at these manifestations of the savage in man. Unhappily history furnishes too many instances of them, and in religious contests more frequently than in others. Where passion has caused a movement, passion alone can sustain it, and the growing flame always requires increased materials to feed it. The more holy and pure a cause which ought to be sustained by principle only, the more vile and infamous does it become in the hands of those who for principle substitute passion.

The success of the Jews called into the field the Roman garrison under the governor Lupus. But the few and dispirited soldiers were not able to make a stand against the wild enthusiasm of the insurgents. Retreating, the Romans threw themselves into Alexandria, on whose Jewish inhabitants they took terrible vengeance. The Jews requited cruelty for cruelty. They now overran the whole country, killing all heathens whether found in arms or defenceless, and spread even as far as Thebais and Meröe. Some authorities have it that part of the rebels penetrated towards Palestine (perhaps through Arabia). It is, however, likely that nothing more is meant by this expression than that the rising of the Jews of Egypt, Palestine, Asia Minor, and Mesopotamia, was simultaneous and preconcerted.

While the flame of civil war was thus kindled in Africa, it also burst forth from the island of Cyprus. Considering its proximity to Asia Minor and Syria, Cyprus promised to become the most suitable head-quarters of the rebels. This island had long been frequented and partly inhabited by Jews. Its commercial position, its important copper mines, which already Herod I. had rented from Augustus,¹ and its flourishing traffic, offered many attractions to Jewish emigrants. The number of these settlers increased as domestic disasters drove so many to seek a voluntary exile. Accordingly, as the book of Acts also attests, synagogues were scattered over the whole island. Probably there was no immediate occasion for the outbreak in Cyprus. From the temper of the heathens, and the circumstances of the Jews, we may indeed infer that provocations had not been wanting. At a given signal the Jews now rose all over the island. They marched on Salamis the capital of Cyprus. They took and destroyed it. Here also acts of barbarity similar to those perpetrated in Africa stained the insurrection. Altogether, not less than 240,000 Greeks are said to have been slaughtered.

The news of this unexpected and threatening war must have

¹ Joseph. *Antiq.* xvi. 4. 5.

considerably affected Trajan, whose position in the face of an enemy conquered but unsubdued, was in itself sufficiently dangerous. At the same time there was a terrible war raging in Africa and Cyprus; Palestine was heaving with the underground fire of general discontent; and the Jews on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris were taking up arms and inciting the natives to renew the contest against Rome. But Trajan shewed himself equal to the emergency. He immediately detached one of his ablest generals, Martius Turbo, at the head of a considerable force of infantry and cavalry, to quell the rising in Africa and Cyprus. A favourable wind within five days brought the ships which carried the Roman army to the field of action. The tactics of this war were those so frequently and so successfully adopted against undisciplined masses. Carefully avoiding a general engagement, in which wild enthusiasm might have compensated for want of military training, the Roman commander wished to allow both the insurrection and the Jewish army to consume themselves. In this he only partially succeeded. But in the various engagements to which the Jews forced him, Roman discipline, and especially the services of the cavalry, of which the Jews were wholly destitute, decided in favour of their oppressors, in spite of the desperation with which the insurgents fought. The Jews yielded only after protracted defence and many bloody affrays. It was now the turn of the victorious legions to avenge the wrongs of the heathens, and the disasters of their comrades in arms. In this they proceeded, according to their habit when successful under similar circumstances. The captive Jews were surrounded and cut down,¹ and their wives had the alternative offered them of yielding to the lusts of the soldiery, or of sharing the fate of their husbands. Very few accepted such a mode of self-preservation—the great majority desired the soldiers “to do to them who were above ground as they had done to those who now lay beneath it.”² For many years the desolation of whole districts deprived of their inhabitants, and the ruined and blackened cottages, bore testimony to the horrors of this war. Even

¹ Jerus. Succ. 51, &c.; comp. Jost.

² Grätz. *in locum*.

Alexandria suffered considerably, and it was only after the lapse of a long time that the traces of Roman revenge were effaced. At this period the celebrated synagogue of Alexandria was levelled with the ground.

From Africa, Turbo led his victorious legions against Cyprus, where the Jews were commanded by one Artemion. Without recording the particulars of this campaign, which no doubt in all essentials resembled that of Lybia—history has only chronicled the fact that every Jew on the island was killed. Indeed, such was the bitterness of the inhabitants against that wretched race, that ever afterwards Israelites were prevented from setting foot on their inhospitable shores. Even those who might have been obliged by shipwreck to seek a shelter there, did not meet with the sympathy which barbarians would not have withheld, but fell sacrifices to popular fury.¹ However, after this campaign, the commerce and influence of Cyprus decreased. The flourishing mart of Asia became impoverished, while, to adopt the graphic language of Jewish chroniclers, the blood of the slain in Africa passed through the sea and mingled with that of the victims in Cyprus.²

Trajan was still unsuccessfully engaged in the attempt to subdue the Parthians, when the Jews of Mesopotamia rose in the rear of the Roman army. The Emperor despatched against this new foe his favourite general Lucius Quietus, a Mauritanian by birth, whom, it was commonly believed, he intended as his successor to the purple. Such was the indignation of the Emperor against these Jews, that Quietus was ordered not only to overcome, but wholly to exterminate, or at least to expel them from these districts. But in spite of the bravery of the legions, and the ability of their commander, it was soon found impossible to execute the latter part of the Emperor's commands. The Jews were beaten but not subdued. Immediately afterwards Lucius Quietus was appointed governor of Judea, there to extinguish the Jewish insurrection in its centre.

While his legions were making way amongst the Jewish in-

¹ Dio, *ut supra*.

² Succa, *ut supra*.

surgents, Trajan himself was less successful against these antagonists. His troops had in vain besieged Attera, a fortress held by Jews, and situated in a marshy district. Leaving Babylon, the Emperor advanced against it in person; but after an ineffectual attempt, in which his life was endangered, he was at last obliged to raise the siege. This event put an end to his long-cherished plans of Eastern conquest. Shattered in body and broken in spirit, Trajan returned towards Rome. He had only reached Antioch in Syria, when illness prevented his further progress. Here he appointed Hadrian governor of Syria. At last he seemed sufficiently recovered again to embark, but he had to be landed at Selinus, a port of Cilicia, where he died A.D. 117.

Great doubt prevailed as to the intentions of the dying Emperor in regard to his successor.¹ It was generally supposed that the governor of Judea had been designed for that honour, but the Empress Plotina succeeded in securing the purple for her paramour, Hadrian. The latter was a near relative of Trajan, and also connected with him by his marriage to Sabina, the grand-daughter of the Emperor's sister. Only in respect of being addicted to similar vices did Trajan and his successor resemble each other. In point of character and disposition, the difference between them was striking. Trajan was a warrior, and as such bold, open, and brave. Hadrian was, or rather affected to appear, a philosopher. In reality he was only cunning, dishonest, shuffling in his policy, and withal shallow, conceited, and plausible. To insure the elevation of her favourite, Plotina had resorted to a piece of acting wholly in keeping with her own and with Hadrian's character. In the bed of a darkened room, adjoining that of Trajan, lay one of Plotina's accomplices, who apparently in the broken accents of the dying Emperor, formally adopted Hadrian as his successor in the hearing of a large number of witnesses. At the same time the Empress despatched letters to the Senate to notify the adoption of Hadrian. When the Emperor actually died, the event was concealed for some days, in order

¹ Comp. Dio, *in locum*, and Aurel. Victor, *Epit. in Traj.*

to keep up the deception. At last on the 11th August, Hadrian was proclaimed by the legions of Syria.

The new emperor lacked both the courage and the means to prosecute the plans of his predecessor. Having to inaugurate a new and an inglorious policy, he proclaimed a reform in the administration of the state. Unlike his predecessors, he was not to be an absolute monarch, ignoring the figment of a servile senate, which in reality had long ceased to exist as a deliberative assembly. He was to devote himself to the pacification and development of the empire. The state was to be strong, and the provinces happy and free. With consummate hypocrisy, he first of all communicated to the senate that he was prepared to hold all his honours from that body alone. At the same time he hastened to bring the wars in which Trajan had engaged, to an inglorious termination. It must, however, be allowed that the exigencies of the empire were such as to require either a Cæsar or a Hadrian. From all parts of the Roman world tidings of a disastrous nature arrived.¹ The Britons refused any longer to bear the yoke of Rome; Mauritania and Sarmatia were in arms; Egypt was still agitated by sedition, while Syria and Palestine no longer concealed their intention of renewing a war of independence. Amidst these troubles Hadrian ascended the throne.² His first efforts were directed to the restoration of peace. He was willing to yield anything for an object so necessary to the continuance of his power. Besides, it was more easy afterwards at a convenient opportunity to break his promises than to carry on the war at that time. Once more was the Euphrates to be made the boundary of the Roman empire. The refractory provinces were to experience a liberal and conciliatory policy. Meantime Lucius Quietus had administered the affairs of Palestine in a very different spirit. His exactions had probably stimulated the insurrection in Palestine, which is known in Jewish

¹ Spartian. (Ed. 1520) in Hadr.

² For these particulars, consult besides the above authorities, Salvador ii. 465. Walchii, *Hist. Patr. Jud.*, contains many valuable particulars, but is almost useless, owing to the mass of contradictory authorities marshalled in its pages.

history as the war against Quietus (118-119.) The Jews met in considerable numbers in the valley of Rimmon, and placed themselves under the command of Julianus, an Alexandrian by birth, and of Pappus. Little is known of the vicissitudes of this war, (if this rising may be so denominated,) except the fact of its occurrence. Apparently success was on the side of the Romans. It was said that the synagogue had commemorated the Jewish defeat by certain ordinances, such as the injunction on brides no longer to wear crowns at their marriage, and an interdict on the study of Greek; but these ordinances probably belong to an earlier period.¹ Nor could the Jews have expected success, wholly unprepared as they were to meet a Roman army. During this war, Jamnia, the meeting-place of the Sanhedrim, fell into the hands of the Romans, and the sacred college was obliged to remove to Usha. Whether the destruction of Jamnia indicates a participation of the doctors in the insurrection, or was only one of those measures against the Jewish teachers of the law which afterwards formed so prominent a feature in Roman tactics, it is impossible to determine. But Lucius Quietus was not allowed long to enjoy his honours in Palestine. Hadrian had never forgiven him the place which he had occupied in Trajan's affections. The rising in Mauritania was now charged to his intrigues, and finally an order arrived removing him from the government of Judea. Strange to say, as in the case of Flaccus at Alexandria, cruelty and blasphemy on the part of the heathen marked the period of his downfall. It is said that Quietus had newly obtained possession of the persons of Julianus and Pappus, the ringleaders of the insurrection, and was about to sentence them to be executed at Laodicea. In the height of his confidence he addressed to the Jewish warriors the impious taunt that their God should now deliver them out of his hand if His power were equal to what they had conceived it to be. The taunting challenge was answered by Him to whom it had been addressed, otherwise than Quietus or the Jews could have expected. Before the two Hebrews were led to execution, the decree of Hadrian,

¹ Comp. Sota, xiv. against the opinion of Grütz, iv. 146.

by which Quietus was removed from his office, arrived. The Jewish leaders were now set free, and the sages set apart that day, the 12th of Adar, as one for especial thanksgiving, under the name of "the day of Trajan," probably the day on which Trajan's yoke was removed. Quietus did not long survive. In the second year of Hadrian's reign, a conspiracy against the life of the Emperor was discovered, and Quietus, with other three men of consular dignity, fell victims to imperial suspicions.

A brighter day seemed now about to dawn upon Palestine. The pacific policy of Hadrian was to be fully applied to Judea. On his way to Rome the emperor had probably passed through that province. To this period of danger to Hadrian these attempts at conciliation must probably be referred. Nor was the emperor slow in proclaiming the triumphs of his policy. A coin or medal was struck representing Judea as a female whom Hadrian lifted from a kneeling position. Around are the figures of three youths, perhaps to represent Judea, Galilee, and Perëa.¹ Another medal also commemorated the good understanding between the emperor and his Hebrew subjects. The terms of the compromise were exceedingly liberal. They included religious liberty and even a permission to rebuild Jerusalem. Contemporary writers² assert, and apparently with truth, that the restoration of the Temple was excluded from this permission. Jewish authorities, on the other hand, not only mention that license had been granted to rebuild the sanctuary, but record events which leave little doubt that the mass of the people at least understood the emperor to have consented to it. The superintendence of the works at Jerusalem was intrusted to the noble proselyte Akylas, the translator of the Bible, in whom both parties had equal reason to place confidence. Whatever had been the emperor's intentions, whether he was wholly or partly sincere, or else entirely insincere, the Jews at least were thoroughly in earnest about the rebuilding of the city and the

¹ Comp. specially Grütz, who follows a paper in Frankel's *Monatschrift*, &c. This arrangement has also been followed by us.

² Nicephorus Callixtus (h. e. iii. 24); Cedrenus (xii. p. 249); and specially Epiphanius, *de Mens. et Ponder.* xiv.)

Temple. Both in and out of Palestine collections were made for this purpose. Their warlike ardour now gave place to that religious energy for which they have always been so distinguished. Julianus and Pappus themselves exchanged the profession of arms for the more peaceful avocation of establishing places throughout Galilee where the foreign money of the pious contributors to the Temple was exchanged for the current coin of the country.

While these preparations were making in Palestine, Hadrian had succeeded in restoring peace to the empire, and in establishing himself in the government. Then began the reactionary measures which always succeed the forced concessions of weak tyrants. Jewish authorities have ascribed them in this case to envy on the part of the Samaritans, who represented the danger to Roman supremacy if the Temple were allowed to be rebuilt. But it scarcely required such hostile interference to determine Hadrian. If ever he had meant to favour Palestine, his suspicions were easily roused, and their earnestness in the rebuilding of their capital, especially if he had formerly withheld permission to restore the Temple, sufficiently accounts for his conduct. But while determined to check them, there was not at first a complete dereliction of the conciliatory policy. Even the building of the Temple was not absolutely interdicted, only it was not to be raised upon its old site. T. Rufus, the Roman governor, so fearfully renowned for his hatred and cruelty against that hapless nation, appears to have been largely instrumental in this and in succeeding acts of Roman perfidy and persecution. But the Jews were no longer deceived by Hadrian's conditions; they readily understood the real import of the emperor's exceptions. Stung to the quick, they resolved to try the chances of war. An armed assemblage deliberated in the valley of Rimmon on the steps which required to be taken. The scenery around Rimmon—about an hour's journey to the east of Bethel, and near the desert¹—well accorded with the character of such a

¹ Grätz confounds this place with another of the same name which lay much farther to the north. Compare for our Rimmon, Schwartz's *Palestina*, p. 99.

meeting, and even with the more fearful scenes which were yet to be enacted there. Here of old the slaughter and flight of the Benjamites had taken place (Judg. xx. 45), and this rocky retreat seemed destined to witness or to hear of deeds of daring or of blood. When the multitudes assembled in Rimmon heard the emperor's letter read to them, they burst into passionate tears. But while the people only remembered their wrongs and disappointment, there were not wanting some who dreaded the consequences of a Jewish rising. The most influential among them was Rabbi Joshua, who since Rabban Gamaliel's death had presided over the Sanhedrim, and was well known as a friend to the Romans and a lover of peace. No sooner had he heard of the proposed assemblage in Rimmon than he hastened to the spot to persuade his countrymen to desist from the hopeless attempt. He succeeded, at least for a time, in allaying the irritation. Well knowing the character of popular assemblies, which are swayed rather by the impulse of the moment than by principle, he presented to his audience the dangerous character of the undertaking in a well-known fable. Once upon a time, commenced the Rabbi, it happened that as a lion devoured his prey a bone stuck in his throat. There it stuck immovable. The lion coughed, he swallowed and wrought, but no effort could dislodge the troublesome intruder. His danger became extreme; it was a question of life or death. Then the king of the forest issued a proclamation offering a large reward to any of his liege subjects who would succeed in extracting the bone. The offer was tempting, but the danger of thrusting one's head into a lion's mouth, and, if unsuccessful, probably leaving it there, was too great for the daring of most animals. At last, and just in time to save him, forth steps a venturous crane to perform the hazardous operation. Cautiously he puts in his head, which his long neck enables him to thrust down deep into the monarch's throat; and, oh! happiness, out comes the bone in the crane's bill. Then came the question of the promised reward. But, alas for royal gratitude! The relieved lion bade the crane go home and bless his stars that he

had got his head safely out of the jaws of a lion. It was the first, and, added he, it might prove the last time. So much, then, for experiments upon a lion's throat. The application of Joshua's fable was easy, and the Jews made it, at least for the present, probably rather because they were not sufficiently prepared for war, and destitute of a leader, than because they were convinced by his logic. Rabbi Akiba does not seem to have been at Rimmon; perhaps he was at the time engaged in setting traps, or in preparing weapons against the faithless Roman lion.

Rabbi Joshua's political activity was indeed paramount at that time. His influence with his countrymen was always exerted for the preservation of peace, and to him belongs the merit of retarding a catastrophe which he could not wholly avert. These pacific sentiments of our Rabbi seem to have been well known to the emperor. The Talmud illustrates this by recording many friendly interviews which were said to have taken place between the Rabbi and Hadrian. There must have been some foundation in fact for these accounts, although the details (such as Rabbi Joshua's argument for the resurrection of the body from the indestructible nature of a bone in the human body called "luz"¹) are often evidently fabulous. Joshua had felt the more anxious to preserve peace, that he acted as a kind of mediator between the Romans and his countrymen. Thus it was to his intercession that the Jews had ascribed the fancied permission accorded to them, of rebuilding the Sanctuary. No doubt Hadrian would know how to avail himself of a personage like Joshua, and for this purpose condescend to personal intercourse with him. Besides, it well accorded with his philosophical pretensions to converse with the Rabbi. The imperial eclectic, who wished to be initiated in all mysteries, would readily enter into discussions with one so learned and so liberal as our Ab-beth-din. It scarcely requires an illustration to show the superficiality of Hadrian's eclecticism. His shallow observations, and hasty, conceited inferences, are

¹ On that bone comp. Eisenmenger, ii. 932.

well illustrated in a letter which about that time he addressed from Alexandria to his brother-in-law Servianus. Pretending to portray the religious features of that frivolous capital, he writes with more of oratorical flourish than of truth,—“No president of Jewish synagogue, no Samaritan, no Christian presbyter, adores aught else but Serapis. Even that patriarch who came to Egypt, was forced by some to worship Serapis, by others to adore Christ.”¹ We only add, that the patriarch here referred to was none else than our Joshua who visited the capital of Egypt, and to whom the Alexandrians on that occasion proposed thirteen questions, of which three referred to the Hagada.² However, so long as Joshua lived peace was preserved in Judea. At his demise (130-132) his cotemporaries rightly observed, that prudence and wise conciliation had now become lost in Israel. He was succeeded in the sacred office by a man of a very different spirit, Rabbi Akiba.

We have already mentioned the transference of the Sanhedrim, after the destruction of Jamnia, to Usha, a place situated between Akka (St. Jean d’Acre or Ptolemais) and Safed, on the borders of the ancient possessions of Naphtali and Zebulon, and near the lake of Galilee. But the Council did not long continue at Usha; and other cities in the neighbourhood, such as Shaf-ram, &c., are mentioned as its successive places of meeting. Amidst the political agitation of Palestine, we cannot expect that purely religious questions should have principally engrossed public attention. While, therefore, the study of the law was no doubt continued, the active preparations for the impending war, the general discontent of the people, and the eager jealousy of the Romans, combined to make the theological discussions of the Sanhedrim less interesting than they had been before or became after this period. Only very few of the decrees of Usha are of any importance. Amongst them are an ordinance, which limits the sentence of excommunication (in the case of Rabbins)

¹ Vopisc in Saturn., c. viii.

² Nidda, 69; comp. Menor. Ilam. i. 16. Jost erroneously supposes that this patriarch was Eleazar.

to the crimes of blasphemy and apostasy ; another which renders it obligatory on parents to maintain their sons until their twelfth year, and their daughters until the period of their marriage ; a third which provides that, if a parent had, during his lifetime, given his property to his son, the latter should be bound to support him ; and a fourth, which restricts charitable donations to one-fifth of a person's estate. It is said that Rabbi Ishbab, the secretary of the Sanhedrim, had, in virtue of the latter ordinance, been prevented from impoverishing himself.¹ These decrees afford painful indications of the state of society at the time. Such are frequently exhibited on the eve of some great national crisis, when the bonds of society appear to give way at both extremes, and unbridled selfishness and all-surrendering fanaticism meet face to face.

We have already remarked, that Rabbi Joshua's influence had retarded, but not suppressed, the insurrectionary movement in Judea. When on his decease the management of affairs devolved on Rabbi Akiba, a new period commenced ; but another season of delay was to intervene. In the prosecution of his peculiar policy, Hadrian was in the habit of visiting the various provinces of his empire, to conciliate those by presents whom he could not venture to attack. To some he even paid a kind of tribute. In these journeys he penetrated as far as Britain. When on a tour to the East, he remained for some time in Egypt and Syria, whence he passed to Athens. So long as the emperor was in the East, no open attempt was made by the Jews to rise against Rome ; however, the preparations were secretly continued.² Meantime common measures had been concerted, specially by Rabbi Akiba, during his journeys to Parthia, Asia Minor, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Galatia, to which we have already alluded. In their preparations for the last rising, the Jews adopted the same measures which had formerly been authoritatively recommended in the war against Vespasian. Their first object necessarily was to procure arms. This was not diffi-

¹ Comp. Grütz, iv 154.

² Comp. for the following, amongst other authorities, Dio Cassius, lxxix. 12, 13.

cult, as they appear to have supplied the Roman legions in the East either as merchants or as armourers. It is said that the earliest indication of the coming contest appeared in the inferior description of arms which the Jews supplied to the legions, either because they reserved the better weapons for themselves, or from a wish to deceive and to impede the Romans. The next care of the national party was to prepare subterranean places for meeting or for retreat, where the military stores were laid up. Then they constructed subterranean passages, some of them of such length as to connect different towns. To complete the whole, they quietly fortified and barricaded, as well as they could, certain important positions.

These preparations, which had continued more or less actively for fourteen years, had been partly kept in abeyance during Hadrian's presence in Egypt and Syria, when the watchful attention of the Romans was fixed on the East. But no sooner had the emperor departed for the West than they were resumed with an energy which increased as the course of events hastened on the crisis. They could now no longer escape the notice of the authorities; but the folly of the latter, instead of counteracting, only stimulated them. At the time the government of Judea was in the hands of Tinius, or, as Jewish authorities term him, Tyrannus Rufus, probably a different personage from the Terentius Rufus who had become so notorious during the former war. His administration was equally odious to the Jews and dangerous to the Romans. Full of prejudices and suspicions, naturally cruel, and hostile to his subjects, instead of attempting to conciliate them, like most petty tyrants, he acted as if discontent were to be suppressed, by persisting in and increasing its causes. A series of persecuting edicts now appeared, which must be traced to his influence with the emperor. Perhaps the apparent sullen quietude—a lull before the storm—which Hadrian had found during his presence in the province, may have induced a belief on his part that the Jewish nation was almost entirely crushed, and that only a little more wholesome rigour, increased as circumstances indicated, was requisite to complete

the permanent pacification of Judea. The result proved very different. The ordinances to which we refer as intended to accomplish this object were substantially directed against Jewish nationality, and against the Jewish religion. The first ruled that the Jewish capital, to be raised on the site of ancient Jerusalem, was to be in every respect a heathen city, with a heathen temple in room of the Jewish sanctuary. The second ordinance went even further, and forbade circumcision, and with it probably all study of the law. This was more than could at any time have been well endured. To see all their hopes not only blasted, but to have in the new Jerusalem a standing insult—to have sacrifices offered to Jupiter, where they had hoped again to offer incense to Jehovah—to be prevented from engaging in studies which formed the centre of their religious life, and to be forbidden even the initiatory rite of their Heaven-given religion, was a bondage too grievous to be borne. The political and religious existence of the nation was now threatened with utter extinction, and it only remained to contend for it to the last. Even those who had formerly been undecided now saw the necessity of resistance, and the national party was wound up to the highest pitch of excitement. Soon the contest actually began, as usual, in the shape of a guerilla war. Armed parties of Jews met and fought with Roman bands with varying success. Rufus put himself at the head of all his disposable troops, and scoured the country, laying everything waste behind him, and promiscuously slaying all who fell into his hands. These measures, while they inflicted no real damage on the national party, only embittered the Jews. We must not omit here to mention a circumstance which, however trivial in itself, was considered a favourable omen. It had been formerly observed, that the rise of the city of Cæsarea, renowned in a former war, had dated from the downfall of Jerusalem. The Rabbins had applied to this the passage in Ezekiel xxvi. 2,—“I shall be replenished now she is laid waste.” But now an earthquake had suddenly destroyed the grandeur of Cæsarea, and the Hagadists predicted to the excited multitude that the downfall of her

hostile rival indicated the approaching deliverance of Jerusalem. A circumstance like this would probably have had considerable influence anywhere, but especially amongst the Jews. Only one thing was wanting to transform the guerilla war into a regular and organized contest,—the presence of one recognised leader. This difficulty was removed by the appearance of Bar Cochab.

The real name of the Jewish leader has been lost. His designation as Bar Cochab (the son of a star) dates from his claims to be the long-promised Messiah, and the application to him of the prophetic passage in Numbers xxiv. 17. The idea of making the Jewish leader the Messiah, was one well calculated to secure its objects—to give the stamp of heavenly approbation to the undertaking—to rally round him all believing Jews—to invest the war with the character of the highest religious duty, and to inspire the warriors with the confidence of assured success. It may well be doubted whether all the Rabbins believed in his pretensions. Some indeed openly objected. One Rabbi, Jochanan ben Torta, declared that “grass would sooner sprout on Akiba’s cheeks than the Messiah appear.” But Akiba himself not only joined the party of the deceiver, but carried his standard, proclaimed him the Messiah, and applied to him passages such as the prophecy of Haggai, (ch. ii. 6-21.) It is indeed indescribably sad to see a man, weighed down under the burden of years, and endowed with the earnestness, enthusiasm, and generosity of an Akiba, support the claims of so vulgar and clumsy an impostor as Bar Cochab, or Bar Cosab, (the son of a lie), as his disappointed followers called him at a later period. Perhaps it was that Akiba and others had lost all hopes of a personal Messiah, and, like later Rabbins, learned to transform the promised root of the stem of Jesse into the miserable abstraction of national liberty and prosperity. What a difference between the Old Testament promises and this reality—what a contrast between Israel’s true Messiah and the “son of a lie!” They would not have the meek and lowly Jesus and His rest—they took to themselves a king after their own hearts. He was to be a mighty giant-warrior, and it became one like Bar Cochab.

The true Messiah was of God's giving; Bar Cochab was of Israel's making.

It would be difficult to assign any other claim which Bar Cochab had to be a leader in Israel than that of bodily strength and brute courage. Still the great majority of the sages and of the people adhered to him, and flocked round his standard, perhaps more incited by the example and influence of Akiba than by personal conviction. It does not appear by what means the new Messiah upheld his claims. He does not seem to have attempted to work miracles. Only one authority,¹ and that of a person equally credulous and hostile to the Jews, records a solitary instance of it, which is too transparent even for a Bar Cochab to have practised. It is said that he pretended to spit fire by blowing burning flax out of his mouth. But though unsupported by such evidence, the report that the Messiah had at last appeared and been acknowledged by the Sanhedrim, was sufficient to attract crowds of eager combatants round his standard. Jews from Palestine and from other provinces daily came to headquarters. According to Akiba's plan, non-Israelites were also admitted to the ranks of the national army. A number of Samaritans enrolled themselves,² and even heathens were taken into pay. It was to be, in short, not only a Jewish war, but one of malcontents generally. Historians record a number of particulars connected with this army which seem exaggerated if not fabulous. Thus the number of the combatants is put down as 400,000, or even 580,000;³ the strength of Bar Cochab is described as such, that with his knees he could hurl back the immense stones which the Roman war-machines projected; and various fabulous tests are mentioned by which he tried the fitness and power of endurance of his followers. Whatever deductions we may have to make from those accounts of the national army, without doubt the danger to Rome was sufficiently formidable. The character of the undertaking and of its leader, as well as

¹ Hieron. adv. Rufum, Apol. II.

² Lib. Jos. Samar. c. 47; comp. Gritz, 161. The history of this war is well related in T. G. H. Juynboll, Comment. in Hist. Gent. Samar. pp. 129-136.

³ By Dio Cassius.

their confident anticipations of success, appear in the following presumptuous prayer which Bar Cochab is said to have ejaculated :—"Lord, if thou art not willing to assist *us*, at least do not assist *our enemies*, and then we shall prevail."

Such was the Messiah of Israel's choice, whom they now prepared to support. Only one party in the land opposed a passive resistance to the "son of a lie." It is touching to have again and again to chronicle the trials, the patience, and the faith of the Jewish Christians. This small and despised number of disciples neither could nor would own the deceiver's claims. They resisted his overtures, and refused to fight under such colours even for national independence. They aided not the Romans, but they would not join Bar Cosiba. On this ground they were exposed on the part of the Jews to the most shocking cruelties ;¹ a circumstance the more remarkable, that during this war even the captive Romans were spared, perhaps in order to conciliate the heathens in the Jewish camp, or else to encourage defection. It was otherwise with the Jewish Christians, who, on account of the reality of their faith in Christ, were specially obnoxious to Bar Cochab and his warriors. Success seemed at first largely to attend the arms of the new Messiah. Tinius Rufus was unable to cope with his opponent, notwithstanding an increase to the Roman army. Within a year the Jews held fifty fortified cities and nine hundred and thirty-five open towns.² It was in vain that Hadrian sent legion after legion, and general after general to Palestine. They were obliged to yield to or retreat before the Jews. These results alarmed the Emperor, and increased the confidence of the Hebrew warriors. As in former wars, so now, those who had formerly sided with the enemy of their country, now deserted the Romans ; some who, during the supremacy of Tyrannus Rufus, had even submitted to a painful operation in order to conceal their descent, were now circumcised a second time. Jerusalem was, no doubt, in the hands of the Jews, but amidst the engagements of the war, there was no leisure to rebuild its sanctuary, or to restore the city to its former importance.

¹ Just. Apol. i. 31.

² Dio Cassius, *ut supra*.

Meantime Bar Cochab had not only been proclaimed Messiah, but declared and anointed King of the Jews. To indicate the liberation of his country and his own accession, he changed the coinage of the country. The current Roman coins were re-stamped, apparently with an old die, from the time of Simon the Maccabee. Some of these coins are still extant, in which above the former Roman mark of Trajan or Hadrian, which is still slightly discernible, we read the name of "Simon," and the number of the year of "the liberation of Jerusalem." The reverse bears the emblem of a grape, of a palm branch, of two trumpets, or of a lyre. At a somewhat later period, Bar Cochab issued coins of his own, which were afterwards re-stamped by order of Hadrian. Bar Cosiba's reign had now lasted two years, and the danger had become increasingly great. To bring this threatening war to a termination, Hadrian despatched to Judea from Britain, on the uttermost limits of the empire, his ablest general, Julius Severus. The Roman found on his arrival the opposition much better organized than he could almost have expected. The Jewish troops were by this time accustomed to meet the onset of the legions, and had learned that they were not invincible: success had inspired them with boldness, it had increased their numbers, and enabled them to establish three regular lines of defence, each capable of resisting for a long time the progress of an enemy. The most advanced posts were intended to obstruct the Romans on their entrance into Palestine from Syria. A mountain range which extends from the Mediterranean to the Lake of Tiberias, renders Upper Galilee easily tenable against a superior force. The continuity of that ridge is only interrupted in a few places, and at each of these passes a well-armed fort contested the progress of the legions. Following the situation of these forts from the sea to the Lake of Galilee, we come first upon Chabul. Again on the eastern extremity, and close by Tiberias, lay Magdala, renowned for the shittim-trees of its neighbourhood. Between these two towns and in a fruitful valley was Shichin, a little to the north of Sephoris, and mostly inhabited by mechanics. A glance at the map will shew

that these three forts were not only most advantageously placed, but that they covered every road into the interior. It must have been the first object of Severus to capture these places before he encountered the main body of the insurgents. If this line of defence were forced, an enemy would meet with little obstruction till he entered the chains of mountains which run through the land in parallel lines from north to south. The western chain, which extends between the ancient possessions of Ephraim and Dan, is well known as the "mountains of Ephraim," and had been called "the royal mountains" since the days of the Asmo-neans. In this neighbourhood they had so gallantly led the hosts of Israel, and here had they planted a line of fortresses. This ridge was now more especially defended by numerous forts, of which Tur-Simon was the principal. The eastern mountain chain, which ran parallel with the Jordan, was, from the nature of the country, less threatened by a hostile army, and required fewer means of defence. Finally, the seaboard was protected by a third line of forts which leant on the mountains of Ephraim. Here Bethar, in the neighbourhood of Samaria, formed the head-quarters of the district, and the principal stronghold of the rebels, where Bar Cochab commanded in person. Besides occupying these lines of defence, a Jewish army watched the movements of the enemy, eager to give them battle at the first opportunity. So far the tactics of the Jews were unexceptionable. The plan of drawing the enemy between the mountain ranges of Judea was peculiarly suited to their circumstances. Here that branch of the army in which the Jews were specially deficient, cavalry, could be of little use to the Romans; here the population of the district might most readily and advantageously co-operate with the regular Jewish army; here the Romans might be entrapped and surprised in the defiles, and if routed, their retreat might readily be cut off. In short, it presented many advantages to the Jews, and proportionable dangers to the Romans.

Severus felt he was engaged in a war which taxed all his energies as a commander, and called for all the bravery of his legions. Following the usual tactics of the Romans, he endea-

voured to avoid regular engagements till his rear should be secure. By hovering about the Jews, and continually threatening them with an attack, he hoped by and by to weary them till their vigilance and discipline should be sufficiently relaxed to allow him with safety to move forward. As long as his own rear rested on Syria he could always draw reinforcements and supplies, while the Jews, shut up behind their mountain ridges, were cut off from communication with their brethren in other countries. But this plan would scarcely have succeeded on the present occasion, had it not been that the same causes which led to defeat in a former war were again in operation. While Bar Cochab was indulging in vain security at Bethar, his followers in Galilee imitating his example, and confident, as they expressed it, that if God only left both parties to themselves victory must be theirs, relaxed equally the rules of discipline and of necessary watchfulness. Accordingly, the first line of defence fell into the enemies' hands almost without an attempt at resistance. Legend has it that Chabul was taken owing to internal dissensions, Shichin through magic, (perhaps its defenders relied more on cabbalistic arts than on their arms,) and Magdala, through the profligacy of the soldiery. These important posts being secured, Severus advanced and offered battle to the Jewish army. In every engagement, and they were numerous, the Romans were successful. The most fiercely contested battle was probably that which took place in a valley known as "the plain of the two arms," supposed by some to have been the valley of Rimmon, but more likely the plain immediately south of the three fortresses, and embraced by two mountain ridges. Two rivulets traverse it, one flowing eastward towards Jordan, the other westward to the sea. On the day in question these rivulets carried in their bloody waters, and by means of mangled corpses, the tidings of Jewish defeat along their banks. But these reverses did not induce greater caution on the part of the Jewish leaders. In fact, discipline had been so far relaxed that it would have been almost impossible to convert the braggart and unbridled soldiery into steady and obedient troops. Accordingly,

when the legions surprised the forts on Mount Ephraim they fell an easy prey. In Tur-Simon or Tur-Malka (as it is also called) commanded one Bar-Droma. Yielding to a fatal security, the inhabitants were in the midst of festive enjoyments when a Roman army to the number of 100,000 appeared before its walls, and even penetrated into its streets. The dance and rioting was now interrupted by the cries of those who, themselves defenceless, fell under the swords of the enemy. It was in vain that an attempt at resistance was made. Before the soldiers could be collected, the Romans had occupied the principal parts of the town. In fact, such was the extent of Tur-Simon, that when the carnage had already commenced in one quarter of the city, the inhabitants of the other, ignorant of their impending fate, were still enjoying the pleasures of wine and of the dance.¹ Jewish historians describe, in their own peculiar way, the importance and extent of the towns which had now fallen into the hands of the Romans. Thus they have it, that even before the destruction of Jerusalem, such had been the size and wealth of the Galilean cities, that their annual contributions to the sanctuary had to be conveyed in waggons, while at Tur-Simon 300 large baskets of bread were distributed every Friday amongst the paupers of its large population. It is also said that the first signal of the war had been given in Tur-Simon. Some lawless Roman soldiers, it appears, had insulted a bridal procession, and forcibly taken from it the pair of fowls, which, according to custom, was carried before the newly married couple. It is added, that the infuriated mob had in turn fallen upon and destroyed the Roman garrison, an event which had formed the first act of open hostility between the two parties.

The war had now lasted for two years and a half. After the fall of Tur-Simon the Romans had gradually occupied all the fifty Jewish fortresses except one,—Bethar, the Jerusalem of this war. Everything had been done to render Bethar a safe retreat and an impregnable stronghold. Behind its walls was an army numerically superior to that of the besiegers, com-

¹ Gitt 57, a.

manded by Bar Cochab in person. Tradition, as usual, gives a fabulous description of the army and of the inhabitants of that city, which however enables us to gather general inferences as to the number of its defenders and its importance. Thus, it was said that the army in Bethar had no less than 160,000 trumpeters. Again, so numerous were the theological students there assembled, that legend, which delights in round numbers, computes the schools, teachers, and students attached to each seminary respectively at 400. It is vauntingly added, that with the points of their writing materials the students might have repelled any hostile attack, and that after the destruction of Bethar no less than 30,000 chests containing the remnants of old phylacteries were discovered. But, apart from these exaggerations, Bethar must at the time have been a very strong place. Even before the destruction of Jerusalem it had been of some importance, and possessed a small sanhedrim of twenty-three members. As it lay on the road (along the sea-coast) to Jerusalem, it used to be visited by many travellers, and among others by wandering Jewish impostors, who played upon the credulity of the inhabitants. It is said that on this ground the inhabitants of Bethar rejoiced over the fall of Jerusalem.¹ As already stated, Bethar lay due east from Samaria, and was partly built on the spurs of the mountains of Ephraim which rise in immediate proximity to it. For its supply of water the town chiefly depended on a rivulet, which rising in the mountains, and often swollen in spring to a stream, wound its way through the city towards the Mediterranean. In anticipation of a protracted siege, the defenders had constructed numerous and extensive subterranean passages, which, according to report, went as far as Lydda, and even Jericho.² By these passages provisions, arms, and reinforcements could be introduced into the city without being intercepted by the enemy. The siege had already lasted a full year without offering the Romans any decided advantage. But an eventual want of provisions,³ the drying up of the river during the summer heat,

¹ Comp. the narrative in Lightfoot's *Cent. Chorogr.* c. lii.

² Samar. book Josh.

³ Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 6.

and treason, effected what the arms of the enemy could not have accomplished. The hostile agency is here also traced to the ancient jealousy of the Samaritans. It is said that the latter discovered to the Romans some of the secret passages by which victuals were conveyed into the besieged city. The Jews were now hardly pressed on every side: but with their straits increased also their religious earnestness. In the hope of heavenly deliverance, the soldiers prepared for a desperate resistance. Amongst those who stimulated the religious energy and encouraged the hopes of the defenders of Bethar, none was more conspicuous than Rabbi Eleazar of Modin. Weighed down by years, and emaciated by fasts, the aged ascetic was daily to be seen on the ramparts, where clad in sackcloth and covered with ashes he would, in the sight of all, implore heavenly aid with tears and by continual fastings. As long as the defenders of Bethar saw Eleazar at his post they felt secure under the canopy of his piety, and in the assurance of Divine aid. Even the treacherous Samaritans felt the awe of his presence, and were wont to say that Bethar could not be taken "so long as this cock remained to crow in ashes."¹ At last one of their number undertook to rid them of the object of their fears. For this purpose he entered Bethar by one of the secret passages. He then managed to approach Eleazar, while the latter, engaged as usual at his devotions on the ramparts, remained unconscious of the presence of the intruder. But the soldiers around, who wondered what the Samaritan stranger had to whisper to the Rabbi, seized him the more eagerly that he feigned an anxiety to escape. He was brought before Bar Cochab and questioned about his communication with Eleazar. The Samaritan played his part but too well. At first apparently unwilling to disclose anything, he at last declared that since he must die—by the hand of those who had sent him if he told the truth, by the hand of his captors if he refused to do so—he would choose rather to perish now than to disclose the secret message which had been intrusted to him for Eleazar. Bar Cochab, who had not the

¹ Comp. Grätz, pp. 175, &c.

generosity to suppose others capable of principles to which he himself was a stranger, immediately summoned Eleazar, and ordered him to disclose his treasonable designs. In vain the old Rabbi pleaded utter ignorance, even of the presence of the Samaritan. Bar Cochab, who in all this saw only a piece of acting, enraged at his denial, rudely pushed the old man aside with his foot. Eleazar fell to the ground a corpse. It is added that a voice from heaven was heard to declare that as Bar Cochab had in the person of the sage paralyzed the arm, and extinguished the eye of Israel, so it should be done to himself. The effect of Eleazar's death, through the brutality of the impostor, upon the defenders of Bethar, can more readily be conceived than described. The people looked upon him as a glorified martyr, and upon his murderer as one henceforth under the ban of Heaven, whose cause could not prosper. Feelings like these, combined with the sense of pinching want, diminished their courage and energies. At last came the day of assault. The Romans entered Bethar by a subterranean passage. Before resistance could be made, they had penetrated into the city. A gallant but unsuccessful fight in the streets ended in terrible carnage. Tradition has it, that the horses waded in blood up to the bridles, and that the dry bed of the river became filled with gore, which was carried in a stream to the sea. But the atrocities of the soldiers were not confined to those who had borne arms against them. Young and old were indiscriminately slaughtered. Of all the young men in Bethar, only Simon, the son of Rabban Gamaliel, the former Nasi, escaped. Under one stone alone it was computed that the brains of 300 children had been dashed out.¹ An immense vineyard was completely covered with dead bodies. According to tradition, a burial was not even conceded to the Jewish slain, and the cruelty of the victors manifested itself in piling up the dead bodies like a hedge. Altogether such was the number of persons who had fallen in this sanguinary war, that it was observed the widows of the slain found it almost impossible afterwards to procure, according to

¹ Comp. Lightfoot's Cent. Chorogr. c. lii.

the custom of the synagogue, the necessary witnesses to depone to the death of their husbands.

The chief actor in the terrible drama, Bar Cochab, fell in this last engagement. His head was brought in triumph into the Roman camp—round his body a serpent had twisted itself. Thus lay the mangled remains of the impostor in the embrace of a serpent, surrounded by the dead and dying among his deluded followers in the ruined streets of Bethar. It was again the fatal 9th of the month Ab on which Bethar was completely destroyed by the Romans. With the fall of the head-quarters of the insurrection, and the death of the false Messiah, the war was virtually at an end. But the victory had not been achieved without considerable loss to the Roman army. Hadrian had taken care not to endanger his sacred person by too close a contact with so dangerous an enemy. When now sending to the Senate a report of the close of the campaign, he somewhat altered the usual phraseology of such documents, and instead of informing the assembled fathers of his own welfare, and of that of the army, he omitted the latter clause.¹ In truth, the army had been terribly shattered. The Senate acknowledged their services by a medal which commemorated their bravery, but did not decree a triumph to the emperor. Thus closed the second Jewish war of liberation, and so perished the false Messiah, and the unhappy victims of his imposture.

¹ Dio Cassius, lxi. 14.

CHAPTER VIII.

STATE OF THE SYNAGOGUE AFTER THE LAST JEWISH WAR.

As after the destruction of Jerusalem, so after the fall of Bethar, the contest did not immediately terminate. Armed bands of Jews still occupied some posts in the mountain fastnesses, which they prepared to defend. Especially in the mountainous district around the neighbourhood of the lake of Galilee, two brothers held command, and for some time successfully resisted or eluded the Romans. It was comparatively easy for resolute leaders, in these inaccessible retreats, to escape the vigilance of a hostile force. Already they had gathered adherents, and it was even proposed to proclaim them successors of Bar Cochab, when they fell into the hands of the Romans. The latter, instead of searching out such fugitives, and thereby exposing themselves to the difficulty of a hazardous undertaking, established a threefold line of posts, by which they surrounded them in the mountains, and thus either forced them to surrender, or at least prevented their escape across the Jordan. A military station at Bethel commanded the approach to the mountains of Ephraim and the neighbourhood of Jerusalem; another post at Chamoth, near Tiberias, watched the mountains of Upper Galilee, while a third in Dan or Laish (close by the sources of Jordan) was meant to cut off all escape towards either the north or the east. Most of those who had sought a temporary shelter in the mountains now fell into one or other of these three traps. They who still preferred liberty to the risk incurred by a descent to the plain country, were soon exposed to terrible straits. In continual apprehension of being surprised by the enemy, they hid them-

selves in caves and among rocks, and even there scarcely felt secure. Thus, on a certain Sabbath, a large party had assembled in the interior of a cave. Of a sudden they heard heavy footsteps as of their approaching enemies. In terror they fled further into the cave, the intruders following them. From overcrowding, from being trampled under foot in the precipitate flight, and from terror, many of the wretched fugitives perished. It afterwards appeared, that those from whom they had fled as Romans were only companions of their misery, whose sandals happened to be armed with heavy nails, and who probably had sought out their friends in order together to celebrate the solemnities of the holy day. The unfortunate mistake was commemorated by the Synagogue in an ordinance, which forbade the use of such sandals on Sabbath-days. But it was not chiefly from vague apprehensions that these homeless wanderers suffered. To all their other calamities, that of pinching want was added. At last such were their necessities, that they fed upon the dead bodies of their friends and comrades. The horrors of this state of matters can scarcely be more faithfully represented than in the account of one of these parties. It seems that, in turn, a young man had been sent to provide the unnatural aliment for his friends. Unable to discover any other corpse than that of his own father, he had returned empty-handed. Another less scrupulous messenger was despatched, and the youth had, with his companions, completed the unnatural meal before he learned that he had feasted on the remains of his parent. But whatever were the privations and sufferings of the fugitives, anything seemed preferable to a surrender to the Romans, whose cruelty was only equalled by their faithlessness. When wearied with waiting for their prey, they promised a free pardon to all who would lay down their weapons and surrender; but those who, trusting their word, had come down, were speedily undeceived. They were marched into the fatal valley of Rimmon, and surrounded by the soldiery. In cruel sport the Roman general insisted that they should be slaughtered during the time that he took to regale himself with part of a fowl. Such

of the captives in this war as escaped death, were to be sold into slavery. Two great bazaars were held for this purpose, the one at Gaza, the other in Hebron, the place where Abraham of old had pitched his tent.¹ Such was the number of the wretched human chattels, that a great part of them remained unsold, and were afterwards conveyed into Egypt. On the passage most of them were mercifully released from their sufferings by death. However, a large number of Jews contrived to escape to Babylon and Arabia, where their sympathizing countrymen gave them a ready welcome. The tragical termination of this war was another added to the monuments of national judgments. To preserve it in the minds of the faithful, the Synagogue abolished another of the tokens of joy formerly customary at marriages. In future, when the bride was conducted to her husband's house, she was no more, as in happier days, to be carried through the streets in a splendidly ornamented chair.² Such demonstrations no longer befitted their circumstances, or the descendants of those who had thus suffered.

It is indeed almost impossible to realize the desolation of the land. To the Roman legions it had from the first been a war of extermination against the Jews of Palestine, and all subsequent measures taken by the government were in accordance with this view. Everywhere the country had been laid waste, and with a ruthlessness for which no plea can be assigned but that of exasperation—not only were cities razed, and hamlets burnt down, but even the fruit-trees and vines were destroyed. Galilee, once so renowned for its production of oil, had at the termination of the war scarcely an olive-tree left. These acts of devastation were followed by edicts conceived in a kindred spirit. The old persecuting measures which had occasioned the immediate outbreak of the war, were not only revived, but were carried to their utmost consequences, and executed by Tyrannus Rufus in a manner accordant with his general disposition towards the Jews. What of the city of Jerusalem had formerly risen from its ashes was

¹ Comp. Hieron. in Jerem. xxxi. 15 : and specially also in Zechar. xi. 5.

² Sotah, 49.

again levelled with the ground.¹ In its room a heathen city, laid out after Grecian models, and provided with market-places, theatres, and heathen fanes, was to be reared. Every possible outrage on Jewish feeling was devised. A statue of Hadrian was placed where the altar of Jehovah had once stood, and in room of the Temple a fane for the Roman Jupiter was built. Over the Bethlehem gate the figure of a pig's head was wrought in relief. Even the Samaritans who had sided against Israel did not escape unmolested. When their aid was no longer required, as frequently happens in analogous circumstances, their claims were also set aside, and they had to witness the erection of a temple of Jupiter on their holy mount Gerizim. The very *name* of Jerusalem was to be forgotten. The new city built on its site was called "Ælia Capitolina." Coins of the reign of Trajan and of later emperors bear that name, and on the reverse the representations of the various heathen deities which under one or other of the emperors were principally worshipped at Jerusalem. Soon afterwards the revulsion was so complete, that when on a certain occasion a Christian convert, in his examination before a pro-consul, referred to Jerusalem, the latter did not know Ælia Capitolina by that name. To complete the change, and to make it for ever impossible to restore Jerusalem to its former position, all Jews were, on pain of death, forbidden to approach the city, even within such distance as to catch a glimpse of it.² At a later period, however, the Jews were again allowed, upon payment of a certain sum to the Roman guards, on the anniversary of the fatal Tisha-be-Ab, to enjoy the melancholy privilege of visiting Jerusalem to weep over the broken walls of their city and temple. The scene which Jerusalem presented on such occasions has been described by an ecclesiastical cotemporary in terms as unfeeling as they are unbecoming. We quote them chiefly to exhibit the alienation from the original relations between the church and the synagogue, and the departure from the spirit of primitive Christianity. "Those who once bought the blood of Christ," exultingly writes Jerome,

¹ Hieron. *ul supra*.

² Comp. Münter's *Letzter Jüd. Krieg*, pp. 92, &c.

" must now buy his tears ; and even to weep is not freely conceded them. On the anniversary of the capture and destruction of Jerusalem, you may descry a mourning crowd approaching. Behold here delicate women, and aged men weighed down with grief and years, hastening to bewail the desolation of their sanctuary. Their very bearing betokens that the wrath of God is upon them. But while tears are streaming down their cheeks—while in their bitterness of spirit they stand with arms outstretched and hair dishevelled, lo ! the Roman soldier rudely accosts them to demand money that they may longer enjoy the liberty and the privilege of weeping."¹ So far the theologian. We may add, that the leave accorded to Jews to dwell undisturbed in Jerusalem dates from the period of Mahomedan rule.

But Hadrian's measures were not confined to insults on Jewish feeling. It was his desire to render Judaism, as such, impossible. In the execution of these designs, he directed his severity against all distinctively Jewish practices, and chiefly against the study of Jewish theology, which, as his advisers well knew, constituted the stronghold and citadel of the synagogue. The rite of circumcision was interdicted, and so strictly was this interdict (as well as others) enforced, that certain parties expressed doubts in how far it was lawful in present circumstances to contract marriages. But this was only one measure. Judaism had so thoroughly intertwined itself with common life, that tyrannical edicts could follow a man into every relationship, and at every turn oppress and remind him of his hopeless bondage. Thus it was interdicted to read in the law, to put on phylacteries, to affix the customary legal mark to the door-posts, to eat unleavened bread, on certain festivals to use the customary nosegay, and to write letters of divorce. It had been wont in the synagogue to solemnize marriages (in the case of spinsters) on Wednesdays. This also was now interdicted. To these ordinances we have to add another instance of Roman infamy and brutality, compared to which the others almost shrink into insignificance. It is asserted

¹ Hieron. in Zephan. c. ii.

that the vile foreign debauchees who infested the land, insisted on (what has frequently been deemed fabulous) the "*jus primæ noctis*," or right of violating the bride on the first night of her marriage.¹ The Babylonian Talmud, indeed, explains that this was only awarded as punishment when the order not to marry on Wednesdays had been infringed. But even this limitation can scarcely be viewed as materially altering the character of the base offence. Unfortunately this was by no means a solitary instance, nor were the heathen Romans the sole perpetrators of such iniquities against the Jews.²

If Jewish observances were interdicted on pain of death, T. Rufus and his associates saw to it that none should be able to evade the imperial rigour. One poor Rabbi, Elisa, was to have had his skull knocked in for having been discovered wearing the phylacteries. Nor was this severity exceptional. The offenders were no longer punished in the usual modes. As if to behead, to hang, or to burn alive were insufficient, Roman ingenuity devised new modes of punishment. Red-hot balls were placed in their armpits, pointed canes were thrust under their nails, the skin was torn off their bodies, and similar cruelties inflicted, and that often where not even the miserable excuse of having taken part in the former rebellion existed. Religious observances were mostly the sole ground of proscription. According to Roman practice, a number of spies and denouncers were employed to hunt out the refractory. Amongst these spies the most notorious and dangerous were apostate Jews, who being acquainted with the habits and practices of their countrymen, were capable of inflicting on them more serious damage than strangers. Especially did Elisa ben Abuja, from his apostasy called Acher (the other), who himself once a distinguished theologian, had, through cabbalistic studies, made shipwreck first of

¹ J. Ket. i. 5.

² We only mention one amongst many later instances. When the Jews were expelled from Spain, amongst other wretched fugitives, a Jewish family was transported on board a small vessel to the coast of Africa. The master of the craft, struck with the beauty of a Hebrew maid, first violated, and then immediately murdered her, lest she should give birth to an unbelieving child.

his faith and then of every principle, distinguish himself by a hostile activity. He well knew how his brethren would attempt to evade the law, and at the same time observe parts of the Jewish ritual, and his ingenuity was exerted in rendering these sorry devices impossible. If the authorities directed their edicts against all distinctively Jewish practices, it was their special desire to see the theological schools closed, and the functions of the Rabbins abolished. Indeed, had they succeeded in this attempt, the hated observances would necessarily soon have ceased of themselves. The Rabbins were strictly enjoined neither to study the law themselves nor to teach it to others, and special care was taken to watch over the enforcement of these edicts. Here also Elisa was chief actor. Perhaps, however, his conduct may indicate some sympathy with his former colleagues, as he is represented as only breaking up and dispersing, but not strictly denouncing the theological assemblies. It is said that he would unexpectedly appear at a secret meeting of the academy, and naming those present and mentioning their trades (the Rabbins being obliged each to learn some trade), call upon them to disperse and go to their proper work. The sages felt that the most critical period for the Synagogue had now arrived. It was of course impossible to assemble a Sanhedrim to deliberate on the measures requisite. But immediately on the promulgation of these edicts the leading theologians met secretly in the upper room of one Nitsah, at Lydda. In that assembly were Akiba, the then Nasi, Tarphon or Triphon his Ab-beth-din, Joses of Galilee, and Ishmael the son of the high-priest Elisa, and the celebrated compiler of the thirteen exegetical canons which we have formerly mentioned. The first question which the Rabbins discussed was that of the comparative importance of the study and of the observance of the Jewish law. Under other circumstances such a subject would scarcely have been mooted, now it had become a grave question. Manifestly they could not expect the people to continue the ritual observances, and it was a point of importance to agree whether they themselves should take their stand and endure martyrdom for these practices, or only in

defence of their professional studies. It is not difficult to anticipate how the synagogue would, under any circumstances, have decided on the absolute question. In the present instance there could be no hesitation. It may, indeed, be a fair question how far practices can be absolutely and religiously binding, which under any pressure from without can be wholly cast aside. But with reference to the synagogue there was little room for such difficulties. However, the general principle being settled by the Rabbins, that as the study of the law led to its practice, the former was the more important, the inference was easy. While the theologians, therefore, resolved to continue their teaching, they at the same time granted a general dispensation to the faithful in the meantime only to observe so much of Jewish practices as they could do with safety, or in case of danger even wholly to intermit them. The only exceptions were those made on the three points of murder, uncleanness, and idolatry—perhaps an approximative approach to what are known as the Noachic commandments. But even on these points some latitude was given, and Rabbi Ishmael declared it lawful in cases of extreme necessity even to simulate compliance with heathen practices.

The Rabbins were the first to set the example of observing the “decrees of Lydda.” But if they had hoped thereby to lull the suspicions or to avert the anger of the Romans, they were soon undeceived. The latter took all these concessions as only partial effects of their too long deferred rigour. Their aim was more comprehensive. Indeed, it was primarily directed against the teaching and the teachers rather than against the observances and the observers. Accordingly, the penalty of death remained still attached to the teaching of the law. To enlist popular assistance in enforcing the decrees against the Rabbins, it was further enacted, that not only should refractory theologians be punished, but that the towns and districts in which the law was set at defiance should be held responsible for such offences. This applied specially to the ordination of candidates for the Rabbinate, and it was ruled that any city in which such a

solemnity was celebrated should be wholly destroyed. The effects of these measures were, at least for a time, very extensive. Some apostatized from fear or were bribed by promises; others, amongst them Rabbi Tarphon, left the country; others openly denied that they continued teaching the law. Thus, Eleazar ben Parta, when summoned before the judges, simply bore false testimony, satisfying his conscience by a reference to the decrees of Lydda. But while some of the Rabbins intermitted their usual occupation, whether from favour for the Romans or from apprehensions for their personal safety; others, and amongst them the leading men of the synagogue, prepared to suffer in a cause which to them appeared the most sacred of all.

It may seem strange that the Rabbins who had taken a leading part in organizing and inciting the last rebellion, although probably not in actual resistance to the Romans, should have so long escaped the vengeance of Rufus. In the absence of historical documents, it is difficult with certainty to account for this. No doubt the Sanhedrim had never assembled at Bethar, and not being discovered in arms, they may on this ground, perhaps, have for a time escaped, the more so as it would have been almost impossible to have obtained evidence against them. Perhaps Rufus preferred for a little to watch his prey, well knowing that the Rabbins would remain at their post, in order by a short delay to discover all their followers, and thus with one blow to strike down the whole fabric of Rabbinism. At all events, it fell now to the turn of the theologians to show their sincerity by their firmness under persecution. The decrees of Lydda had, it will be remembered, dispensed from legal observances, but enjoined the necessity of maintaining the sacred profession of theological study. Those who suffered on account of the latter restriction were designated by Jewish historians as the "martyrs of Lydda." It is said that they were ten in number, but of these only seven can with certainty be identified. If the records of the other three have not become confused or been lost, the statement may have proceeded from a desire to make up the number ten, which, in the Jewish eco-

mony, indicated perfection. The first to suffer in the cause of Rabbinism were Simon and Ishmael ben Elisa, the learned priest. Beside his other claims to distinction, so beautiful was the latter that legend records the emperor's daughter had caused his head to be carried to Rome.¹ When in prison, and while led forth to execution, these two Rabbins consoled each other by conversing about the Divine holiness and justice. Not daunted by his imminent danger, the noble-minded Akiba prepared to follow in their wake. He delivered a funeral oration on the occasion of their martyrdom, in which he called on his hearers to imitate the example of those who had gone before, to whom he declared the honour had fallen of being the first to suffer. It was his turn closely to follow them. Indeed, it is astonishing that Rufus had allowed him to enjoy liberty so long. The crime of which he was now accused was that of continuing to teach the law. He had first been warned by friends of his impending danger; but Akiba knew that such an accusation could only be a pretext to enemies whose vengeance he could not hope to escape. Besides, the time of his departure had come, and he was willing to suffer in what he conscientiously, though erroneously, believed to be the cause of God. To his well-meaning friends, especially to one of them, Pappus, whom tradition represents as the husband of Mary Magdalene, he replied in a parable, designed to show that theological study was his proper heaven-appointed element, and that if he were not safe in the element for which God had adapted him, he could not expect security in any other. Before being committed to prison, he took the precaution of ordaining five of his pupils. By a curious coincidence, the cautious Pappus had been consigned, for some other imaginary offence, to the same prison with Akiba. He now deplored his cowardice, which, without attaining its object, had made him a sufferer in a less noble cause. It is impossible to determine whether the Mary Magdalene of the New Testament really was the wife of Pappus. So much only can be said, that the latter bore the name of Magdalene, had at one time been guilty of adultery, but afterwards

¹ Comp. Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. iii. p. 296.

became a convert to Christianity.¹ At the time of his imprisonment Akiba had attained the advanced age of 120. He was in the zenith of his fame and influence, and his sun went down in noon-day splendour. Tidings of this new calamity, though it could scarcely have taken them by surprise, seem to have overwhelmed the people and the theologians. Akiba was closely guarded and prevented from holding intercourse with his friends. The removal of their chief authority had come so suddenly upon the sages, who had never accustomed their minds to the idea of his loss, that when it had become a reality, they felt as if they had not made proper use of his presence even during the long period in which it had been granted to them. A number of knotty questions now occurred to them, on which they wished to have his decision. Partly by bribing the warders, and partly by clever manoeuvres, they succeeded in some measure in ascertaining his opinions. Thus, one of his favourite students, Jochanan from Alexandria, would disguise himself as a hawker, and, passing under the windows of Akiba's prison, while pretending to praise his wares, manage to slip in theological questions. In this manner to the call, "Needles, forks—who will buy my good needles? What about marriage with a deceased brother's wife?" Akiba, who readily understood his pupil, would reply, "Have you any thread—lawful." Even Rufus himself became interested in his victim, and whether from a desire to elicit the names of Akiba's colleagues, from curiosity, or from the temporary operation of higher motives, had frequent interviews with him. Jewish legend has recorded, in fabulous language, the particulars of these conversations,² which appear to have been almost wholly connected with religious controversy. Once in prison, and about to suffer, Akiba felt released from a long constraint. The decrees of Lydda had weighed on his conscience. He could now cast them aside, and resume his former ritual observances. This he did with an increased ardour

¹ Comp. Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebr.* in Matth. xxvii. 56, and in Luc. viii. 2.

² Such as the three arguments by which he attempted to prove the obligation and the sanctity of the Sabbath, recorded in Sanh. 65, b.

and punctiliousness, as if to make up for former omissions. Thus, he used the greater portion of his stinted daily allowance of water for the required ceremonial ablutions.¹ In reality, Akiba prepared to die in a manner worthy of his life. As if the leading sage of the nation was to be distinguished by novel and more than usually terrible tortures, Rufus ordered that the flesh of Akiba should be torn off with pointed iron combs. While undergoing this agony, the suffering patriarch remembered that the hour for customary prayer had arrived. In the midst of his tortures he could fix his mind on these subjects, and began reciting his last prayer. He had reached the closing word in the distinguishing formula of the Old Testament religion,—“Hear, O Israel! the Lord thy God is *one*,” when death came to his relief, and in the accents of that confession he breathed his last. His constancy had been matter of astonishment even to his tormentors.² We need scarcely wonder that Jewish legend represented, that on his decease a voice from heaven had been heard to announce his beatification. Some of his faithful disciples contrived to gain possession of his body, which they secretly interred. Akiba left one son and all Israel to mourn his loss.

The next sufferer for conscience sake was that devoted student of the law, Rabbi Chananja ben Teradion, whose application of such passages as Psalm i. 1, and Mal. iii. 16, to neglect of, or occupation with theological questions, we have formerly mentioned. As in the case of Akiba, Joses, a devoted friend of the Romans, had warned Chananja of his danger. But unlike the cautious Joses, who basked in the sunshine of Roman favour, the zealous sage continued his sacred employment. The Roman spies caught him engaged in the perusal of a roll of the law. To the question how he had ventured to defy the imperial edict, he replied by appealing to the higher duty of unconditional obedience to the laws of his God. Rabbi Chananja was sentenced to be wrapt in the roll in which he had been studying, and

¹ Comp. Relandii Notæ in H. Othonis Hist. Doct. Mishnic., p. 124.

² *Uti supra*. Comp. also Bartolucci and Grütz.

thus to be bound to the stake. To prolong his sufferings, the faggots by which he was to be consumed were to be fresh wood, and damp wool was to be put upon the region of his heart. The executioner, more humane than the judge, advised the Rabbi to remove the wool, and so to cut short his sufferings. But the scrupulous Chananja refused, lest by abbreviating the period of his existence, he might incur the guilt of suicide. It is said that subsequently the Roman himself performed the fatal love-service, and then overcome by what he had seen, precipitated himself into the flames which encircled Chananja. The heroic wife of our Rabbi fell likewise a victim to her faith. They left two daughters, of whom one was married to a celebrated theologian, Rabbi Meir ; the other was sent to Rome there to be devoted to prostitution. We shall by and by allude to the almost miraculous preservation of her honour and her escape. Another sufferer was Rabbi Chuzepit, who had formerly officiated as public interpreter to the Nasi. He was executed after having had his tongue cut out. Rabbi Ishbab, the scribe, was killed while repeating the customary prayers, and his unburied body was thrown to the dogs.¹ The seventh of the martyrs of Lydda was Judas ben Baba, designated by his cotemporaries, the Pious. The death of so many teachers had excited in Judas apprehensions for the preservation of a succession of Rabbies, authorized and capable to administer the spiritual affairs of Israel. Accordingly he resolved on the dangerous experiment of ordaining some candidates. To evade the threat of destruction which had been decreed against the city in which an ordination of Rabbies should take place, he betook himself to a valley between Usha and Shafram, where he formally set apart six students to the sacred office. But no sooner was the solemnity past than they were overtaken by a band of Roman soldiers, who had got notice of Judas's intention. They came too late to disturb the proceedings. On their approach the aged Rabbi insisted on his unwilling young colleagues, for the sake of the common cause, abandoning him, and seeking safety in flight. He himself

¹ Bartol. Bibl. Rabb. iii. 295.

calmly met his fate, and fell pierced by 300 lances, or as tradition has it, pierced by them like a sieve.¹

A series of persecutions like these would have roused the hatred of any nation; nor can we wonder that Hadrian's memory was execrated by the Jews even more than that of Vespasian or of Titus. Besides all other oppressions, Hadrian had imposed an additional land-tax on them throughout all provinces of the Roman empire. It sufficiently indicates the popular hatred of Hadrian, that whenever any Jew mentioned his name, he added to it the characteristic imprecation, "May the Lord break his bones!" Indeed, at no previous period had so determined a war of extirpation been waged against the Jewish nation and religion, and, ignorant of the Christian meekness of wisdom, they retaliated in the only possible manner, by cursing his memory. The Rabbins who escaped the slaughter in Palestine fled mostly to Babylon, where so many of their brethren enjoyed liberty of conscience and prosperity. Among these fugitives were the newly-ordained teachers. This Exodus gave a new impulse to the study of traditionalism in the provinces beyond the Euphrates. Not that the Jewish inhabitants of these districts had ever neglected it, but that the dependence of the Babylonian Jews on the Sanhedrim in Palestine, and the supremacy claimed by the colleges and Rabbins in the Holy Land, necessarily assigned only a secondary position to those in the lands of the dispersion. Several celebrated teachers resided in Babylon. Amongst them Juda ben Bathira, a successor of those whom Hillel had superseded in the patriarchate, taught in Nisibis. In Nahardea lived Nehemia from Beth-Deli; so great an authority that Rabbi Akiba had gone to consult him on the arrangement of the Jewish calendar. Rabbi Chanina, whom, as formerly stated, his uncle Joshua had sent to Babylon in order to withdraw him from Christian influences, taught in Nahar-Pacor, a city near Nahardea; or according to other authorities, in Pumbaditha.² The influence of Babylon was subsequently felt in Palestine, and had the persecution continued,

¹ Sanh. i. 13, 6.

² Comp. Fürst Kultur u. Litter. Gesch. der Juden in Asien.

no doubt Babylon would, even at that time, have risen to the eminence which it afterwards occupied.

Before detailing the events which led to the removal of the obnoxious edicts of Hadrian, and to the restoration of the Sanhedrim, we glance, in passing, at the state of Jewish Christians during this period, and at the progress of the gospel amongst the Hebrews. Under the dominion of Trajan, the edicts against Christians were not of so stringent a character as necessarily to expose them to persecution. That emperor had not enjoined any formal procedure against them, and only ordered Christians to be punished if when brought before the magistrates, and called upon to recant, they refused to do so. This left them very much dependent on the personal feelings of the governors of the different provinces, and also on the passions of the populace. Under his reign Christianity not only continued to spread throughout the limits of the empire, but especially in Palestine, where the period of national persecution proved also one of religious inquiry to many Israelites.¹ We have already hinted, that previous to the transformation of Jerusalem into the heathen city *Ælia*, it had partially at least risen from its ruins. We are also able to infer that Christians lived and laboured there in the cause of their Master. If the reign of Trajan was not marked by any general or systematic persecution of the Christians, and if that of Hadrian was even more favourable to the spread of the gospel, the Jewish disciples had at least in part to share the troubles which befell their nation. We have already seen, that unable to support the claims of the false Messiah, the inoffensive and non-resisting Christians were selected as the only victims of the deceiver's vengeance. But even the conquest of the land by the Romans, and the suppression of the revolution, did not effectually improve their circumstances. True, no direct persecution thinned their ranks, while their decided separation from the national party procured for them the permission, together with heathens, to live in *Ælia Capitolina*, the approach to which had been interdicted to the Jews. But the same spirit of nar-

¹ Comp. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iii. 35.

row-minded insult which could delight in placing the head of a pig over one of the entrances to the city, and in rearing a temple to Jupiter on the site once occupied by the Temple of Jehovah, also inflicted studied humiliation on the Christians. Accordingly, a statue of Jupiter was erected in the place that had witnessed the resurrection of the Saviour,¹ and a temple of Venus was reared on Golgotha to profane that place of solemn and sad recollections.² Bethlehem had to undergo a similar transformation, and the very cave in which, according to pious legend, Jesus had been born, was set apart to the service of Adonis; and the degrading feasts of idolatrous voluptuousness caused the spots which Christians so much revered to become the meeting-place of the profligate.³ Meantime the separation between the church and the synagogue had been completed, and bishops of Gentile extraction henceforth presided over the believers in Judea. However, we cannot omit noticing the painfully altered tone which Christian doctors assumed towards Israel, and the manner in which the bitterness of carnal zeal took the place of their former meekness.

Such, then, was the state of Judea at the termination of a war which had exhausted its resources, wasted its treasures, depopulated and destroyed its cities, and entailed upon the surviving inhabitants a series of unwonted persecutions. The fall of Bethar was, as we have seen, succeeded by a short guerilla war, after which the members of the national party either fell or escaped into exile. At last, when complete tranquillity had for some time been restored to the land, the edicts which had proved so obnoxious to the people were also gradually removed. It is matter of doubt whether any measure of relief reached Palestine before the death of Hadrian. In fact, that emperor became more cruel and oppressive as he drew near his end. Ultimately, such was the popular feeling against him, that on his death the senate intended to rescind all the ordinances passed towards the close of his reign, and even to deprive him of the

¹ Hieron. ad Paul. de Just. Mon. c. ii.

² Sozom. Hist. Eccles. ii. 1; Hier. Ep. 13.

³ Paul. Ep. ii. ad Severum.

title "divus" (or divine), which since the time of Augustus had been invariably decreed to the different emperors. But his successor, Antoninus, resisted this manifestation of ill-will, and for this devotedness to the memory of the departed, earned the title Pius. Hadrian at first designated Lucius Commodus Severus as his successor to the empire. On his decease, Antoninus Pius was substituted, although on the express condition that he should in turn be succeeded by the son of Lucius Commodus Severus, and by Marcus Aurelius, as joint emperors.

Under the mild reign of Antoninus Pius, who succeeded Hadrian in 138, about three years after the fall of Bethar, the Jews experienced considerable relief. This emperor had the moral courage to prevent the superstitious populace of Asia from destroying the Christians by way of propitiating the offended gods, who were supposed to have manifested their displeasure in the earthquakes, and other public calamities with which the Roman empire was at the time visited. He shewed himself equally tolerant towards the Jews. In all probability the tyrannical Rufus was removed by him from the administration of the government. To obtain a repeal of the obnoxious edicts, a Jewish deputation applied in the first instance to a noble lady who was known to feel an interest in the cause of the persecuted. By her advice this deputation, with Rabbi Joshua ben Shamua at their head, passed at night under the windows of the governor's palace, complaining in dolorous accents,¹ "Are we not children of the same parents? why then are we treated so differently from other nations, or why are such fearful sufferings inflicted upon us?" This appeal, seconded perhaps by the representations of the same benevolent lady, and supported by the altered circumstances of the nation, produced the desired effect.² On the 18th of August an edict arrived allowing the interment of the victims of the last war, whom, according to Jewish legend, a miraculous interposition

¹ Rosh ha-Shan. 19 ; Taan. fol. 18.

² In the historical arrangement of these events I have deviated from the arrangement of Dr. Jost, and followed that of Grütz.

had preserved from putrefaction. Small and tardy as this concession may appear, such was the bondage under which the synagogue had groaned, that in commemoration of it a special thanksgiving was ordered to be inserted into the customary prayers. At last, on the 18th of March, since added by the synagogue to the number of feast-days, tidings of the complete removal of the oppressive edicts arrived. Both the exercise and the teaching of Judaism were again allowed. Only the approach to Jerusalem was still interdicted, and it was specially enjoined that no Gentile was to be admitted by circumcision into the synagogue.

Tidings of this happy change rapidly spread, and from their various hiding-places the fugitive teachers retraced their steps towards the land of their affections and their hopes. Their first place of meeting was the ever-memorable plain of Rimmon, and characteristically the subject of their first deliberation the intercalation of a month to restore order into the Jewish calendar, which had been neglected during the late troubles. It is strange that their past calamities should have wrought so little change on the Jewish theologians. On their return they brought with them the exhumed past to carry it about in procession, expecting that it and they should be adored. Amongst the sages who met in Rimmon were those whose ordination had led to the martyrdom of Juda ben Baba. The most prominent personages in that assembly were two favourite pupils of Akiba, Rabbies Meir and Jochanan of Alexandria. But this long-desired meeting had almost proved fatal to the prospects of the new Sanhedrim. The council in Rimmon had assembled by stealth. It consisted of a few fugitives who, on their return, bore in their persons and tattered garments unmistakable evidence of their past sufferings and privations. Yet even under such circumstances, the spirit of ambition and of discord manifested itself amongst them. Rabbi Jochanan claimed pre-eminence, declaring that he had listened longer to Akiba standing (*i.e.*, as chaber or associate,) than Rabbi Meir sitting (*i.e.*, as mere hearer.) On the other hand, Rabbi Meir retorted by reminding Jochanan that, as an Alexandrian, his authority was not entitled to much weight. The

dispute threatened to become serious, when happily a reconciliation was effected. Rabbi Juda ben Ilai was one of the most influential of these refugees, and at the same time favourably known to the authorities as a friend of the Roman government. He now invited the assembled sages to betake themselves to Usha, where he resided, and where the Sanhedrim had met at a former period. Thither also the Jewish sages flocked from all parts of the country, and Simon the son of Gamaliel II., likewise returned from exile, was chosen Nasi of the new Sanhedrim.

In many respects, the circumstances in which the sacred college resumed its sittings had materially changed. Comparatively little interest could attach to its theological discussions. The diligence of its predecessors had left few unsolved problems, while the method of Akiba had developed traditionalism to its utmost limits. The text of the oral law, and the peculiar method of Jewish theology, had been almost completed. Any attempt to extend the latter, could, with succeeding Rabbins who possessed neither the learning nor the intelligence of Akiba, only degenerate into sophistry and quibbling. Thus theologians would undertake, with an amount of speciousness, and an air of sincerity and conscientiousness, to argue and defend both a proposition and its contrary. It became in fact only an exercise of logical ingenuity not unlike that of the sophists of Greece. It cannot be wondered that Jewish learning now fell into decay. The only thing which still remained to be done was, thoroughly to compile the text of traditionalism, and to introduce method and order into the collection. This was done by the next generation. While the schools declined in importance and influence, the patriarchal dignity proportionally rose for a time, though only as a dignity or post of honour, not as an office. Consequently it soon sank to rise no more, while at the same time the religious state of the nation generally was affected in a corresponding manner.

Rabbi Simon ben Gamaliel II. had been almost miraculously preserved during the persecution which followed the war under Bar Cochab. It was said that the party who had been despatched

to capture the son of the patriarch, had given a hint of their errand, and that by their connivance the youth had escaped. It is sad, but instructive, to notice how little Simon had profited by his early disasters. In exile he had neither learned wisdom nor humility. When he now came to occupy the highest post in the college, it seemed his chief endeavour to extend his own sway—an object at the accomplishment of which he laboured with untiring assiduity, and a considerable measure of unscrupulousness. As frequently happens, where offices, which depend on mental superiority, are connected with birth and station, the successors of Hillel had gradually increased in their pretensions, and equally declined in worth. One of the sources of greatest danger which threatened the supremacy of the patriarch during the incumbency of Simon, lay in the importance which the rival schools of Babylon had obtained during the late disasters. Not only had many theologians found a refuge there, but the closing of the colleges in Palestine gave a fresh impulse to those of Babylon. In particular, the famed Rabbi Chanina had formed a Sanhedrim in Nahar-Pacor, near Nahardea, of which he was the president, and another great theologian Nechunja the Ab-beth-din. This Sanhedrim now arrogated to itself some of the functions of the patriarchate, more especially in regulating the calendar and the period of the feast-days. The college in Usha, or rather the Nasi, resolved to make an end of this schism—a purpose which was executed in their own peculiar way. Simon despatched to Nahar-Pacor two sages, Rabbies Isaac and Nathan, and furnished them with three different letters, of which they were successively to make use. In the first, Chanina was addressed as the Nasi's colleague and equal, and as "His Holiness, Chanina." It contained a simple recommendation of the bearers. The ruse succeeded. As the two Rabbins, with unusual modesty, professed to have come in order to learn rather than to teach, the unsuspecting Chanina, flattered by the letter of the Nasi, received them very graciously. Soon he gave them license to teach, and recommended them to the people as men of learning and authority. But no sooner had the two doctors secured

a position, than by perplexing cross questions and continual contradiction, they sought to lower in public estimation the authority of the Babylonian Nasi. It was too late for Chanina now to recall their license; they defied him in public assembly. At last, when he expostulated with them on their conduct, they assigned as its ground Chanina's assumption of functions which of right belonged only to the Sanhedrim of Palestine. An altercation ensued, in which the Babylonian chiefly pleaded as excuse the closing of the colleges in Palestine. The deputies now produced their second letter, in which the establishment of the Sanhedrim at Usha was announced. While Chanina still hesitated, undecided how to act, the deputies ascended the tribune from which the Bible was read and addresses delivered. To shew the people the impropriety of supporting any rival Nasi, one of the deputies read the ordinary lesson for the day in Lev. xxiii. 4, &c., introducing certain alterations to describe their position. If the multitude had been indignant when they heard the first deputy reading, "These are the feasts of *Chanina*," instead of "the feasts of the *Lord*," loud murmurs interrupted the second deputy as he paraphrased Isaiah ii. 3, in the following manner:—"Out of *Babylon* shall go forth the law, and the Word of the Lord from *Nahar-Pacor*." But the popular excitement was speedily turned into a different channel when the deputies produced their third letter of instruction, and read the decree of the Sanhedrim at Usha, which, in case of continued schism, formally excommunicated Chanina, and declared the Jews of Babylon cut off from all part or lot in the God of Israel. The popular assembly immediately decided in favour of submission. Chanina still hesitated, and went to consult his friend Judas ben Bathira at Nisibis. By his advice he at last yielded, and the new arrangements were communicated to the various congregations in Babylonia.

But although successful in suppressing, at least for a time, the rival Sanhedrim, the arrogance and imperiousness of Simon almost led to an outbreak in Usha, similar to that which had ended in the deposition of his father Gamaliel. Himself without much

either of talent or learning, Simon was jealous of the abler members of the sacred college, and anxious even in trifles to assert his superiority, and to assume a position different from that which they occupied. As formerly noticed, the patriarchate had ceased to be regarded as an office accorded to learning and merit, and had become merely a post of honour and hereditary dignity. However, a man more prudent than Simon might, at any rate, have executed his ambitious designs with more tact. But the patriarch's vanity was so childish and silly as necessarily and needlessly to offend those who were mentally his superiors. Thus it was he who introduced the peculiar distinctions in the official salutation of the various college dignitaries, to which we have alluded in another place. Amongst his personal opponents, none was more dangerous than Rabbi Meir, of whom more anon. This theologian who held the post of Chacham in the college, persuaded the Ab-beth-din, Nathan, to conspire with him against the Nasi. Nathan had been gained by the promise of being elevated to the presidential chair, to which he seemed the more entitled as being the son of the "prince of the captivity," or temporal chief of the Babylonian Jews. Everything had been preconcerted. The two Rabbins were on a given occasion to overwhelm the Nasi with difficult questions, to perplex and silence him, and then to get him deposed. But unfortunately their deliberations had been overheard by a zealous friend of the patriarch, who, without in the first place disclosing the plot, effectually called his attention to the subjects on which the Rabbins were to question him, by frequently repeating them in a neighbouring room in his hearing. Simon, whose attention was now called to the points to be debated, had mastered them before the day of trial arrived. The idea of his friend proved excellent, for while the patriarch displayed before his abashed opponents his lore, he could triumphantly confront them, detail the particulars of the foul conspiracy against himself, and obtain the exclusion of his opponents from the meetings of the sacred college. But their removal was only temporary. While the Sanhedrim daily felt the want of these two

sages, they managed to puzzle their colleagues by sending in written questions, which the "assembled fathers" found difficult to discuss in their absence. At last a theologian, Joses, moved their re-admission with the remark, that "although he and his brethren were within the walls of the house of learning, learning itself remained outside that building." The patriarch could not resist the general feeling; but to avenge himself to some extent, he would not in future allow the names of the rebellious Rabbins to appear in connexion with the legal decisions which they had pronounced. Soon afterwards Rabbi Nathan made his peace with the patriarch: but Meir persisted in his opposition, and that to such an extent that Simon would have excommunicated him, had it not been for a former decree of the Sanhedrim which protected the sages from the vengeance of their chiefs. After what we have said, it will scarcely be expected that Simon had, during his incumbency, done much to advance Jewish theology. He felt it safest simply to adhere to what had been handed down by former teachers. So strictly did he observe this rule, that he would even confirm decisions which had been arrived at upon erroneous premises. Tradition reports under his name a number of decisions, of which only three were reversed by his successors. The maxim ascribed to him was that "the continuance of the world depended upon three things, upon truth, righteousness, and peace."¹ Rabban Simon was succeeded by his son, afterwards the celebrated Jehuda the holy, who even during the lifetime of his father had attained a distinguished position amongst the members of the sacred college.

Of Nathan, the Ab-beth-din at Usha, we have already spoken. He seems to have occupied an honourable place amongst the sages of Palestine. His literary activity was chiefly distinguished by a collection of ordinances and statements which bear the name of the forty-nine "Middoth," or rules of Rabbi Nathan—a work partly bearing on the study of mathematics and geometry, and generally cast in a mathematical mould.² In

¹ Pirke Aboth, i. 18.

² Comp. Zunz, Gottesd. Vortr. pp. 91, 92, &c.

general, mathematics was specially a subject of study in the schools and amongst the sages of Babylon.

The most distinguished personage at Usha was Rabbi Meir, who derived his name (Meir, the enlightener) from the estimate which his cotemporaries had formed of his merits. He was a man of undoubted talent and originality, although without depth of intellect or elevation of character.¹ A native of Asia Minor, he shared in the versatility and lightness which constituted the marked characteristics of its inhabitants. Legend traces his origin to the Emperor Nero, in whose death the Orientals were so loath to believe. His quickness early distinguished him amongst the students who crowded the class-rooms of Rabbies Ishmael, Akiba, and Elisa ben Abuja. If he principally admired Akiba, whom he seems to have chosen for his theological model, he was by mental affinity specially drawn towards Elisa, with whom he remained on terms of intimacy even after his apostasy and subserviency to the Romans. In fact, Meir could not have imitated Akiba. He neither possessed his freshness and grasp^o of intellect, nor his generous ardour and enthusiasm. Meir was acute and ready, but shallow and rather specious than truthful. His feelings were readily excited, but not deep. If to these natural peculiarities are added those which partly arose from Rabbinism, from the circumstances of the Sanhedrim in which he was "easily chief," and from his intimacy with Elisa, his character and history will readily be understood. He was light-minded, selfish, vain to excess, and would trifle with the dearest interests of his own family or of the Synagogue. His wife was Beruria, the talented and accomplished daughter of Chananja ben Teradion, who, it will be remembered, was burnt wrapt in the roll which he had been discovered studying. Meir supported himself by making copies of the Scriptures. This occupation required not only considerable learning, but specially scrupulous attention and carefulness—two qualities for which Meir was not particularly distinguished. His teacher, the conscientious Ishmael,

¹ Comp. Jost, Gritz, Bartolucci, Wolfius, *ut supra*.

anxiously set these things before him, representing the danger which must result from any neglect on his part. But Meir, who felt no peculiar scruples, and was vain of his excellent memory, which on one occasion had enabled him to copy from memory the whole Book of Esther, set these prudent counsels aside. It was the practice of Jewish copyists to use an ink which in case of any mistake could easily be obliterated. On the other hand Meir, confident of his accuracy, used an indelible ink prepared from sulphate of copper (Chalcanthron). Referring to this, he replied to Ishmael's admonitions in his usual off-hand manner,—“ Oh, I have a remedy at hand against all mistakes: I use sulphate of copper.” But although this boast implied that the ravages of time only could occasion errors in his manuscripts, the latter were far from faultless. His talents had early procured him ordination from Akiba, of whom he was a favourite pupil. The youthful appearance of the Rabbi excited the jealousy of some whom he reminded, that as it was not the vessel, but its contents, which were precious, it might happen that, while a new vessel contained old, an old-looking vessel might only enclose new wine. His ingenuity led him to develop Akiba's method even beyond its intended limits. While his cleverness dazzled, or at least for the moment staggered the sages as to the opinions which he defended, he could not make any lasting impression upon them. On subsequent examination his views were commonly found unsatisfactory, and ultimately the legal decisions of his colleagues were generally in opposition to them. But Meir was not easily disconcerted. His peculiar method, rightly designated as the *Dialectics of the Talmud*,¹ had been originated by Akiba, it was developed by himself, and, in the hands of his successors, became the peculiar characteristic of later rabbinical teaching. His pupils carried it afterwards to such excess, that even the Synagogue felt constrained to interpose, and at length ordered their exclusion from the College, as their object seemed rather to dispute than to elicit truth. It was in fact not unlike the Hagada, only applied to the oral as

¹ Grätz, p. 209

the former had been to the written law. The quick mind of Meir would discover points which might be capable of advocacy, not only in one view of a question, but also in its direct contrary. He would bring them forward, and, without hesitation, defend the *pro* and the *contra* of a subject till the astonished hearer became bewildered, uncertain where or whether the truth lay anywhere, and what, after all, were the Rabbi's real sentiments. Probably he had little real conviction on any of the subjects on which he exercised his ingenuity. Where more honest or sober-minded men would have felt no difficulty, Meir could, with an air of sincerity, raise a host of difficulties, answer, again retort, and so on till the mind became giddy, and at last all moral earnestness in the sense of personal conviction and duty disappeared before an unlimited exercise of logical ingenuity. With Meir no theological principle was settled. He would anew investigate every question, and with marvellous ease rattle over all that could be said for and against it, till nothing was left but to choose between what seemed the more rational of two views, or deciding in accordance with the preponderance of conflicting authorities. It would, indeed, be unfair to lay the blame of this peculiar method wholly on Meir. It was inherent in Talmudism, and it had originated with his predecessors; but probably it was he more than any other, who, by developing it fully, cast Jewish theological thinking into that peculiar mould which made it so inaccessible to the truth, by substituting for depth and earnestness a showy attractiveness, and a superficial ingenuity. It will scarcely be wondered that, in the peculiar state of the Synagogue, Meir attracted around him numerous and devoted students. If his talents were brilliant, and his method such as to flatter the vanity of the Jewish sophists, he knew also how to relieve the dulness of theological teaching, by interspersing it with Hagadic stories, sallies, puns, and especially with fables. He was particularly famed for aptness in the latter pieces of composition, and is said, for example, to have indited no less than 300 fables on subjects connected with the habits of the fox. The only lasting merit of Rabbi Meir was his con-

tinuation of the labours of Akiba in the arrangement of the Halacha. This he carried a stage further, by dividing, according to their contents, the traditions which had hitherto been only strung together according to their number. In this respect the patriarch's son, Jehuda, was much indebted to his tuition.

The domestic history of Meir is in many respects touching, as describing first the mutual attachment, and then the dangerous trifling of which a man of Meir's character was capable. It has already been stated that our Rabbi was married to Beruria, so famed for her talents and rabbinical lore, as, in the opinion of cotemporaries, to occupy a high place amongst the sages of the time. Her sister had, after the martyrdom of their parents, been carried to Rome for the purpose of public prostitution. But there Providence had watched over her honour. When the persecutions ceased, Beruria found no rest till Meir went to Rome to rescue his sister-in-law from infamy. Before entering on the dangerous undertaking, he resolved to try whether her principles had remained unshaken. Disguising himself as a Roman he approached her, and, having satisfactorily ascertained her steadfastness, he bribed the attendants and procured her escape, though in the attempt himself escaped capture only by disguise and feigning to eat forbidden meat. But whether this success had engendered in him a culpable desire of experimenting on the honour of others, or whether his innate vanity and self-confidence prompted him to it, the sad consequences of rash presumption too soon appeared in his case. Beruria had throughout proved herself not only an attached but a devoted wife. She had shared his trials when during the persecutions Meir had fled from Palestine. On his return she cheered and encouraged him, and by her conduct softened the afflictions with which he was visited in providence. For example, while on a certain Sabbath the Rabbi was engaged in the College, his two sons had suddenly taken ill and died. To spare her husband some hours of grief, and especially not to commute the festivities of the Sabbath into a season of mourning, the mother carefully repressed her own feelings and concealed the sad tidings. The

Sabbath had been spent as usually, and its holy exercises and stillness were ended with the evening, when Beruria asked her husband whether it were not duty readily and cheerfully to restore to its owner any property, however pleasant, which had been intrusted for safe keeping. When the astonished Rabbi answered the strange inquiry in the affirmative, his weeping wife took him by the hand and led him to the bed on which the lifeless remains of their two children were stretched, reminding him, that He whose these two children rightfully were, had taken back what for a time he had intrusted to their keeping. It was on the honour of a wife like Beruria, that at a later period Meir could speculate. From some not well-ascertained motive, he agreed with one of his pupils that the latter should attempt her honour. Accustomed by her rabbinical discussions to treat of subjects, and to converse with the other sex in a manner which would have been deemed improper in other Hebrew females, it is said that Beruria yielded to the fascinations of her seducer. But when the guilty appointment was to take place, instead of her expected lover the outraged husband himself appeared. Shame and vexation so preyed upon the mind of the unhappy woman that she committed suicide; and it was felt necessary in future to restrict women from rabbinical studies, which might throw them into unbecoming if not dangerous circumstances. After his wife's death, Rabbi Meir for a time went to Babylon, whence he returned to his colleagues with another and less learned bride.

We have already alluded to the relation between Meir and the other sages. He seemed specially attached to Elisa the Apostate, with whom he always remained on intimate terms. Their minds seem to have been very similarly constituted, and probably their principles did not differ fundamentally. His cotemporaries, who ascribed their intercourse rather to Meir's laxity than to high-toned principle, objected to this intimacy; but the sage accounted for it from a desire on his part to profit by Elisa's Talmudical learning, which, strangely enough, the latter seems to have cultivated even after his apostasy, thus showing

that these studies constituted at the time a mental rather than a religious discipline. Our Rabbi was wont to say that he had found an excellent pomegranate, and that after using what was good he could throw away the rind. However, the forbearance of the two seems to have been mutual. Thus it is related, that on a certain Sabbath they had gone together for a little while—Meir on foot, and Elisa on horseback—discussing theological questions. In the eagerness of the engagement, Meir had almost forgotten the day of rest, and walked beyond the usual mark, which indicated the boundaries of a Sabbath-day's journey; but Elisa stopped to remind him of it. Astonished at this, Meir seized the opportunity to invite his friend to return into the bosom of the Synagogue—a proposition to which the latter refused to accede, as repentance could not be granted to one who had so wantonly abused the gifts granted him. Again, when Acher lay on his deathbed, his faithful pupil hastened to his side, and renewed, this time effectually, his solicitations on this subject. Legend has it that Meir spread his cloak over the grave of Acher: a cloud of smoke rose from it, and Meir turned away with the somewhat blasphemous application of Ruth iii. 13,—“Tarry this night (of time) and it shall be in the morning (of immortality) that He the All-merciful will deliver and ransom thee; but if He be unwilling, then I will redeem thee.” Besides cultivating intercourse with the most noted theologians of his own nation, Meir was also on friendly and even intimate terms with heathen sages, whose scientific inquiries were neither foreign nor distasteful to his mind. Perhaps his friend Elisa may have called his attention to such subjects. Meir not only admitted that heathens, if virtuous, might have part in the world to come, grounding this concession on the fact that the Scriptures did not limit eternal life to the *Israelite*, but to the *man* who observed the commandments of the Lord, but placed the heathen, who engaged in the study of the law, from the peculiar difficulties which he had to overcome, on the same footing of merit with a high-priest in Israel. Amongst the heathen philosophers of that time, none was so

intimately acquainted with, or manifested such an appreciation of Judaism (at least as Meir represented that creed) as Noumenios the philosopher of Apamea, in Syria. The principles of that philosopher were essentially those of New Platonism, in the peculiar modification of that philosophy, which the influx of Eastern elements had brought about.

It is well known how closely Platonism in some points approached the teaching of the Bible, and what baneful influence upon the Church and the Synagogue the commingling of the philosophy of Alexandria, with the doctrines of inspiration, had exercised. The more apparent the similarity between the two parties, the more imminent the danger of a union which introduced the unbroken hearts, and the unhumbled spirits, of heathen philosophers, into a communion for which the first requisites were spiritual poverty, and a conviction of want. No doubt this philosophy proved to many a point of transition to deeper and sounder views; but, on the whole, the ultimate consequences of a connexion between the two parties, were dangerous, if, indeed, they did not prove fatal. But if spiritual Christianity repelled the Platonist, Judaism, at least as interpreted by a Rabbi of the mind and views of Meir, would present nothing to startle or shock the self-love and confidence of such a philosopher. His own peculiar aristocratic views might induce him to think that he more fully appreciated and developed the higher principles of Judaism, when he abstained from the superstitious observances of the Synagogue. On the other hand, the Platonist would acknowledge the fundamental truths of Judaism, and feel a certain community of spirit, and even a kind of affinity with Jewish teachers, like Elisa or Meir. Accordingly, Noumenios studied and quoted from the Thora (the law of God) and the Halacha, and expressed himself to the effect that Pythagoras and Plato had drawn from these sources. He even designated Plato as the Attic Moses. Such statements show the state of the Synagogue and of the Academy. They also help us to ascertain the utmost limits of philosophical inquiry, while they illustrate the insufficiency of every mental

effort without spiritual enlightenment, and above all, without a quickening of the heart. Meir met the advances of Noumenios readily, and in a friendly spirit. Not only was a cordial intercourse kept up between them, but many of Meir's principles betoken the influence of this philosophy upon the mind of the Jewish sage. These remarks may, perhaps, also help to throw some light on the apostasy of Acher.

The most noted, if not the most sophisticated, amongst Meir's numerous pupils, was Symmachos, known as translator of the Bible into Greek. Of Samaritan origin, he had attended Meir's prelections, and thoroughly imbibed his method. It is said that this dialectician, on one occasion, undertook by forty-nine arguments to prove that the touch of a certain dead reptile could not defile a person. It was opprobriously said of Symmachos, by his cotemporaries, that his ancestors could not have heard the law on Mount Sinai. Symmachos afterwards joined the Christian sect of the Ebionites. His translation of the Bible is stated to have been more free from errors, and more faithful than that of Akylas. It is rather remarkable that Theodotion, the predecessor of Symmachos, in the translation of the Bible, had also been an Ebionite, as shewing for what important controversial purposes critical lore was even at that period employed.¹ Rabbi Meir's teaching, in so far as practice was concerned, went much in the direction of accommodating the law to the necessities of life, and hence of making its yoke lighter, or at least distributing its burden more equably. This tendency is of course closely connected with his general aim and views; but although lenient where others were concerned, he himself refused to take advantage of such provisions. Thus when on one occasion he had given permission to prepare on the Sabbath a mixture of oil and wine for sick or delicate persons, himself refused to make use of this concession, lest, as he said, selfish motives should be thought to have influenced him in granting the permission. Although Meir's method was,

¹ Comp. Epiph. de Pond. et Mens. c. 18, 19; Euseb. Hist. Eccles., vi. 16, 17; Demonstr. Evang. vii. 1; Hieron. Prefat. in Ezram; in Jerem. xxxii. &c.

after his decease, and in its full development, disowned by the synagogue, it was too much in agreement with the spirit of traditionalism not to have met at first with a favourable reception. In fact, it procured for its author, during his lifetime, a fame and influence among his cotemporaries, not second to that of any of his colleagues. His ingenuity was extolled in the hyperbolical language of the time. To see Rabbi Meir disputing in the college, was like seeing "great mountains torn up from their base, and rubbed against each other to dust." His pupils would have it that, "even to touch the staff of this modern Elijah, would impart some wisdom." Meir had frequently changed his residence. After his accession to power, he had lived mostly at Tiberias and Damascus. But his continual disagreements with the Nasi induced him at last to leave Palestine for Asia Minor, where he died, bequeathing to his countrymen the following proud and characteristic message:—"Tell the children of the Holy Land that their Messiah had died in a strange country." According to his expressed wish, the tabernacle of his unquiet spirit found its last resting-place by the sea-shore, where his grave was washed by the waves, and looked into wide, storm-tossed ocean.

A very different personage from the clever, vain, and versatile Meir, was one of his cotemporaries, Simon ben Jochai, in cold rationality, exclusiveness and pride, a genuine Jewish stoic. His father had been an adherent of the Romans; but Simon's religious and political views led him to an opposite extreme, and became the source of political troubles, to which we shall refer in the sequel. All his characteristics were peculiarities, and all his peculiarities were so marked as to become noticeable, and to leave an impression upon his period and nation. Not easily excited, his emotions were, when roused, of the deepest character. He was pre-eminently a man of conviction, who would unshrinkingly carry his principles, without compromise, to their utmost consequences, however repugnant such consequences might in themselves appear. There is indeed a fallacy which persons of his disposition are apt to overlook. Every

action should not only be the consequence of a logical deduction from certain absolute principles, but in itself, and without reference to its ultimate principle, be capable of standing the test of moral investigation. Where logic alone is the prompter, it so happens that as it sometimes may be falsely applied, a man may, with the best intentions and the most conscientious convictions, act erroneously, if not wrongfully, while in general a cold heartlessness will characterize such rationality. Such was the case with Simon. It need scarcely be said that in his study of the Scriptures, he repudiated not only the principles of Meir, but even their much more moderate original, those of Akiba. Even the canons of Ishmael, although he approved of them, were not the guide of his investigations. Unlike Akiba, he did not endeavour to investigate the hidden meaning of Scripture, in order to elaborate and to apply it; nor did he with Ishmael read the Bible like any ordinary book, but busied himself to find out its *rational* principles,—the grounds upon which its injunctions were based,—and having ascertained them, he did not hesitate to apply them to their utmost consequences. One or two instances of this will exhibit this novel tendency in the synagogue. Taking for example the injunction not to cut down the harvest along the corners of fields, Simon based it on the following four reasons, which, according to his system, were so many general scriptural principles:—To protect the interests of the poor; to save their time; to spare their feelings; and to protect the farmer from exaction or calumny. Again, having, according to his system, ascertained that the only traces of true worship were to be found amongst Israel, he unhesitatingly avowed the most intolerant principles. He consigned all other nations to future destruction, and even declared it lawful to attack, to persecute, and to exterminate these enemies of God. Similarly he inferred from the statement which forbade all connexion with the seven Canaanitish nations, the exclusiveness of Judaism, and in application of this principle, interdicted all contact with heathens. The same inexorable logic he carried into every principle of his conduct. Thus even

his contempt of the unlearned in Israel, was that of conviction and of principle; nor would he have any one so much as enter into argument, or assign reasons for anything, when in contact with religious inferiors. Similar views induced him to assert more fully the rights of Rabbinism. He was the first amongst the sages to claim support, not from manual labour, but from his profession as a theologian. Proud of his station, and conscious of his superiority, he treated his equals with hauteur, his juniors with harshness, and the unlettered with contempt. It is, however, scarcely matter of wonder that a stern, unbending spirit, like that of Simon, should have gathered numerous students in Upper Galilee (where he resided), who were attached almost to idolatry, and devoted almost to servility to their master. His sternness was not, as so often is the case, the counterfeit for true merit, or the offspring of narrow-minded bigotry; it was the result of calm conviction, although purely rational and unfeeling, almost to heartlessness. With him the rationalistic school, which attained its high point in Ishmael, was fully developed, just as Meir carried the allegorizing tendencies of Akiba to and almost beyond their utmost limits. Henceforth the more calm and trustworthy of the Rabbins followed more and more in this direction. At the same time Simon was a devoted student of the Kabbalah, with the mysteries of which he was deeply conversant. Tradition has, although on insufficient grounds, ascribed to him the authorship of the great text-book of the Kabbalah, the "Sohar." Little doubt can be entertained that he zealously engaged in this fascinating study, which after all was but an attempt, speculatively, to solve some of the mysteries which Scripture had indicated, but left unexplained. Himself acknowledged that he preferred cabbalistic studies, not only to those of the Halacha, but also to those of the Scriptures themselves.

Similar in his exegetical principles, but different in his application of them, was Rabbi Joses ben Halephta, designated by his cotemporaries "the thinker." Although by trade a tanner he was ardently attached to scientific pursuits. Calmly rational

in all he said and did, there was a certain grandeur about this sage, which, as it did not take the direction of Simon's sternness, but the opposite, that of mildness and liberality, made him an object of attachment rather than of admiration. While he himself towered far above those to whom he endeavoured to condescend, he desired to lighten the burden of the law, and to introduce such changes as might make the profession of Judaism more easy. Like Simon he sought to apprehend the rational principles which underlie Judaism; but if we may infer from his conduct, he seems to have considered these principles alone necessary, and to have dispensed with the logical deductions which his colleague would draw from them. It will be evident that these two theologians, starting with the same fundamental views, would arrive at almost opposite conclusions. While Simon's logic was too wide, that of Joses was too narrow in its application. Hence, if the former fell into the dangerous error of excessive sternness, the latter committed sometimes mistakes arising from an excessive laxity; a tendency which induced him to utter maxims to which we must object as in every way improper, and on certain occasions from a temporizing policy, to act contrary even to his own pronounced principles. Still there was a quiet but attractive dignity about our Rabbi. Having never acted precipitately, or taught what was extravagant or ultra-strict, he was not only confident in the correctness of his principles, but could, although in the pride of Rabbinism, boast that he had never been obliged to retract anything. Occasionally his maxims are worthy of his position. Unlike his proud colleagues, he acknowledged merit wherever he found it, and distinguished it in proportion as it was rare in the circumstances. Thus he would have instituted public mourning for slaves who deserved it by their character and worth. He set a high value on scientific acquirements, and always expressed his preference for study rather than for teaching. Careless of honours which conferred responsibility, and of ease which was due to a neglect of duty or an impropriety of conduct, he would admonish his pupils rather to seek

the duty of collecting *for* than of distributing *to* the poor; rather to go beyond than to fall short in the way of duty; rather to suffer than to inflict injury. His claims to scientific distinction in the synagogue were twofold: he was both a theologian and a historian. Simon had made a collection of traditional ordinances, which however has been lost; that composed by Joses was specially reputed for its scientific arrangement. It bore the Greek title of "Nomicon," Legal Code, as in general many Latin and Greek terms had crept into the language and writings of the Jews. A more remarkable composition, however, and one which has been preserved, and is possessed of lasting interest, is the historical work of Joses, the "Seder Olam," Annals or Chronicle of the World. In thirty chapters it professes to give the history of Israel up to the time of the author, or rather to the termination of the last Jewish war under Bar-Cochab. But manifestly the later portions of the work have been tampered with by subsequent editors, and all notices of the events subsequent to the return of Israel from Babylon are of the scantiest character. Still the work is deeply interesting as containing historical records dating from so ancient a period, and indicating the views of the author and of the synagogue generally on the Old Testament economy and prophecies. The omissions at the close of the work are in part compensated by another historical work which bears the same title, but in contradistinction to Simon's "Seder Olam," or the "Seder Olam Rabba" (the larger Chronicle of the World), is designated the "Seder Olam Sutta" (or smaller). It seems to have been written at a later period, and with the totally different purpose of advocating the claims of the Babylonian Jews, and the descent of the "Princes of the Captivity" from the family of David.¹ A number of passages in the Seder Olam Sutta are manifestly culled from the Rabba, while others are as evidently contrary to historical fact.² Still, the work contains interesting notices. It is

¹ The copy of these historical works in my possession is furnished with a Latin translation and notes, by Professor J. Meyer. Amsterdam, 1699.

² Comp. Zunz, Gottesd. Vortr. p. 135, &c.

striking how the historical information becomes more accurate as the period of the author's lifetime is approached, and how, in almost the same proportion, the tendency to garnish his narrative with miraculous stories increases. The closing passages of the "Sutta" are probably a later addition, and date from the eighth century, the body of that work from the sixth or seventh. Rabbi Jose, the author of the original "Seder Olam" left five sons, all of whom became more or less celebrated in the synagogue.

This brief sketch of the synagogue would scarcely be complete did we not add a notice of another Rabbinical authority, distinguished for his conscientious punctiliousness, and a type of the old school which had nearly become extinct. Rabbi Juda ben Ilai, who, as the reader will remember, invited his colleagues to join him at Usha, was by trade a cooper. He was not only himself industrious, but endeavoured to impress on his hearers the necessity of engaging in manual labour, which, so far from degrading, elevated those who were employed in it. To enforce his teaching by example, he was wont to lecture to his numerous students seated on a kind of cask of his own manufacture. He had, during the troubles in Palestine, experienced the benefits of an honourable independence, and was anxious that by being masters of some trade, all others should, if needful, enjoy the same advantage. That, however, he did not neglect the study of the law is evident, even from the designations by which he was known amongst his cotemporaries. He was called "the prudent," "the orator," and "the pious." The first of these titles he earned by his cautious political conduct, which procured for him the confidence and favour of the authorities, and by his domestic habits. It has already been mentioned that he was most anxious to remain independent of strangers. To such an excess did he carry this determination, that he would not wear a garment which had been spun or woven out of his own house, and on one occasion refused to go to a public festival, because his festive garment, of domestic manufacture, was not quite ready. On account of his peculiar rhe-

torical talent, which secured for him a distinguished place amongst his colleagues, he was called "the orator." His claims to the title "pious" rested on a scrupulous observance of religious duties, and on the perfect mastery which he had attained over his feelings. The latter was such, that the tidings of the death of his son could not interrupt him when engaged in a prelection. It is stated that Juda composed a commentary on the book of Leviticus which bore the name of "*Siphra*."

We can only name some of the other sages in the College at Usha. Chanina ben Chacinai had, from love of study, left his young wife and children. After thirteen years' absence, he returned so changed in appearance that he was not recognised by his nearest relatives. Eleazar ben Jacob was famous as having rehearsed some interesting traditions connected with the Temple. Besides, Jochanan of Alexandria, Nehemia, Eleazar ben Shamua, and others, occupied distinguished places in the Sanhedrim. In reviewing this period, we become sensible of a considerable change in the tendency of Jewish theology. Pharisaism, in the sense in which it obtained distinction at the time of our Lord, had entirely passed away. The ignorant Pharisee, he whose religion consisted primarily in ritual observances and long prayers, had now become only an object of scorn and contempt. But the allegorical method had also passed away. In its room the dialectic had appeared. However, the direction followed by the ablest Rabbins was different, and gradually became more and more rationalistic. Along with this tendency, an attempt was also made to remove a number of ordinances, which were felt to be needless or irksome burdens. At the same time the theological thinking of Palestine had almost exhausted itself, as its theology had reached its farthest boundaries. If the text of the traditional law were once perfectly arranged, nothing farther remained to be done by the Colleges of Palestine. Thus was the decline of these Colleges, which could at best experience only a temporary revival, prepared. The office of Nasi had also changed into the dignity of a temporal prince as the Colleges declined, and their authorities

became less capable for their duties. Once more did the academies appear to flourish—once more did the Rabbins and the people experience a storm of persecution, and then the Colleges of Palestine closed, never again to open, and its sages were scattered never again to reassemble. But before describing these events, we invite the reader to follow us through the cities, villages, and homes of Judea, there to observe the manners and habits, and to inquire into the social, intellectual, moral, and religious state of its inhabitants.

CHAPTER IX.

SOCIAL CONDITION OF PALESTINE.

THE geographical position of Palestine gave it a political importance greater than that to which its extent and population would otherwise have entitled it. Situated between Syria, Egypt, and Assyria, and on the highway to Persia, Arabia, and India, it became in turn the object of the cupidity of its neighbours, and the battle-ground on which their contests were decided. Consequently, except during the reigns of David and Solomon, the inhabitants of Palestine had always more or less to act on the defensive. From the circumstances of the people and of their rulers—from the spiritual degeneracy which, even in a political point of view, proved their ruin, by not only depriving them of the aid of Jehovah, but removing the grand fundamental idea of their nationality, and the only source from which their national inspiration could have been supplied—from the division of the land into two rival monarchies—and from the uncertain, shuffling, and short-sighted policy which was prosecuted by their kings, it was even found impossible to defend for any length of time the boundaries of Palestine. So far from occupying the position of political importance to which their situation, and the possession of so much seaboard, might have entitled the Hebrews, they gradually became dependent upon, and finally subject to their neighbours. After the return from Babylon and the brief period of national independence under the Maccabees, the sceptre entirely and finally departed from Judah, and every attempt to regain it proved unsuccessful.

At the time when the Saviour appeared on earth, Palestine

had undergone a fourth division and arrangement. The allocation amongst the tribes had given place to a monarchy. The latter had in turn been divided into the rival kingdoms of Judah and Israel. Now, Jew and Gentile had forgotten both tribes and kingdoms, and only spake of Galilee, Samaria, Judea, and Peræa. The first of these provinces, Galilee, commonly divided into two districts, Upper and Lower, to which Jewish authorities added the district around Tiberias as a third,¹ extended from near the river Leontes, in Syria,² to Scythopolis, on the Jordan, and from the borders of Tyre to Mount Carmel. Its western boundary consisted of a narrow strip of land along the seashore,³ and of Phœnicia. Eastward, it extended to the Jordan and the lake of Gennesareth. Upper Galilee was mountainous, and inhabited in great part by Gentiles (hence the name, Galilee of the Gentiles); Lower Galilee was more level, and exceedingly fruitful.⁴ The people were brave and warlike. From their commixture with Gentiles, they were less addicted to the study of Jewish traditions, or the observance of ceremonial injunctions, and hence despised by their brethren of the south. This remark applies chiefly to the inhabitants of Upper Galilee. The prosperity of this province is sufficiently indicated by the large number of its towns, which, at the commencement of the Jewish war, are said to have amounted to 240,⁵ of which, according to Josephus, the smallest contained not less than 15,000 inhabitants.⁶ Although this computation is evidently exaggerated, some idea of its populousness may be gathered from the fact, that in the war with the Romans Josephus was able to raise in Galilee alone an army of no less than 100,000 men.⁷ Galilee covered the ancient possessions of the tribes of Issachar, Zebulon, Asher, and Naphtali. Its most fertile and

¹ Shab. ix. 2.

² Comp. Schwartz *das heil. Land*, p. 13.

³ By an unaccountable mistake, the maps of Palestine, drawn in this country, are, so far as my information goes, all erroneously sketched. This applies specially to the course of the mountain-chains, and to the division of the country into provinces. The attention of the reader is specially called to the map prefixed to this volume, in which it has been attempted to avoid these mistakes.

⁴ Joseph. *Jewish Wars*, iii. 3, 1.

⁵ Joseph. *Vita*, c. 45.

⁶ Joseph. *Jewish Wars*, iii. 3, 2.

⁷ *Jewish Wars*, ii. 20, 6.

beautiful district was that around the lake of Gennesareth, where, along with the products of cooler zones, in certain situations, those of tropical climates also adorned and enriched the landscape during many months; and a rich soil was assiduously cultivated by a diligent and enterprising population.

Samaria, which covered the ancient inheritances of Ephraim, and the half tribe of Manasseh, bordered to the north on Galilee, and was smaller than either of the other provinces of Palestine. It formed nearly a square, as the western strip of land along the Mediterranean, and almost as far as Mount Carmel, was reckoned part of the province of Judea. The soil was fertile, and although the water-courses were not abundant, frequent showers compensated for their want. The water of Samaria was said to be peculiarly sweet. This, together with the quantity of aromatic herbs which grew in the country, gave the Samaritan agriculturists a more than ordinarily large and good supply of milk. The inhabitants, of whom an unusually large proportion were males,¹ lived for the most part at enmity with the Jews ever since the time of the building of the second Temple. The occasions when common hopes or misfortunes joined the two classes were rare, and of short duration. In general, a mutual distrust and bitterness characterized their relations. The Jews accused the Samaritans of being the lineal descendants of heathens, of practising idolatry, of deceitfulness, &c.; and the Samaritans retorted by such acts of vengeance and malice as opportunity afforded. Commonly the two parties avoided each other, the Jews preferring to take the longer road to Jerusalem along the sea-shore to passing through Samaria, by which the capital might have been reached from Galilee in three days.² The opinions as to the lawfulness of intercourse with the Samaritans differed with circumstances and Rabbins. Some went even so far as to forbid the purchase of uncooked animal food from them, or the sojourning under the same roof.

The third province of Palestine was Judea, which extended southward to the borders of Arabia, and westwards along the

¹ Joseph. Jewish Wars, iii. 3, 4.

² Joseph. Vita, c. 52.

sea-shore for a considerable distance. In every respect the most important province of the country, it was in part mountainous, and the neighbourhood of the sea was specially adapted for pasturage. From the time of the Maccabees, Idumea was joined to Judea, but retained its peculiar name. The Talmud¹ distinguishes in Judea, as in Galilee, three districts : the mountains, the plain, and the valley. For civil purposes it was divided into eleven toparchies or districts ; geographically it may be distinguished into Eastern and Western Judea.

The district on the other side of the Jordan, known by the name of Peræa, was divided into six smaller portions, varying in size, fertility, and populousness. This province also was in part mountainous, and in part desert. The history of Peræa was not of great importance : within its limits lay the greater part of the Decapolis (or ten cities), so well known to the readers of the New Testament.

Palestine had more towns and villages than might have been expected, considering the agricultural pursuits of the majority of its inhabitants. At first, towns had chiefly served for protection to the agricultural population. But as the wants of the people so the number of cities also increased. As in ancient warfare the occupation of fortresses was deemed an essential requisite in a successful campaign, in course of time a large number of towns in Palestine were fortified to resist the progress of an enemy. Their number increased during the period immediately preceding the war with the Romans. Many situations were fortified on account of their natural capabilities. Accordingly, Jewish authorities distinguished between cities or fortified places and common towns, which were reputed large, if they could produce ten men who devoted themselves exclusively to the study of the law,² and small if their number were less. The defences of cities consisted of thick walls whose gates were often covered with iron, and strongly barred. Above the gate rose watchtowers, and along the walls other works of defence. Outside the walls ran a ditch, and beyond it a low wall. The streets

¹ *U! supra.*

² Megill. i. 3.

were in general not so narrow as those of modern eastern towns, and the cities not unfrequently contained cultivated fields within the enclosure of the walls. The shadowy retreat of the gates, with the distant prospect and the busy throng around, formed the place of public resort, where the elders of the city commonly assembled, and the concerns of the town or public affairs were discussed. Sometimes the Rabbins taught in the streets, although this practice was soon interdicted in the spirit of Jewish aristocracy. Our Lord, however, seems to have availed Himself of the opportunity of addressing in the streets those who would not otherwise have heard Him. Jerusalem itself was paved with white stones,¹ and Antioch enjoyed the same convenience through the liberality of Herod the Great.² From the nature of the soil most of the other cities, built on high and rocky ground, scarcely required pavement. The streets and markets had names attached to them, which were generally derived from the shops or bazaars in them.³ The sewerage of towns was well attended to,⁴ and nothing that could contribute to comfort or ornament was neglected.⁵ The supply of water was derived either from aqueducts, from wells and fountains, or most commonly from cisterns.

In those times, and when the laws of what is called civilized warfare were not observed, sudden attacks of hostile neighbours were apprehended, or calls for aid expected. Accordingly, watchmen were placed on the towers to give timely notice of all they observed; and at night they patrolled the streets. Still, the darkness of the streets at night, though comparatively little felt where engagements commenced and ended with the day, rendered it unsafe to go abroad after sunset, especially if the police regulations were not strictly enforced. In general, these regulations were strict, and provided for all possible emergencies. Larger houses were often occupied by more than one family, and still more frequently two or more smaller dwellings opened

¹ Joseph. Antiq. xx. 9. 7.

² *Ut supra*, xvi. 5. 3.

³ Joseph. Jewish Wars, v. 8. 1.

⁴ For example, Joseph. Antiq. xv. 9. 6.

⁵ Bab. Chet. fol. 110.

into one common court, a convenience felt indispensable by the Jews. House watchers, like the porters in most continental cities, watched over the safety, and attended to the general wants of these houses.¹ To obviate occasions of dispute, neighbours were prevented from opening windows which looked into the courts or rooms of others, or shops, to which the entrance led through a common court.² Attention was likewise paid to the appearance of the streets, and proprietors were not allowed to build beyond the line, or to make any projection on their houses.³ Not only were the inhabitants of towns guarded from intrusion or inconvenience, but sanitary regulations, which outstrip those of our own cities, protected them from the carelessness, selfishness, or folly of their fellow-citizens. Thus a certain space had to intervene between the dwelling of a neighbour, and what could occasion annoyance to him, while cemeteries, tanneries, and similar places which might endanger the health, or prevent the comfort of the citizens, had to be removed, at least, fifty cubits from towns.⁴ So careful in this matter were the authorities, that bakers' or dyers' shops, stables, &c., were not tolerated under the dwelling of another person.⁵ A year's residence, or the purchase of property, constituted residence, and imposed on the citizen the obligation of contributing to the common expenditure or city taxation. Of the courts of law in the different towns, we, meanwhile, only observe that in every city there were civic authorities, over which a mayor or provost presided.⁶ These authorities were purely municipal, and distinct from those appointed by the Romans, who were mostly political and financial agents, and from the regularly commissioned spiritual authorities, who held their appointments from the superior Jewish legal functionaries. The town houses varied in extent and splendour with the condition of their inhabitants, from the cottage eight or ten yards square to the larger dwellings of the patricians. The walls were built of

¹ Baba Bathra, i. 4.

² *Ut supra*, ii. 4.

³ *Ut supra*, iii. 8.

⁴ *Ut supra*, ii. 3, &c.

⁵ *Ut supra*, i. 5.

⁶ Comp. Joseph. Vita, 12, 13, 27, &c.

bricks, of half-bricks, of dressed and undressed stones,¹ and even of white marble, or large hewn stones.² These stones were cemented together with mortar, gypsum, and even asphalt. Sometimes they were besides riveted with iron, but in such a manner as to be imperceptible. The walls were covered with a kind of whitewash, and palaces were painted with delicate colours, such as vermilion, &c. (Jer. xxii. 14.) The wood-work was constructed of sycamore (the most common tree in Palestine), of olive and almond trees, or even of cedar, and adorned or inlaid with ivory or gold. Richer dwellings were distinguished by rows of pillars and other architectural ornaments. The houses of the better classes consisted generally of two or more storeys, to which a stair (often costly) conducted from the outside. From the various uses made of the court, which also served as a kind of ante-chamber to visitors, it was felt to be a most important part of the building. It varied in size with the circumstances of tenants, being sometimes divided into an outer and inner court, at others, shared by several tenants. The inner court, whence the porter opened to callers on mentioning their names (Acts xii. 14; Rev. iii. 20), often led into a large and splendid reception-room, whence other apartments passed to the interior of the house. The upper rooms were not used for common purposes; inner rooms were inhabited chiefly in winter. The apartments were frequently richly decorated; sometimes painted or covered with pictures.³ The reception-room and the inner court, properly formed together but one apartment. The latter was planted with trees, paved, surrounded by galleries, and had fountains and baths. Some outer courts of a peculiar construction, and for special purposes, were termed Tyrian.⁴ The roofs, although flat, were somewhat sloping, to allow the rain-water to flow into the channels and cisterns, paved

¹ Baba Bath. i. 1.

² Comp. Joseph. Antiq. viii. 5. 2, and many passages of Scripture.

³ Joseph., *ut supra*. The quotations would necessarily be so many that we have generally omitted them. Our sources of information were, the Scriptures, Josephus, the Mishna, Commentators, and Winer's admirable Encyclopædia, whose quotations we have carefully revised and verified.

⁴ Maaser. iii. 5.

with stones, or other hard substances, and surrounded by a protecting balustrade. The roof was used when great privacy was sought, as in prayer, especially when upper rooms were wanting, and in the cool of the evening as the place of resort. It was also employed for domestic purposes, such as drying fruit, &c. The floors of the rooms were of gypsum, and even of marble; the doors were of stone or wood, and moved on hinges, fastened on wooden pins. They were barred by wooden bolts, which could be withdrawn by check keys from the outside. The dining apartment was very spacious, and often employed for assemblies. Instead of glass-panes, the windows had gratings or lattices. They mostly looked into the streets, and were distinguished as Tyrian windows, probably large, and Egyptian, which are supposed to have been small,¹ sometimes only two feet square. In the houses of the wealthy, the window-frames were carved, as in general their furniture, such as tables, couches, chairs, lamps, candlesticks, &c., were exceedingly costly. Amongst the articles of luxury, we only notice soft cushions, destined to be placed under the head or arms.

The different cities of Palestine were connected together by roads (denominated field-roads if four, and highways if sixteen cubits broad), and in the last wars by subterranean passages. Some of these highways were paved, and provided with mile-stones.² In general, only the frequented thoroughfares, used for commercial or military purposes, on which toll-money was levied, were well kept. The reader will find the principal roads traced on the map. One of them conducted from Ptolemais eastward over the mountains to Nazareth, thence to Tiberias, and along the lake of Galilee to Capernaum, whence passing over the Jordan it continued to Damascus. On that road sat Matthew at the receipt of custom when our Lord called him. Another highway went along the sea-shore from Tyrus (whence a road passed by Cæsarea Philippi to Damascus)

¹ Baba Bathra, iii. 6.

² Comp. H. Reland's *Palæstina*, p. 401 &c. See that work generally for interesting Geographical details.

by Ptolomais, Cæsarea, Bethar, Lydda, Jamnia, &c., to Egypt. Travellers to the capital took this way, and then journeyed by Bethar, Antipatris, Lydda (Diospolis), and either by Emmaus (Nicompolis) or by Beth-horon to Jerusalem. A third highway passed from Galilee through Samaria to the Jewish capital, by way of Jezreel, Ginæa, Sichem, and Samaria. Although short, it was rarely taken, on account of the hostility of the Samaritans. At Sichem, a road turned eastwards to Scythopolis, and again from that place westwards to Cæsarea, or eastwards by Gadara and Capitolias to Damascus. From Jerusalem, a road led by Bethany to Jericho, where the Jordan was forded, and thence passed to Gilead. This road was frequently taken by Jews who came from Galilee. From Gilead other roads led southwards. Finally, another highway conducted from the capital by Bethlehem to Hebron and southwards, while the road from Jerusalem by Beth-horon to Lydda continued as far as Joppa, one of the few seaports of Judea.

Such were the roads along which travellers passed. Their number was at first almost entirely limited to those who, at the annual feasts, resorted to the capital. Gradually as commerce increased, more distant journeys were undertaken, and as the Jews spread over the face of the known world, their relations extended, and travelling became more common. Journeys were performed on foot, upon asses, or in carriages (Acts viii.), of which three kinds are enumerated:¹ The round carriage (perhaps like our gig), the elongated, like a bed, and the cart, chiefly used for the conveyance of goods. From the robbers who infested various districts, from the nature of the country, the bad state of the roads, and the want of proper inns and public conveyances, travelling was always difficult and dangerous. These circumstances exercised a reciprocal influence. Of course, where the roads were bad or even dangerous—where, in case of need, it would have been found difficult to procure shelter for man or beast, and almost impossible to communicate with friends at a distance, few would, except in cases of necessity, and then gene-

¹ Chelim, xxiv. 2.

rally in company with others, undertake a journey. It was otherwise with the travelling hawker, who, well acquainted with the roads, was welcomed in every district as a friend who could communicate news, or at least exchange the products of one district for those of another, or for the still more rare articles of luxury imported from abroad. Those who went up to the feasts, generally in company, and often singing the praises of the Lord, were of course welcomed and entertained as became their holy errand. At a later period, all brethren in misfortune would meet a ready reception; and, as the wants of the country made hospitality a more than usually sacred duty, so the paucity of travellers would continue its practice longer than might otherwise have been expected. But generally a person who was about to undertake a journey prepared himself as if for a change of residence. He would carry with him his tent, sufficient provisions, in the shape of corn and preserved fruit, and clothing. Equally great were the preparations of those who expected a guest. The host went to meet him at a considerable distance, and again, when he left, escorted and provided him with the necessaries of life. On solitary roads, or where villages were thinly scattered, wayside inns, which, in the Talmud,¹ bear the same name as in the New Testament, provided, for payment, lodging and food for strangers. These inns were generally kept and resorted to by non-Israelites. Jews preferred to pitch their tents, or even to seek hospitality from Samaritans, rather than trust themselves to what often proved only lurking places for the ill-disposed. It need scarcely be added, that at that time there were neither public-houses nor inns for the convenience or the amusement of the inhabitants of cities. Their enjoyments were, if not more rational, at least more harmless.

Though the Jews early took part in the extensive trade of the Phenicians, and the possession of the seaports on the Red Sea gave them at one time the command of the Indian trade, Palestine never was properly a commercial country. The habits of the people as a whole being simple, they were not to any

¹ For example, Jevam. xvi. 7.

extent dependent upon foreign countries. The travelling hawker would of course always be a welcome visitor, and his wares eagerly sought after; but his business was chiefly to negotiate an exchange of the products of one district for those of another, or to buy and sell articles of home produce. The foreign wares imported were, with the exception of woods and metals, principally articles of luxury. Fish from Spain, apples from Crete, cheese from Bithynia; lentils, beans, and gourds from Egypt and Greece; plates from Babylon, wine from Italy, beer from Media, household vessels from Sidon, baskets from Egypt, dresses from India, sandals from Laodicea, shirts from Cilicia, veils from Arabia—such were some of the goods imported from abroad. On the other hand, the Jews exported wheat, oil, honey, figs, balsam; and, on the whole, the exports and imports were nearly equal, the balance being in favour of Palestine, partly from the continual influx of money from abroad for sacred purposes, and partly from its position, which made it in some respects the highway of Eastern commerce. The currency varied with the circumstances of the people. After the return from Babylon, first Persian, then Syrian coinage, was chiefly in use. When Simon the Maccabee attained power, he issued Hebrew coins, which were in turn superseded by Grecian and Roman currency. Amidst this variety, it is more than usually difficult to ascertain the exact value of coins. It must be borne in mind, that the Shekel of the Sanctuary, and the weights and measures of the Temple, were computed at double the ordinary.¹ The smallest coin was the half-quadrans, or (Jewish) perutah, equal to about one-sixteenth of a penny. Four quadrans, or lipta, made an *as*, or about a halfpenny—two and four *as*-pieces being also in use. The denarius, or drachm (the penny of the New Testament), was worth about 8d. Two denarii, or a didrachm, made a common or Galilean shekel, about 1s. 4d. of our money; and four denarii, or two didrachms, a shekel of the Sanctuary, or a stater. The half-shekel of the

¹ See Ezek. xlv. 12; and 1 Kings x. 17, comp. with 2 Chron. ix. 16; the Mishnic Treatise Shekalim, specially i.; and the decisive passage in Maaser Sheni, ii. 9.

Sanctuary, which was paid as annual contribution to the treasury, was in reality an ordinary shekel, and weighed about a quarter of an ounce. Of the larger coins, we only mention the litra, worth 96, the mina worth 100, and the talent worth 6000 common shekels. All the larger coins were reproduced in gold, and the difference between the value of these two metals was said at different times to vary from 1 to $12\frac{1}{2}$ —1 to 25.

While the smallness of the coins in circulation may be taken as in itself an index of the cheapness of living in the country, their variety early necessitated a class of merchants, known as bankers or money-changers. The readers of the New Testament are familiar with both these facts. They will remember, that if a labourer received for a day's work in the field or vineyard a denar (8d.), Matt. xx. 2, while the kind Samaritan only paid two denars (1s. 4d.) for the charge of the sick person in the inn, labour must have brought a high price in comparison to the expense of provisions. They will also recall the existence and duties of the money-changers. These were necessary not only from the different currencies in use, or to accommodate the merchant and the traveller,¹ but principally to change the various coins in which Jewish residents at home, or settlers abroad, paid the statutory half-shekel as temple-tribute. From all parts of the world did the contributions of the faithful flow to Jerusalem, which, wherever scattered, they still regarded as their religious home. Custom had it, that nothing but the regular half-shekel could be received at the treasury. Every kind of coin had therefore to be changed for half-shekels, and this constituted one of the principal employments of the regular bankers. For this purpose they opened stalls throughout the country between the 1st and the 15th of Adar, the period when also the public roads, market-places, and baths were yearly repaired, corresponding to our month of March. On the 25th of Adar business was only transacted within the precincts of the city and of the temple; and after that date those who had refused to pay the impost could be proceeded against at law, and their

¹ Shev. vii.

goods distrained. The money-changers charged a silver mea, or about one-fourth of a denar¹ (2d.) as discount from every one who procured from them the temple coin.² Thus, as the whole of the annual contributions to the Temple are computed at about £76,000,³ the income derived from this source by the bankers must have amounted to nearly £9500, or deducting a small sum for exceptional cases, in which the banker was not allowed to claim the mea,⁴ it may in round numbers be set down at about £9000, a sum very considerable when the peculiar circumstances of the country are kept in mind. The rate of discount was fixed by law, perhaps in order to obviate all suspicion of, or temptation to usury,—a sin deemed by the Hebrews as amongst the most heinous of civil offences.

It need scarcely be stated that the Jews were designed to be an agricultural people. However, as the agricultural labourer had neither leisure nor opportunity for studying the law, or distinguishing himself in the practice of ritual observances, he was held in contempt by the Rabbins. It was otherwise with the large proprietors who let their fields to farmers, not for money, but for part of the produce, or who employed land-stewards, and also with the small proprietors who resided in the many villages and towns with which Palestine was studded. These enjoyed the privileges which a town residence conferred. As the Jews were neither meant to be a commercial nor a military nation, the law was so framed that the ground should be held by a large number of small rather than by a few extensive proprietors. In their husbandry the Hebrews used simple implements. In all ordinary cases the natural fertility of the soil served to the humble farmer in room of the appliances of the modern agriculturist. The plough with which he loosely turned up the dry ground was fragile and comparatively inefficient. The harrow was employed both before and after committing the seed to the ground, and manure was not altogether unknown. In these climates

¹ Ersch (Encycl. p. 31) computes it at one-fifth, Zunz (Zur Gesch. u. Litter. p. 539) at one-third of a denar. We have adopted the view of Winer in his Real-Lexicon.

² Shek. i. 8.

³ Winer, ii. 589.

⁴ Shek., *ut supra*.

the character of the crop chiefly depends on the supply of water, which was provided by digging canals, and by a rude kind of machinery, which conveyed and helped to pour the water over the fields. The seed was sown either in October and November, or in January and February. The "early rain" was expected about the middle of October; the "latter rain" about the end of March or the beginning of April. Between these periods the ground mainly depended upon the copious and refreshing dew which fell nightly. The harvest began in April, the vintage in September. A considerable diversity of climate, and hence of produce, obtained in different parts of the country. The neighbourhood of Jericho was probably the hottest, and its produce almost approached that of tropical latitudes. The Jewish law required the agriculturist to take care that in the varieties of grain and fruit there should be no mixing of different seeds, or engrafting of various kinds. It also provided, that besides the regular tithes, one-sixtieth of all the produce should be left on the fields, being the proportion computed as growing on the borders of fields, and which was to be left for the poor. Whatever was forgotten, or had accidentally dropped from the hand of the shearer, who generally used the common hand-sickle, also belonged to them, and whatever grew of itself during the Sabbatic year. The grain was threshed with sticks or flails, or trodden out by cattle, not muzzled, but with their eyes bandaged to prevent giddiness.¹ Peculiar threshing machines, which were dragged over the sheaves, were also in use. After being threshed and winnowed the corn was laid up in storehouses. Where the soil was very light, a kind of hoe was used instead of the plough. As the population increased, pieces of land were cleared of wood, and otherwise brought under cultivation. Palestine was peculiarly rich in all kinds of fruit. Ripe figs might be had during ten months of the year; grapes were much cultivated throughout the land. The vines were pruned and dug about, and the wine used both before and after fermentation. It was always first filtered, and for common beverage diluted with water;²

¹ Chelin, xvi. 7.

² Pes. vii. 13.

the luxurious prepared it with spices.¹ However, drunkenness was not one of the national sins. Among other alcoholic liquors we may mention one made from barley, crocus, and salt;² another sweet or honey-wine;³ and specially date-wine, a highly nutritive and agreeable, but very intoxicating beverage, made by first squeezing out the juice of dates, and then macerating the residue in water. The fructification of the date-palms was artificial,⁴ and their culture required some care. Another source of wealth to the agriculturist was the juice which certain plants and trees yielded—specially the balsam-plant which grew in Gilead, and in the neighbourhood of Jericho. It rose to the height of about five feet, and resembled the vine. The juice which was obtained by small incisions was preserved in new earthen vessels. At first thin and white, it gradually became thick and red. An inferior kind of balsam was pressed out from the seeds and young twigs. By a similar process the myrrh-tree yielded its myrrh, the storax-tree its storax, &c. In the gardens, orchards, and even by the wayside, the more common fruits, such as the pear, the peach, the plum, the pomegranate, the mulberry, and the almond, grew in abundance. In high situations, or very sandy soil, the ground was cultivated in terraces which were surrounded by stone walls. The law carefully protected agricultural property and pursuits. Watchmen in regular lodges guarded the ripe fruit, but were not allowed to prevent passers by from taking so much corn or fruit as was requisite for immediate personal use. The best grain was got from the neighbourhood of Michmash in the inheritance of Benjamin, to the north-east of Jerusalem, and from Chafarajim in the neighbourhood of the plain of Jezreel. The treasurer of the Temple tested the quality of the flour by thrusting his hand into it; if any adhered, the flour had to be again sifted. The inheritance of the tribe of Asher produced the greatest quantity, and Thekoa, two hours south of Bethlehem, the finest quality of oil. Next to it was that of Regab on the eastern bank of Jordan, a little south

¹ Maas. Shen, ii. 1.

³ Shab. xx. 2.

² Pes. iii. 1.

⁴ Pes. iv. 8.

of Ramoth-Gilead. There were three kinds, and of each kind three qualities of oil, according as it was extracted from the first ripe olives, from those which grew about the middle of the tree, or from those which were indiscriminately gathered and allowed to lie till they were nearly putrid, and prepared either by mere pressure of the hand or under boards and stones, or by macerating machines. The best wine came from Kerosim in Galilee, probably on the lake of Tiberias,¹ from its immediate neighbourhood, from Beth-Rimah on the mountains of Naphtali, and from Beth-Laban, also situated in a mountainous district. Kepharsignah in the valley, somewhat north-east from Chabul, furnished also an excellent vintage.

A large proportion of a farmer's wealth consisted in his herds and flocks. While, from the character of the soil, certain kinds of cattle were more generally reared in some districts, others, such as unclean animals, were entirely interdicted. Fowls were not allowed to be kept in Jerusalem, or in general by priests, on account of certain laws connected with purification.² On the same ground they were generally kept at a distance from towns. The dog was a despised animal, "only to be kept on a chain." Small cattle were reared chiefly in Syria, and on those extensive plains or steppes which constituted a great part of what were termed "the wildernesses" of Palestine, such as the neighbourhood of Engedi, of Thekoa, of Beersheba, of Jericho, of Gibeon, of Bethsaida, &c. Although these districts were not cultivated, they afforded excellent pasturage to the large flocks which browsed there all summer, being at night sheltered in the folds. Watch-towers, occupied by armed men, protected them from the predatory incursions of hostile neighbours; and large cisterns or wells, which became filled in the rainy season, supplied them with water. In the beginning of November the flocks were driven to their stabling, and kept there till the spring months.³ Of the larger cattle, the oxen of Bashan were reputed the strongest, as in general

¹ Schwartz's *Palest.*, p. 149.

² *Baba Kama*, vii. 7.

³ Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebr.*, p. 732.

that district was especially suited for rearing cattle. On the western side of Jordan the plains of Sharon afforded the best fodder. The uses to which oxen were put were manifold. Besides serving for sacrifices and for food, they were employed in ploughing, for carriage, and in threshing, &c. Instead of the whip, a pointed stick or goad (sometimes armed with iron) was used. The milk of cows, goats, sheep, and camels was either used sweet, or allowed to sour. Butter and cheese were articles in common use. The cattle were fed on grass and herbs, and in winter on dried grass and chopped straw, mixed with other ingredients, and a small quantity of salt. The wool of sheep was either immediately spun in the family of the farmer, or sold to the merchant. The dung was generally dried and used for fuel. Horses and mules were mostly imported from abroad.

It has already been stated that, besides the capital, numerous cities had sprung up throughout the land.¹ South of Jerusalem, which was called "the navel of the earth," and supposed to lie exactly in the middle of it, lay Bareka, a town to the north-east of Ashdod, where Akiba had often taught. Travelling southwards we reach Beth Gubrin, or Eleutheropolis, plentifully watered by the dew from heaven, and east of it Beth Netufah, famed for its oil. Gaza lay near the sea, which there forms a natural bay. It had once been a very flourishing city, and was still reputed as possessing one of the three finest market-places in the land. Its fair was much resorted to. A number of small towns studded the country all round as far south as Osa and Beth Darom. Askelon, where the burning of the witches took place, was mostly inhabited by heathens, who had a splendid temple there, but also by some wealthy, pious, and influential Jews. A great part of the city was computed to lie on heathen territory. Amongst the natural products of that neighbourhood corn and onions, and, amongst its manufactures, large wooden handles for wells, and packing-straps, were noted. Heathens lived also in the celebrated market-town of Botnan, near Hebron, where Hadrian caused so many captured Jews to be sold into

¹ Comp. Ersch's Encycl., vol. xxvii. p. 25, &c.; and Lightfoot's *Hor. Hebr., passim*.

slavery, in the neighbourhood of Bethlehem, and at Jabne. In the vicinity of the latter place many little towns seem to have sprung up. Lydda was the scene of much that is interesting in Jewish history. Between it and the sea ran the Valley of Sharon, a dangerous place of residence, owing to the frequent falls of earth and stones from the hills; hence on the Day of Atonement the high-priest was wont to pray for the inhabitants of that valley that their houses might not become their graves. It was also reputed for the excellence of its vintage. Here lay the town of Kephlar Loddim, and, near it, Kephlar Tabi, from which the names Tabitha (Acts ix.) and Tabi (denoting activity) are said to have been derived. Emmaüs had once a celebrated cattle-market. It was renowned as being inhabited by many patrician families, from whom priests were wont to choose their brides. Travelling eastwards we reach Jericho, embosomed amongst mountains, and fruitful amid a desert neighbourhood. Its riches, and the costly produce of its balsam, procured for it the title of the royal district, and paradise of balsam; but its inhabitants were given to lasciviousness. Not far from Jericho lay Naarath, whose inhabitants were in constant dispute with those of Jericho. The Talmud records, that the stones deposited by Joshua were still visible in that neighbourhood.¹ Gophnith was celebrated for its vines; Gimso was known as the home of Rabbi Nahum, and Ono as maintaining the same relation to Lydda as Naarath to Jericho. Bethel is well known, as also Beth-horon, with its narrow defile, which only afforded room for the passage of one camel, and where the legions of Cestius were routed. Tur-Simon, and the cities of Mount Ephraim, sustained an important part in the last war. On the boundaries of Samaria lay Beth Laban, famed for its wine; Antipatris and Bethar, the former reckoned one of the extreme points of Judea, and supposed to have been the place where Alexander the Great had been met by Simon the Just. Cæsarea has also been formerly mentioned. At a later period it became renowned by the learning of the

¹ B. Sotah, 34; Tosiphta in Sot. viii.

Rabbins, who resided and taught in it. Scythopolis, or Beth Sheon, termed, on account of the excellence and sweetness of its fruits, the entrance of Paradise, and compared with Damascus, had celebrated linen manufactories.¹ Its inhabitants were partly Jews, partly heathens, and noted for their hatred of Christianity.

Galilee was fully as populous, if not more so than Judea. Nazareth was wholly inhabited by Jews. Usha, Shafram, and the cities of the neighbourhood, are familiar to the reader; so are Chabul, Magdala, and Sichin, which formed the first line of defence in the last Jewish war. Tiberias was fast growing into importance. The inhabitants of Sepphoris were noted as having been opposed to the national cause. Capernaum had a Christian congregation. Kephars Chanina was the border city between Upper and Lower Galilee, beyond which no sycamores grew. Othnai was known for its linen; Beth-meron and other cities for their oil. Cæsarea-Philippi, and the cities of the Decapolis, situated on both sides of the Jordan, are familiar to readers of the New Testament. Regab, Ramoth-Gilead, and Pella, were situate on the eastern banks of the Jordan. Amongst the sea-ports we reckon Acco, or Ptolomais, a city partly Jewish and partly heathen; and Joppa, celebrated for its harbours, its markets, its baths, &c. Between these two ports a brisk coasting trade was carried on, nor was the passage from the one to the other reckoned properly a sea-voyage. The finest harbour, and that which commanded the foreign trade, was that of the rich and splendid Cæsarea. It was, however, mostly resorted to by non-Israelites. At that period the rigging out of ships was much more costly than it is at present. Distant sea-voyages were undertaken in large ships, from the masts and decks of which, as in our days, the monotonous song of sailors at work might be heard. In the different ports harbour-dues were commonly levied.

Such of the townspeople as were not in independent circumstances, earned their livelihood generally by some trade. It was

¹ Lightfoot, p. 112.

deemed the duty of parents to have their children instructed in some light and healthy occupation. Most of the Jewish sages supported themselves by such means. Only a few crafts were despised, either on account of their supposed tendency to harden, or as affording indications of, or assistance to luxury; amongst them were those of weavers, perfumers, veterinary surgeons, and barbers. In general, the rule seems to have been, that the worldly profession should be such as not to unfit for the study of the law, being only intended to procure the means necessary for carrying on this, the great business of life. The ordinary wants of a household, in the way of cookery and dress, were generally supplied by the labours of its inmates. Hebrew women knew well how to spin, to weave, and to work curiously with the needle. They were also famed for their cookery, specially in pastry, of which various kinds are enumerated and described in Jewish writings. However, the help of the regular baker was often required—that of the weaver, the pastry-cook, the perfumer, or hairdresser, was considered a disgraceful indication of foreign luxury. Amongst the craftsmen, we find artificers in wood, and all kinds of metal,—the precious metals being fused with lead or some of the alkalis,—tentmakers, masons, tanners, tailors, shoemakers, jewellers, coachbuilders, &c., who busily and successfully plied their trades, although with tools much inferior to those now in use. The potters and glass-workers produced flat and deep plates, cups, looking-glasses, spoons, tumblers, (holes in which were covered with pitch or tin), bottles, and smelling bottles, which were filled with scented oil.¹ Some, as tailors and copy-writers, would go about to procure work, or do it in the houses of their customers. Hats, caps, shirts, napkins, towels, pocket-handkerchiefs, veils, and many other articles which we could scarcely have expected to find in Palestine, seem to have been in common use. The washers were properly fullers, who first cleaned the clothes with water, and then took out the stains by various chemical agents, such as alum, chalk, potash, &c. Dyeing and ornamental work of

¹ Comp. Chelim, xxx.

various kinds, whether with the brush, the needle, or in wood, ivory, stucco, and metal, were also known and practised.

The Hebrews arranged their year into lunar months, of which 12, or 354 days, 8 hours, 48' 38", constituted one year. The month consisted of either twenty-nine or thirty days, and was to begin with the appearance of the new moon. If the latter was intimated to the Sanhedrim by credible witnesses on the 30th day of a month, the preceding month was declared to have consisted of only twenty-nine days, otherwise of thirty days, and the day following was always reckoned the beginning of the new month.¹ In order to test the accuracy of the witnesses, some Rabbins attempted the construction of lunar representations and tables.² But as, on account of the inclemency of the weather, the first appearance of the new moon might not be observed for many months together, it was ruled that a year should neither have less than four, nor more than eight, full months (each of thirty days.) At first the months were simply distinguished by numerals, as the 1st, 2d, 3d, &c., but names also occur connected with the agricultural pursuits carried on; such as the month of Abib, or of corn-ears (the 1st), Ex. xiii. 4, xxiii. 15; Deut. xvi. 1; the month of Zif, or of splendour, of flowering (the 2d), 1 Kings vi. 1; the month of Bul, or of rain (the 8th), 1 Kings vi. 38; and the month of Ethanim, or of the flowing rivers (the 7th), 1 Kings viii. 2. After the deportation to Babylon, fixed names were attached to the various months. These have been derived by some from the Chaldee, by others from the Persian language. Like the money, the weights, and the measures, the year also was computed in a twofold manner, as civil and ecclesiastical.³ The ecclesiastical year began with the vernal, the civil with the autumnal equinox. The difference between the length of the lunar and the solar year necessitated an adjustment, which, however unscientific, effected its object. It will be remembered that on the second day of the passover, *i.e.*, the 16th of Nisan, (the first month of the ecclesiastical year, which

¹ Comp. Ideler's *Chronologie*, i. 477, &c.

² *Er.* ii. 2.

³ For a short calendar, see App. I.

should have corresponded to the middle of April), the first ripe sheaf of barley was to be presented in the temple. If the calendar had become much disordered, this would plainly be impossible. Hence during the preceding month (that of Adar), the high priest, or Nasi, went to inspect the fields, and, if necessary, decreed the insertion of an additional (13th) month between Adar and Nisan, which was designated as Ve-Adar, or Adar Sheni. In such a leap year, Ve-Adar occupied to all intents the place of Adar. In leap years Adar had always thirty, and Ve-Adar twenty-nine days. Every seventh year was a Sabbatical, and every fiftieth a year of Jubilee. In the Sabbatical year the ground remained wholly untilled. A Sabbatical could not be a leap year, but the year preceding it always was such. Sometimes two, but never three leap years, succeeded each other. Commonly every third year required the addition of a month. The mean duration of the Jewish month being 29 days, 12 hours, 44' $3\frac{1}{3}$ ", it required, during a period of nineteen years, the insertion of seven months in order to bring the lunar era in accordance with the Julian. These insertions are now made in the 3d, 6th, 8th, 11th, 14th, 17th, and 19th years. Hence in order to find what Jewish year is a leap year, we have only to divide its number by 19; if the residue be 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17, or 0, it is a leap year. The somewhat vague and unsatisfactory arrangements of the Jewish calendar were greatly improved by the mathematical labours of Rabbi Eleazar ben Hyrcanos, and especially by those of Samuel and Adda, two sages of Babylon. The earliest era adopted by the Jews, was that which was reckoned to commence with the deliverance from Egypt. During the reign of the Jewish kings, time was computed from the year of their accession to the throne. After their return from exile the Jews dated their years according to the Seleucidic era, which began 312 (B.C.), or 3450 from the creation of the world. For a short time after the war of independence, it became customary to reckon dates from the year of the liberation of Palestine. However, for a very long period after the destruction of Jerusalem (probably till the twelfth century, A.D.), the Seleu-

calendrical era remained in common use, when it finally gave place to the present mode of reckoning among the Jews, which dates from the creation of the world. To commute the Jewish year into that of our common era, we have to add to the latter 3761, always bearing in mind, however, that the common or civil Jewish year commences in the month of Tishri, *i.e.*, in autumn.

The week was divided into seven days, of which, however, only the seventh—the Sabbath—had a name assigned to it, the rest being merely noted by numerals. The day was computed from sunset to sunset. Before the Babylonish captivity, it was divided into morning, mid-day, evening, and night, but during the residence in Babylon, the Hebrews adopted the division of the day into twelve hours, whose duration varied with the length of the day. The longest day consisted of 14 hours and 12 minutes, the shortest of 9 hours 48 minutes—the difference between the two being thus more than four hours. On an average the first hour of the day corresponded nearly to our 6 A.M.; the third hour (when, according to Matthew xx. 3, the market-place was full) to our 9 A.M.; the close of the sixth hour to our mid-day; while at the eleventh the day neared its close. The Romans reckoned the hours from midnight, a fact which explains the apparent discrepancy between John xix. 14, where at the sixth hour (of Roman calculation) Pilate brings Jesus out to the Jews, while at the third hour of the Jewish, and hence the ninth of the Roman and of our calculation (Mark xv. 25), He was led forth to be crucified. The night was divided by the Romans into four, by the Jews into three watches. The Jews subdivided the hour into 1080 parts (Chlakim), and again each part into 76 moments. As the appearance of the new moon, or the beginning of a month, was of vast importance for fixing the feast days during the month, it was customary to telegraph it by fire-signals lit upon the mountains, and at a later period to intimate it by special messengers. As these modes of communication proved insufficient for Jews who lived in distant countries, it was ruled that every 30th day should be

called the day of the new moon. If the month had really consisted of twenty-nine days, the day of the new moon represented correctly the beginning of the new month. If the month consisted of thirty days, it was provided that both the last day of the preceding, and the first day of the next month, should be designated in Palestine as the days of the new moon. In connexion with this arrangement, all the more important feasts, as the first and last days of the passover, the feast of pentecost, new-year's day, and the first and last days of the feast of tabernacles, were ordered to be doubled, so that on one day at least they should be kept simultaneously in all places.¹

It was the general practice to rise with the sun. The first duty of the Hebrew was to perform the prescribed devotions. After that, in towns probably between nine and ten o'clock (Acts ii. 15),² a breakfast was taken, consisting of bread and fruit, and sometimes of fish or meat (John xxi. 5) with wine. Dinner was commonly served soon after noon. It was preceded by careful lustrations, and the pronouncing of separate blessings over the different kinds of food provided.³ But the dinner-parties of the rich, and feasts, were generally held in the afternoon or evening.⁴ The guests sat round a low table. At a later period, the rich adopted the practice of reclining on couches, which generally afforded accommodation for three persons. As at present, in many eastern countries, it was customary to begin the meal with something pickled—perhaps to whet the appetite. Besides the principal dishes, side dishes were served. The ordinary fare consisted of fish, meat, vegetables, farinaceous food, and fruits. During dinner the wine was generally diluted with water; after dinner pure wine was used.⁵ The poor dined on vegetables. After the meal, prayers were again offered, and then the apartment was swept and perfumed.⁶ It was deemed unwholesome to go in the morning fasting about one's ordinary business. The rules about the divers washings, and the prayers

¹ This arrangement still subsists, although its cause has ceased.

² Comp. Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.*, on the passage.

³ *Vide* Chap. x.

⁴ *Jos. Vita*, c. 44.

⁵ *V. de Mishna Berac.* vi.

⁶ *Ut supra*, vi. and viii.

which had to be offered, were exceedingly minute ; the principle in this and kindred matters being, that to derive advantage from anything in the world, without returning thanks, was to rob from the Lord.¹ The observances at table were very punctilious. Moderation was recommended, and special care bestowed on the use of bread, which was neither to be wasted nor spoiled. Legend had it that an angel specially watched over this, and punished those who trespassed in the matter. Even the crumbs were to be carefully gathered up. The conversation at table was to be sparing, and upon edifying subjects. When a feast was given, slaves were sent to invite the guests, and generally a master of ceremonies appointed to take charge of all the arrangements. On their arrival the guests were welcomed, and kissed by the host, and their feet washed. Frequently they were also anointed, perfumed, and adorned with garlands. At table they were seated according to their rank. Music, dancing, and other amusements, engaged the time of the party often to a very late or early hour. The laws of Jewish etiquette, and female decorum, did not allow ladies who, on ordinary occasions, dined with the gentlemen, to appear at promiscuous feasts, except for a short period, or for particular purposes, such as for music or dancing. The most agreeable, as the most thoroughly Jewish domestic feasts, were betrothals, marriages, the weaning of children, &c. Although, in general, the Jews were very moderate, the bounds of temperance were on festive occasions sometimes sadly transgressed even by celebrated Rabbins. It need scarcely be remarked that the ancient Hebrews dispensed with knives and forks, and served themselves, or were served, with the hand, out of plates, on which the meat, previously cut in pieces, had been placed.

The position assigned by the Hebrews to the female sex has been frequently misunderstood. From the permission of polygamy, from its supposed general practice, and from isolated expressions by some Rabbins, it has been hastily inferred to have been low. To arrive at correct views on this subject, we

¹ Sanh. 102 ; Ber. 35.

ought to compare the position of the Hebrew female not only with the elevated place which Christianity, in acknowledgment of her real vocation, has assigned to her, but chiefly with that which she then occupied, and even at the present time holds among other Eastern nations. The readers of the New Testament cannot but feel that the relations there indicated proceed upon the assumption that monogamy was the rule, and polygamy the exception. The permission of polygamy, the comparative facility of obtaining a divorce, and the practice of keeping concubines, (especially at an earlier period,) may seem to militate against the fundamental idea of the marriage relation. But against these drawbacks we have to put the two indubitable facts, that generally men were only united in wedlock to one wife, and that Jewish females occupied not only a comparatively but an absolutely high position. The law throughout recognised and protected the rights of women, and discouraged the practice of polygamy. An impartial reader cannot rise from the perusal, not of a few isolated passages, but of the sections of the Mishna bearing upon this subject, without being impressed with this conviction. To the age of twelve years and one day females were reckoned minors, (boys to thirteen years and one day,) during which period they were absolutely in the power of their father, who might betroth or give them in marriage, and who derived the benefit of what they might earn by their personal exertions. Marriage was preceded by a betrothal, which, in the province of Judea, was celebrated by a feast.¹ The conditions of the marriage were then very precisely fixed, the dowry brought by the wife, and the sum of money to be paid to her in case of divorce or of widowhood, settled. Only a *bona fide* breach of these arrangements was deemed a valid ground for dissolving the bond thus formed. From the moment of this formal betrothal the couple were looked upon as married, and the relation could only be dissolved by a regular divorce. A betrothal might be entered into by the parties personally, or by delegates,

¹ Chethub. i. 5. In general we have collated here from Chethuboth, Gittin, and Kidushin.

but in order to be valid it was necessary for the bridegroom to hand to the bride, either in money or otherwise, the value of at least a perutah.¹ From the period of the betrothal, twelve months were allowed to either party (if the bride was a maid, and thirty days if a widow) to prepare for the marriage. In cases of longer delay, the bridegroom was bound to maintain his betrothed.² If the bride was divorced before marriage, she received the sum settled at the betrothal, which, in the case of a maid, was by statute not less than 200, and in that of a widow 100 dinars, but might be augmented to any extent according to previous agreement.³ But it is doubtful whether, in case of divorce before marriage, the bride could sue for any very considerable increase of the statutory sum. On the marriage-day the bridegroom, with his friends, went to bring home his espoused wife, who was accompanied by her companions. Festivities, lasting for some days, inaugurated the happy event.⁴ Maidens were generally married on the fourth day of the week (Wednesday),⁵ to allow three free days to prepare for the marriage, and to enable the bridegroom without delay to bring any complaint as to the past chastity of his bride before the tribunals, which met every Thursday. Widows were generally married on the fifth day of the week. At their marriage, maidens wore garlands of myrtles, or a peculiar kind of veil covering the eyes; sometimes their hair hung loosely down. It was a common practice to distribute among the company dried seeds,⁶ and, in some parts of the country, to carry before the newly-married couple a pair of fowls, probably to indicate a wish for their fruitfulness. Legally speaking, marriage was concluded by the handing of the money, by a written contract, or by cohabitation;⁷ and it was again dissolved by a divorce, or by the death of either party. While the law no doubt afforded considerable facilities for obtaining a divorce, it also protected the rights of women, and generally gave a preference to their testimony in cases of

¹ Kidd. ii.² Cheth. v. 2.³ *Ut supra*, i. 2; v. 1.⁴ Comp. also the curious work of Hartmann, "Die Hebräerin am Putztische." 3 vols. Amst. 1810.⁵ *Ut supra*, i. 1.⁶ Cheth. ii. 1.⁷ Kidd. i. 1.

dispute. On the legitimate grounds of divorce, the two theological schools differed materially. The Shammaites restricted them to the commission of an iniquitous action by the wife, (probably adultery); the Hillelites going to an opposite extreme, and, playing upon the original of the text (Deut. xxiv. 1) quoted by Shammai, inferred that a divorce was warranted even when the wife had only spoiled her husband's dinner. Rabbi Akiba endeavoured, in the same manner, to prove that a man might lawfully dismiss his wife if he found another more attractive.¹ Passing over such exceptional extravagances, it was held lawful to dismiss a wife without paying her the legally-secured portion, if she transgressed the law of Moses and of Judah, which was applied not only to sin, but to acts of impropriety, such as going about with loose hair, spinning in the street, familiarly talking with men, ill-treating her husband's parents in his presence, and brawling, *i.e.*, "speaking with her husband so loudly, that her neighbours could hear her voice in the adjoining houses;"² a general bad reputation in the place,³ or the discovery of damaging circumstances which had been concealed before marriage. On the other hand, the wife could insist on being divorced from her husband if he was a leper, if he was affected with polypus (cancer?), or if his trade obliged him to perform either dirty or disagreeable manipulations, as in the case of tanners and coppersmelts. However, the sages generally limited this concession to the first-mentioned disease.⁴ To discourage a plurality of wives, it was enjoined that, in her claims, the first married wife should always take precedence of the second, the second of the third,⁵ &c. The ordinances with reference to divorces by absent husbands were, as all legislation on this subject, very punctilious.

The law specified the mutual duties and rights. The husband was bound to love and cherish his wife, comfortably to support her, to redeem her if she had been sold into slavery,

¹ Gitt. x. 10.

² Chet. vii. 6.

³ Gitt. iv. 6. An adulteress was, according to the law of Moses, to be executed.

⁴ Chet. vii. 10.

⁵ *Ut supra*, x.

and to bury her. On these occasions the poorest Israelite was bound to provide, at least, two mourning fives, and one mourning woman.¹ On the other hand, the wife was "to grind the meal, to bake, to wash, to cook, to suckle her children, to make her husband's bed, and to work in wool." These regulations were modified if she was wealthy. "If she had brought with her one slave, she was not required to grind the meal, to bake, or to wash; if two slaves, she was also free from cooking and suckling the children; if three slaves, she was not required to make the bed, or to work in wool; if four slaves (it is added), she might sit in her easy chair."² However, this indulgence was limited, and, under all circumstances, the wife expected, at least, to work in wool. If, by a rash vow, a husband had forsworn himself not to allow his wife to work, he was bound immediately to divorce her, as it was thought that idleness induced insanity. The whole of the personal property of, or the income derived by the wife, belonged to her husband. On the other hand, he was bound to make over to her one-half more than her dowry if it consisted of ready money, and one-fifth less if it consisted in any other property. Besides, the bridegroom was to allow his wife one-tenth of her dowry for pin-money. If a father gave away his daughter without making any distinct statement about her dowry, he was bound to allow her, at least, fifty sus; if it had expressly been provided that the bride was to receive no dowry, it was delicately enjoined that the bridegroom should furnish her, before the marriage, with the necessary outfit. Even an orphan, who was given away by her natural guardians, the parochial authorities, was to receive, from the common funds, at least, fifty sus as dowry.³ Any real property which a bride might have acquired, either before her betrothal, or between her betrothal and her marriage, (in the latter case only if unknown to the bridegroom,) might again be disposed of by her, either by sale or gift.⁴ A husband could not oblige his wife to leave the Holy Land or

¹ *Ut supra*, iv. 4.

² *Ut supra*, v. 5.

³ *Ut supra*, vi.

⁴ *Ut supra*, viii. 1.

the city of Jerusalem, or to exchange a country for a town residence, and *vice versa*; or a good for a bad house, and *vice versa*. A widow might insist on being maintained in her husband's house, or if the surviving relations and she herself were young, in her father's house. If she had lived in her father's house she was at all times at liberty to claim her legal portion; but if she had spent twenty-five years with the heirs of her late husband her money was forfeited, as it was considered that during that period she must have spent in charity a sum equal to that to which she was legally entitled.¹ From this curious provision it would appear that the calculated annual expenditure for purely charitable purposes was at least one-eighth of one's income. We only add, that priests were bound to inquire very particularly into the purity of the family with which they allied themselves by marriage,² lest they might enter into connexion with heathens or with bastards. Children begotten in lawful wedlock were ordinarily reckoned as belonging to the family of their father, but if the mother alone was a Jewess, her offspring were also considered Jews. The same privilege was also extended to the children of those who had forsaken Judaism. Of the first we have an instance in the circumcision of Titus by Paul, of the second in the claims put forward by the daughters of the apostate Acher. The period of suckling is variously stated. The Mishna fixes it at two years, or at least eighteen months.³ The education of daughters was almost entirely confided to their mother, and even in that of sons she sustained an important part.⁴ Besides their peculiar domestic duties, daughters were to be taught the written but not the oral law, as such studies might lead to undue familiarity with the other sex.⁵ Daughters were, whilst minors, so absolutely in the power of their father that he might even sell them into slavery. If a person died, leaving sons and daughters, the former were sole heirs, but obliged to support their sisters, and that although the property left were only sufficient for the latter purpose.⁶ As

¹ *Ut supra*. xii.

² Kidd. iv. 4.

³ Gitt. vii. 6.

⁴ Sotah *apud* Wagenseil, p. 490.

⁵ *Ut supra*, pp. 496, &c.

⁶ Chetub. xiii. 3.

mothers should admonish their sons to apply themselves to study, so wives were to encourage their husbands to the same.

Ordinarily, every male child was circumcised on the eighth day, even though it fell on the Sabbath, the duties attendant on circumcision superseding even the sanctity of the day of rest.¹ On certain defined occasions it was delayed two or three days; when the child was weakly, or if two of its brothers had died in consequence of the operation, it was deferred to the restoration of health, or till a more mature age promised comparative immunity from danger. It was performed in a manner somewhat different from that customary amongst other eastern nations.² As the ceremony was of the greatest importance, strict attention to the prescribed rules was necessary, if the ordinance was to be valid. The only difference in the mode of it, which obtains at present, lies in the substitution of better instruments for those formerly in use. Any Israelite—in case of necessity even a woman—might perform the operation, although surgeons were latterly employed. At circumcision the child obtained its name. Every parent had personally to instruct his sons up to the sixth year of their age. After that they might be sent to the public elementary schools.³ The study of the Bible was begun when the child was five years old. If no progress was made during a period of three or five years' instruction, little hope was entertained of future eminence. Wealthy Jews probably employed private tutors, who were often slaves. The institution of elementary schools was ascribed to the high-priest, Jesus of Gimlo, who fell by the hands of the zealots during the siege of Jerusalem. Herod the Great founded schools in Damascus, and in other foreign cities.⁴ A Jewish legend states

¹ Comp. the treatise Shabb.

² The following pretty accurate description of the rite is taken from Othonis Lex Rabb. p. 133 :—"Circumcisor imponit mentulæ bacillum et præputium quantum potest super illum extendit, deinde forcipe partem ejus prehendit et novacula præcidit. Deinde duobus pollicis unguibus præputium arripit et devolvit, donec glans tota denudatur, quo facto sanguinem exsugit, donec advenerit sanguis e remotioribus corporis partibus, vulnerique emplastrum imponit." This plaster consisted in part of bruised aniseed (Shabb. v.); oil and wine were also used, and the child bathed.

³ Comp. Ehrmann's pamphlet on this subject. Prague, 1846.

⁴ Joseph. Wars, i. 21.

that at its destruction Jerusalem possessed no fewer than 480 schools, each consisting of three classes. This account is evidently exaggerated, and indeed another authority ascribes the fall of the city to the neglect of the education of the young.¹ Probably while ample educational provision had been made, the schools were, during this and the following period, allowed to fall into neglect. The schoolmaster was a regular officer of the synagogue, paid from the treasury of that synagogue to which he was attached, and within the precincts of which the children usually met. He was not allowed to take any fees lest favour should be shewn to the children of the rich, or the teacher become dependent on individuals. To discourage an unwholesome rivalry, parents were interdicted from sending their children to schools in other towns. The number of children committed to one individual was not to exceed twenty-five; for any greater number (short of fifty) an assistant was to be provided. The teacher was to endeavour to secure the confidence, the respect, and the affection, both of parents and children. The latter he was to treat rather with kindness than with rigour. Beating, if necessary, with a strap, never with a rod, was to be the principal means of correction, and an instance is mentioned where a teacher was deposed for too great severity. The alphabet was taught by drawing the letters on a board till the children remembered them. In reading, well-corrected books were to be used, and the child was to point to the words as he spelt them. In teaching the Bible, the schoolmaster was to begin with the book of Leviticus, and after the Pentateuch to take up the Prophets, and then the Hagiographa. In the case of more advanced pupils the day was divided into three portions, one of which was set apart for the study of the Bible, and the other two for the Mishna and the Talmud. The Mishna was begun at ten years of age, the Talmud at fifteen. At thirteen a young man became major; at eighteen it was deemed his duty to enter into wedlock. The study of foreign languages was not a branch of education, and indeed since the destruction of the Temple

¹ Comp. Ehrmann, p. 10.

declared unlawful. Gymnastic exercises were also interdicted as leading to dangerous contact and assimilation with heathens. The number of hours during which junior classes were to be kept in school was limited. As the close air of the school-room might prove detrimental during the heat of the day, schools were closed between ten o'clock A. M. and three P. M. For similar reasons school hours were limited to four hours a day during the period from the 17th Thamuz to the 9th Ab, and the teacher forbidden to chastise his pupils during these months. The schoolmaster was to make the lesson as plain as possible, and not to lose patience if it was not immediately understood. Want of knowledge or of method were sufficient causes for removing a teacher, but experience was always deemed a better qualification than mere acquirements. It was one of the principal duties of an instructor of youth to impress upon their minds and hearts the lessons of morality and chastity. The latter virtue was peculiarly esteemed by the Hebrews, and the teacher, who was always a married man, was required carefully to avoid anything calculated to call up disagreeable or indelicate associations. The office of teacher was very highly esteemed, and the pupil expected to shew him greater respect, and to entertain for him a warmer attachment than for his own father. On the other hand, the teacher was both by word and example to incite his pupils to everything good and noble. In tuition care was also to be bestowed on the choice of elegant language. The inhabitants of Judea excelled in this respect. To acquire fluency, pupils were to read aloud, and certain mnemonic rules were devised to facilitate the committing to memory.

Of the higher schools, or colleges, we have already spoken. They gained a peculiar importance when the Jewish Sanhedrim was shorn of its executive power, and its discussions turned on purely religious questions. Although the mutual jealousy between the Jews of Palestine and of Babylon would induce us to receive with caution the opinions of rival teachers as to the state of learning in their respective countries, we can readily conceive that the character of the purely theological teaching of

Babylon degenerated much earlier into Talmudical sophistry than in Palestine. Other sciences besides theology were, however, cultivated in Babylon, and in these the Eastern Jews seem at an early period considerably to have outstripped their brethren in Judea. Celebrated theologians attracted pupils from great distances, and although the number of students who are stated to have attended the lectures of certain sages is certainly fabulous, no reasonable doubt can obtain that, owing to the merit attaching to such studies, and the fact that students and Rabbins carried on their various trades, the classes were much more fully attended than, judging according to modern notions, we might have anticipated. Students were encouraged to put questions, and even to urge objections, provided they were stated respectfully, and for the purpose of gaining information. Some teachers endeavoured to make their lectures attractive by varying them with riddles, fables, allegories, and even witticisms. Besides the Colleges of Palestine and of Babylon, there were similar institutions in some foreign cities inhabited by Jews, as, for example, in Rome. The respect shown by the pupils to the Rabbins, amounting almost to idolatry, and the extravagant claims put forth by them, and often supported by a perversion of Scripture passages, almost pass credence. Some suppose that, at ordination, a key was put into the hands of the person set apart,—a practice to which, perhaps, the New Testament allusion to the key of knowledge may refer.¹

The religious cast of Jewish social life became apparent in the general mildness of their laws, and in an urbanity equally distant from the verbosity of modern orientals and the cool stiffness of occidentals. With the various modes of salutation between superiors and inferiors, or between equals, every Bible reader is sufficiently familiar. The common mode of it, "Peace to you," or "Grace to you,"² rendered "All hail" in our version, (Matt. xxviii. 9), corresponded to a similar Greek and Latin phrase.³ The fanaticism of pharisaical Jews, who were

¹ Gfrörer *Urchristenthum*, i. ch. 2.

² Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.*, p. 502.

³ Comp. the elaborate Chapter on Salutations in Zunz *Zur Gesch. u. Literat.*, p. 304, &c.

ignorant of that distinguishing grace of genuine Christianity—toleration, manifested itself also in their refusal to exchange the ordinary civilities of life with heathens or Samaritans. On the other hand, the arrogance of the Rabbins led them to expect to be saluted and treated almost like kings; nor were they to be asked to return such salutations otherwise than by a slight inclination, or in an under tone.¹ Princes were received with acclamations, and the road by which they approached was strewn with branches, flowers, carpets, or garments. The place of honour was always on the right hand, and strangers were dismissed with a blessing. The same urbanity characterized all the different social relations. Friendship, faithfulness, affection, and devotedness, are eminent traits in Jewish life. No crime was more reprobated than a breach of the Fifth Commandment. Children were bound to provide for the wants, even for the comforts of their parents; if necessary, to wait upon, and even to beg for them.² On the other hand, the parental tie was peculiarly strong. Parents are represented as fondly watching over their children, and children as requiting their care by readily bearing with the foibles, and even with the trials arising from the caprices of old age and infirmity. Crimes such as the murder of parents or of children were happily unknown. No doubt the above virtues are in great measure traceable to the sanctity of the marriage relation, and the absence, or at least the great rarity of prostitution, which in turn, specially in times so dissolute as those to which we refer, were due to the leavening influence of the Old Testament, notwithstanding its various corruptions by tradition. The rules of chastity and of delicacy, even in the most intimate relations of life, were punctilious to a degree surpassing our most refined modern notions.

From the peculiar political relations of Palestine, slavery, in a modified form, was common from the earliest times. However, the safety and rights of the slave were amply protected, and he was kindly treated. It is plainly impossible to draw from the modified slavery of Palestine a warrant for the anti-

¹ Lightfoot, p. 787.

² Lightfoot, p. 368.

christian practice which still disgraces our age. In Palestine, where the land was so equally divided amongst the inhabitants, and hired labour so rare, slavery was almost necessary. Besides, Judaism found slavery as a social institution, intimately connected with the habits and war-rights of the ancient world. To have isolated the Jews from this practice would have been almost impossible; but Judaism busied itself to mitigate, and, as much as possible, to abolish it. Besides slaves, day-labourers were also occasionally, though not regularly, employed. Hebrew slaves were acquired by purchase, or by contract.¹ They might either sell themselves, or be sold by the public tribunals, (as in cases of theft, where sufficient restitution could not be made). In either case the seventh year restored the slave to liberty, unless he chose to continue in this capacity, and in token thereof had his ears bored, when his servitude lasted to the Jubilee or the death of his master.² A Jewish slave might also obtain his freedom by paying the amount for which he was sold, after deduction of the value of his services.³ Jewish female slaves were exceedingly rare. Where such were purchased, it was generally expected that they were to be married. At any rate, if sold as a minor, a female slave would obtain freedom at her majority, when she must either be married or repudiated. In either case she became free. A slave restored to freedom was not thrown on the world, but received a small provision; if married during his servitude, both his wife and children might be claimed by the master. All slaves of foreign origin were designated as "Canaanites." They might be acquired by purchase, by letter of sale, or by right of war, and again obtained their liberty by redemption, or by letter of manumission. They were not set free on the Sabbathical or the Jubilee year, nor were they allowed to redeem themselves with their own money,⁴ as they and all theirs were considered the absolute property of their masters, which was not the case with Hebrew slaves. It was deemed meritorious to have one's heathen slaves circumcised.⁵ If they refused to sub-

¹ Kidd, i. 2.

² *Uł supra.*

³ *Uł supra.*

⁴ *Uł supra*, i. 3.

⁵ Lightfoot, p. 220.

mit to this, they were to be sold as speedily as possible. Opinions were divided about the duty and expediency of manumitting foreign slaves, the great majority entertaining views unfavourable to them.¹ Their treatment was in general very mild, being considered rather as members of the family than as strangers. Any act of cruelty at once set the slave free. The price of the best Egyptian slaves was as high as one talent.² Common Jewish slaves sold at thirty shekels of the Sanctuary, or sixty ordinary shekels. Besides the common duties of the household, slaves had to do all the menial work, such as dressing and undressing their masters, tying, loosing, and carrying their shoes, anointing them, turning the hand-mill,³ &c.

Landed or other immoveable property was acquired by immediate payment, by contract, or by holding possession for a certain number of years.⁴ Purchases of moveables were made by payments in money, or by exchange, care being always taken to express distinctly what articles had been acquired. In dubious cases, the obvious meaning conveyed to a third party was deemed decisive. In the purchase of ground, regard was always to be had to prior claims upon it, such as those of a wife or a husband: where such claims existed, the sale was void. It will be remembered, that immediately after the Jewish war, the *Din Siccaricon* was passed, by which the purchase of property, acquired during the late troubles, was unconditionally prohibited. This law was afterwards modified, and permission granted to acquire such possessions if they had been, at least, twelve months held by the seller, provided a first offer had been made to the original proprietor, and one-fourth of the purchase money was handed to him.⁵

It is well known that in early times the precious metals were weighed; hence the names of weights and of coins are identical. As the current value of coins afterwards varied, it is difficult to ascertain the real value, either of the different pieces of

¹ *Ut supra*, vol. ii. p. 56.

² *Jos. Antiq.*, xii. 4. 9.

³ *Lightfoot*, p. 239.

⁴ *Kidd.* i. 5.

⁵ *Gitt.* v. 6.

money, or of the weights. The lowest weight was the *Gera*, of which twenty formed a *shekel*, and ten a *Beka* or *half-shekel*. The other weights bore the same names as the coins; the sacred being, as before, always double the ordinary. So far everything is plain, but when we attempt to find an equivalent for the *gera*, authorities differ. The Rabbins maintain that the *gera* weighed sixteen barley-corns, for which, however, iron or stone weights were probably soon substituted. On the other hand, the weight of the sacred shekel, in the time of the Maccabees, has been found to amount to under 274 Parisian grains. Taking, then, the Maccabean, or sacred shekel, as our standard weight, the *gera* weighed 13·7 Parisian, or about twelve Troy grains. It is equally difficult exactly to fix the capacity of measures. Leaving vague expressions, such as a handful, a mouthful, the size of a druggist's spoon, or of an olive, &c., we find the following definite measures:—In fluids, the log was the smallest measurement, twelve logs were a hin, six hins a bath, and ten baths a homer. The size of a log is fixed by the Rabbins at six eggs, which has been ingeniously supposed to denote the amount of water displaced when six eggs are put into it.¹ This quantity has been calculated to amount to fourteen Parisian cubic inches. On the other hand, we gather from Josephus,² that the log amounted to between twenty-seven and twenty-eight Parisian cubic inches—a discrepancy which is adjusted by assuming that Josephus refers to the log of the Sanctuary, and the Rabbins to the common log. Dry substances were measured as follows:—The homer contained 10 ephahs, or 30 seahs (3 seahs to an ephah), or 100 omers (10 omers to an ephah), or 180 cabs (6 cabs to a seah.) It must, however, be borne in mind that the Jerusalem was somewhat larger than the foreign seah.³ According to Josephus,⁴ the cab must have contained upwards of 110 Parisian cubic inches. This, however, again refers to the sacred, or double the ordinary cab. We add the measurement of

¹ Chelim, xvii. 6.

² Antiq. viii. 2. 9.

³ Men. viii. 1.

⁴ Antiq. ix. 4. 5.

lengths and distances. The former were computed by finger-breadths; hand-breadths (= four finger-breadths); spans, (= twelve finger-breadths); cubits, reaching from the elbow to the tip of the third finger, (= two spans, or six hand-breadths); and rods, (= six cubits.) The common finger length amounted to about $8\frac{1}{2}$ Parisian lines. Distances were generally reckoned according to Roman miles, which were 1000 geometrical paces, or 142 yards less than the English statute mile. Eight Greek stadia, or furlongs, constituted a Roman mile, and thirty stadia, a Persian or Syrian parasang.

It will scarcely appear strange that in a country where commerce was comparatively a rare profession, where there was little competition, and where the virtues inculcated in the Bible were extended and applied by Rabbinical punctiliousness to every possible circumstance, the laws regulating trade should have been exceedingly strict and minute, and that to such an extent as even to prescribe the time when the merchant was statelier to cleanse his weights and scales.¹ A bargain was not considered closed until *both* parties had taken possession of their respective properties, but after one party had received the money it was deemed dishonourable and sinful² for the other to draw back. It was declared downright imposition, no matter what the state of the market, to charge 100 per cent. of profit on any article. In such cases the purchaser had the right of returning the article, or of claiming the balance of the money, provided he applied for it after an interval sufficient to shew his purchase to another merchant, or to a relative. Similarly the rights of the merchant were protected. The money-changer was allowed to charge a fixed discount for light money, or to return it within a certain period if below the weight at which he had taken it. A merchant might not be pressed to name the lowest price of an article which the questioner had no serious intention of purchasing; nor might he, by way of inducing him to lower his prices, be reminded of any former overcharge. Different qualities of

¹ Baba Bathra, v. 10. Hence the phrase "dust of the balance."

² Baba Mezia, iv. 1, 2. Consult this section generally for the following particulars.

goods might not be mixed, even though the articles added were equal or superior in value to those originally exposed for sale. For the protection of the retailer and of the public, the agriculturist was interdicted from selling wine diluted with water, to the dealers in any of the cities of Palestine where such was not in general use. Such are some of the ordinances by which the scrupulosity of Rabbinism sought to elevate trade, and to protect all parties. One of the theologians went so far as to declare it improper for merchants to distribute little presents amongst the children in the various villages, through which they passed, by way of gaining them, and thereby, as he thought improperly, attracting customers. He also deemed it wrong to lower the customary price of articles. However, his colleagues allowed the latter, but united in reprobating, as a species of deceit, the practice of endeavouring to give a better appearance to any article which was to be exposed for sale.¹ Purchases of corn could not be concluded until the general market-price had been fixed.² Greater precautions, if possible, were adopted against the very appearance of taking interest or usury. The latter term was apparently equivalent to every kind of speculation.³ So delicate were the provisions for guarding the interests and sparing the feelings of debtors, that creditors were expressly interdicted from using anything belonging to the debtor without paying for it, from sending him on an errand,⁴ or even accepting a present from a party who had solicited an advance. So punctilious were the Rabbins, that they would have a woman who borrowed a loaf from her neighbour, immediately fix its value at the time, lest a sudden rise in flour should make the loaf returned of more value than that borrowed. When a house or field was rented it was deemed lawful to charge a somewhat higher rental where pre-payment was not made; but such increase was interdicted when a field was purchased. It was declared of the nature of an improper speculation, to promise a merchant one-half of the profits on any sales which he effected,

¹ *Ut supra*, 12.

² *Ut supra*, v. 7.

³ *Ut supra*, v. 1.

⁴ *Ut supra*, 2, 11.

or to advance him money, and allow one-half of the profits on the speculations which had been undertaken with it. In either case the merchant was exposed to undue temptations ; by law he was only entitled to a commission in payment of the services he had performed, and as compensation for his time and trouble. After the return from Babylon, when commerce extended, creditors were in the habit of getting regular documents drawn out at the expense of the debtor, and signed before witnesses. For any part-payment, the creditor granted a separate discharge. In all dubious cases the law decided in favour of the debtor. To prevent any mistake, the sum lent was written at the top as well as in the body of the document, and minute directions were given about the signatures of witnesses. A third party was not considered to have become security for the borrower if he had only come forward after the loan had actually been contracted. It is well known that in reference to taking interest (which with the Romans was monthly and not yearly)² or pledges, and in dealing with insolvent creditors, the mildness of the Hebrew law is almost unparalleled, compared not only with that of ancient, but even of modern nations. Under certain restrictions it was, indeed, lawful to take pledges, and in the event of non-payment to sell them ; but wearing apparel, bedding, the plough-share, and any articles requisite in the preparation of food, were excepted. Similarly, under any circumstances, pledges which belonged to a widow could neither be taken nor sold.³ An insolvent debtor might, under Roman domination, be sold into slavery, or imprisoned. Tradesmen or labourers were bound to perform their contracts, and all complaints about having been taken advantage of were to be left for after-adjudication. But while on these and similar points the law which protected Israelites was exceedingly strict and minute, it must be allowed that the interests of Gentiles were not so well watched over. The Rabbins considered that what applied to the chosen race could not regulate intercourse with those whom they contem-

¹ Comp. *Baba Bathra*, x.

² *Heinecii Antiq. Rom.* ii. 15, 19.

³ *Baba Mezia*, ix. 13.

plated with feelings similar to those entertained by strict Mahomedans towards all "infidels."

Intercourse with parties at ■ distance was kept up by letters which were either conveyed by travellers or despatched by special letter-carriers.¹ These letters were sealed with red clay, or with a kind of sealing-wax.² The art of writing seems to have been extensively known in Palestine, even during the reign of David. Unlettered Hebrews employed writers or scribes, denominated in the Mishna, "Liblar" (Libbellarius). Their reed or pen was called "kolomos" (the Greek calamos).³ At a later period the duties of the Liblar were chiefly connected with drawing out contracts, sales, marriage settlements, &c.; in short, different kinds of legal documents in civil and juridical cases.⁴ Some appear to have been in possession of particular secrets connected with the mechanical part of their profession, which they kept as a sort of patent, (although with general disapprobation), just as others possessed similar secrets in the preparation of perfumes, and of the shewbread.⁵ As, ultimately, writing for others was almost entirely connected with legal transactions, we venture to suggest that the Liblars of the Talmud, and the scribes of the New Testament, were, as a profession, similar to that which in Scotland bears the corresponding designation of "writers." A single letter or word affixed to an article indicated that it was set apart for the sanctuary, or was part of the tithes.⁶ The writing materials in use were pens or reeds, ink of different colours, and paper or parchment. Among the various kinds of ink we may mention a sympathetic ink, prepared from the juice of fruits; another chiefly made up of vitriol, and specially noted for its indelibility;⁷ and a powder made of lamp-black, mixed with oil or honey, and dried, which was dissolved in an infusion of galls.⁸ A kind of paper was much in use, as well as writing tables, *rough* or unprepared leather, and *parchment*, or prepared leather. Sometimes tables of wax or of wood,

¹ Shabb. x. 4.

■ *Ut supra*, viii. 5.

³ For example, Shabb. i. 3.

⁴ Moed. Katon, iii. 3.

■ Comp. Joma, iii. 11.

⁶ Maas. Shen, iv. 9, 10, 11.

⁷ Megill. ii. 2; Gitt. ii. 3; Sota, ii. 4.

⁸ Comp. Wagenseil in Sotam, p. 374.

and pointed pens, were employed. We even read of writing upon the leaves of olive trees, the horn of a cow, or the hand of a slave.¹ Among the various alphabets handed down to us, without doubt what is known as "the Phenician" is the most ancient. By caligraphical improvements it first became what is now designated as the Samaritan alphabet, which, after the exile, was only employed for inscriptions or on coins. During the stay in Babylon a great change in the mode of writing had taken place, probably in consequence of its more extended use. The Rabbins ascribe the alteration by which, through an improvement of the ancient Aramean, our modern square Hebrew letters have arisen, to the period of Ezra. What are now known as the vowel-points and diacritical signs, date from a comparatively late period, perhaps the eighth or ninth century after Christ.² At first the simple vowels, *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, represented in Hebrew by *aleph*, *jod*, *ayin*, *vau*, together with a simple *sheva* and *he*, were probably sufficient for all practical purposes.

Legend had it that there were seventy nations and as many languages in the world,³ amongst which, of course, Hebrew was the only one which deserved or ought to be studied. But in course of time, and specially during the Babylonish captivity, the "sacred language" underwent considerable modifications. Although the Hebrews at the time of their return had not wholly forgotten their former peculiar dialect, it had gradually become transformed into the Aramean or Syrochaldaic dialect, which, at the time of our Saviour, and afterwards, constituted the spoken and written language of Palestine. It was spoken in greatest purity in Judea. In Galilee it approached more to the Syrian, while in Samaria still more decidedly foreign elements had intruded into it. Of course the more learned the speaker, the more pure was his dialect. The ancient Hebrew, however, was always retained for sacred purposes and extensively studied. Although the study of foreign languages, more probably of their literature,

¹ Gitt. *ut supra*.

² Comp. the section in De Wette's *Archäologie*, 3d edit. pp. 405-409.

³ Lightfoot, p. 1089.

was interdicted, yet from the necessity of their circumstances the Greek, and soon afterwards the Latin, were in common use in Palestine. As the knowledge of many things had been acquired from these foreigners, many Greek and Latin words with Hebrew terminations became current and found their way into the Talmud.¹ However, the synagogue was liberal towards unlettered Hebrews, and recognised the use of Greek not only in legal documents, such as letters of divorce, although drawn up in Palestine,² but, unlike the Romish Church, allowed to Israelites who had settled in foreign countries the use of foreign languages in their prayers.³

Jewish law fully protected both persons and property. Where property was even accidentally injured, the party who had occasioned it was held responsible, if every precaution had not been used, or distinct intimation of the danger given.⁴ If a person had been hurt, damages might be claimed for actual injury, (calculated by a valuation of the party both before and after the hurt,) for pain, calculated by an estimate of what the injured party would have been willing to pay rather than suffer, for medical expenses, for loss of time, and for the affront, (the latter in cases of intentional injury). A Hebrew slave possessed in this respect the same rights as a free man, only that if the injury had been inflicted by his master, he could not, of course, claim compensation for loss of time. Even foreign slaves might sue for damages, although not on the ground of affront. Damages could not be claimed from a married woman or from a slave, as neither could, in law, possess any property of their own. But they might be sued for at any later period when the offending party had either been divorced or manumitted. The damages for a blow with the fist were fixed at 100 sus or denars; at 200 for a box on the face, or 400 if given with the back of the hand, and the excuse of provocation was not held valid.⁵

If mildness and kindness characterized the social intercourse of the Hebrews, another virtue, that of charity, was still more in-

¹ Comp. examples in Ersch's Encycl. xxvii. p. 28, &c.

² Sot. vii. 1.

⁴ Comp. specially Baba Kama, iii.

² Gitt. vi. 8.

⁵ Comp. Baba Kama, viii.

culcated and prized. Passion for gain or lust of wealth was not one of the national sins, till centuries of the most relentless persecution had made the possession of riches their only means of influence or hope of safety. The stated annual contributions for religious and charitable purposes were very considerable. Beside the customary sacrifices, the first-fruits of all fields and cattle and the heave-offerings belonged to the priests, from whom the first-born had likewise to be redeemed. The amount of this tax was generally computed at one-fortieth, one-fiftieth, or at least at one-sixtieth of the whole produce.¹ Besides, a tithe of everything was contributed for sacred purposes. A second tithe was levied and appropriated for the poor. Heads of families were expected to bring these second tithes or their full value with them to Jerusalem (to the annual feasts), where the learned or the poor were to be entertained with them during the festivities, which made the capital a grand religious banqueting-house, and all Israel a joyful religious brotherhood. Every third and sixth year these second tithes were to be distributed not at Jerusalem, but shared with those who lived in the neighbourhood of the farmer or landholder. The laws connected with the Sabbatical year are well known. Besides these religious imposts, a half-shekel was annually contributed to the treasury,—all these imposts being paid by every Israelite, not only in Palestine and Syria, but also in Babylon, Ammon, Moab, and Egypt.

It was enjoined to shew kindness to all who were employed. The farm-servant was allowed to partake of the fruits of the ground, and the day-labourer, besides his hire, shared in the meals of the family. During the harvest, at morning, noon, and even, the poor assembled to receive their gifts. At other times, officers specially appointed for the purpose went about every day to collect victuals, and on Sabbaths money for the poor. Besides these statutory contributions, the opinion generally entertained of the peculiar merits of private charity led to such profusion, that it had at last to be limited to giving away one-fifth of one's property. However, poor relatives might receive

¹ Comp. specially the treatises *Peah*, *Maaseroth*, and *Maaser Sheni*.

part of the legal contributions destined for the poor generally. The vagrant poor were to get food and lodging, and, on Sabbaths, not less than three meals,¹ so as to feel at least the material joy of that day. Equally liberal was the law in determining who were proper recipients of charity. Given as a religious contribution, and as to brethren, the law had rather to encourage than discourage applicants for relief. There were three degrees of parochial relief, according as the recipient obtained a share of the harvest only, or also of the money and of the victuals collected for the poor. Any person who possessed less than 200 sus was a pauper, and hence had a claim upon part of the harvest; nor was he obliged to sell his house or furniture in order to make up the sum fixed as the statutory limit of charity. Persons engaged in trade or business were very properly excepted from a rule which was only meant to apply to women, or aged and infirm persons. Any party who had not sufficient to purchase food for fourteen meals, was to apply to the authorities for money, while, if sufficient for two meals was not in the house, the pauper received a share of the victuals which were daily collected for the poor. To seek assistance where it was not needed, was looked upon as a sin exposing to Divine judgments. All moneys for the poor were collected by two, and distributed by three parochial officers. Relief to the brethren was not to be doled out grudgingly, nor were the indigent treated with contempt or indifference. On the contrary, as will by and by appear, they were treated with the greatest delicacy and deference. What they received had either been first offered to the Lord, and was in turn given them by their heavenly Father, or they partook of it together with the rich donors (often at their table), and as members of the same family. The wealthy landholder was a spiritual chief, and the poor of the district members of his clan. He was the divinely appointed steward for the holy family. Beggars, properly speaking, with the exception of such as were afflicted with diseases

¹ Peah, viii. 7.

or infirmities, were unknown in Palestine, and to a great extent are still unknown amongst the Jews.

The civil taxes varied considerably with the circumstances of the country. Under Persian domination, road-money, duty on provisions, and a property and income tax were paid, besides the exactions to which a conquered province would always be subject. Under Egyptian rule, the taxes of Palestine were farmed for sixteen talents (according to Whiston, £6800.) Under Syrian government the taxation was exceedingly vexatious, including a tax on salt, the crown-money (the "aurum coronarium)," and an impost of a third of all that was sown, and of a half of the fruits of trees; head-money or poll-tax, and custom and excise duties, were also levied. When the Romans first interfered in the affairs of Judea, they did not at once levy the usual taxes; but the descendants of Antipater derived a large income from crown lands (Antiq. xiv. 10. 6); from a tax upon land and its produce (xv. 9. 1); from a house-tax (xix. 6. 3); from export duties (xiv. 10. 22); and from a market-tax upon everything that was bought or sold (xvii. 8. 4; xviii. 4. 3). The last-mentioned tax was specially galling. From all these sources the income of Herod the Great is estimated to have amounted to £680,000; that of Agrippa II. to £500,000. With the death of Herod the last shadow of Jewish independence passed away. Each "free-born Jew" had now to pay to his heathen master property-tax, poll-tax, and specially custom and duties, levied by the publicans on the different highways, and in the seaport towns.¹ This amounted to large sums, chiefly derived from the export of cotton, and of balsam. A superior excise-officer (chief of the publicans) was located in Jericho, which was the centre of the balsam district. The tax on all articles bought and sold was also continued, and, after the destruction of the Temple, the customary half-shekel had to be paid to Rome. If we bear in mind that a company of Roman knights farmed these taxes as a mercantile speculation, and

¹ Comp. my article on "The Life of St. Matthew," in the "Sunday at Home," 1856; and the Tract (April 1856) in Freeman's Library of Biblical Literature.

employed publicans, who, in their turn, sought to profit as much as possible by the unpopular occupation in which they were engaged, it will be understood how a taxation, oppressive in itself, became most odious and grinding. True, the law gave a right of appeal against improper exactions, and forced the unjust accuser "to restore fourfold;" but it will readily be understood that such appeals were always difficult and expensive, and rarely led to satisfactory results. As the agriculturist passed to town or market, the hated publican sat by the wayside to examine every conveyance—often to violate the secrecy of letters—to demand or to furnish a receipt for payment of dues. Every ass or beast of burden that carried the rich produce of the land towards Ptolomais or Cæsarea was stopped, each package opened and tumbled about, and new and vexatious exactions hampered every branch of industry. No wonder, then, that the publicans were hated and despised, nor even admitted to bear witness in Jewish courts, and in general treated like heathens or harlots. It was not even allowed to receive charity from them. They were unworthy of this privilege, nor could they have given what too often had been unjustly acquired. However, there were honourable exceptions,—amongst them Saccai (Zaccheus), the father of the celebrated Nasi, Jochanan.

Under these circumstances, the separation between Jews and Gentiles became daily greater. Strangers had, indeed, always been kept, politically, socially, and religiously, separate from the Hebrews, amongst whom they dwelt; still, the law treated them with a kindness and justice which Israelites did not meet in return. Many of the foreign settlers in Palestine became proselytes, of whom three classes are mentioned. The Proselytes of the Gate were only naturalized aliens, bound to obey the seven Noachic ordinances (as they were termed), which interdicted blasphemy, idolatry, murder, incest, robbery, resistance of the magistrates, the eating of blood, all of which were necessary for the protection of the State and of the established religion. Proselytes of Righteousness were, besides, converts to Judaism, and admitted by circumcision, baptism,

and a sacrifice. Some authorities suppose, although on insufficient grounds, that baptism was only introduced after sacrifices had become impossible. A third or intermediate class of proselytes were only circumcised. This, however, seems to have applied only to slaves. The foreigner admitted into the Synagogue was considered to have left his country, family, and friends, to whom he was now so completely a stranger, that he might even lawfully have married his heathen sister or mother. By his entrance into the Synagogue he became a new man, and in every respect equal to a native Israelite. Although later Jewish writers have professed carelessness as to proselytism,—a profession which reflects credit neither on Judaism nor on their own religious convictions,—extraordinary zeal was at times displayed by the Synagogue to gain proselytes. Many of those who, before the coming of Christ, had become proselytes under the impulse of a deep spiritual longing, which found no satisfaction in heathenism, afterwards embraced Christianity; but the later converts to Judaism were mostly of a far inferior caste, and, with few exceptions, joined the Synagogue either as slaves of Jews, or in order to marry into Jewish families. It is to such proselytes that the contemptuous expressions used by later Rabbins, who designate them as “the leprosy of Israel,” must apply. Pious, or rather bigoted ritualists, dreaded their influx as likely to bring in a set of unlearned persons not zealous for the rites, while the proud sages despised them for their origin and their ignorance of rabbinical lore.

In some respects the etiquette of the Hebrews led to a more simple, in others to a more complicated ceremonial, than that of modern nations. If the articles of dress in use were less subject to the alterations of fashion, the rules of good society and the climate necessitated a larger number of them than with us. At a later period, contact with foreigners led to a conformity with their manners, once unknown in Palestine, and the leaders of fashion imported from abroad articles of luxury, the use of which a former generation would have repudiated. The Talmud¹ enumerates

¹ Gemara ad Shab. xvi. 4.

eighteen articles as completing an elegant toilet. Commonly it consisted of ■ shirt (an article used at an early period), one, or in the case of rich persons and travellers, two under garments, which were kept close to the body by a girdle. Trousers or under-trousers were worn from an early period. The upper garment, which was variously arranged according to taste or fashion, was also used by the poor at night for a covering. At the bottom of their upper garments the Pharisees wore the long fringes mentioned in the New Testament. Of course the shape and material varied with the rank and manners of the wearer. Amongst the finest were the white, the embroidered, and the purple garments. On particular occasions, as in mourning at court, or in travelling, a different style of clothing was adopted. At a later period long under-garments, reaching to the ankles, and travelling-cloaks, with hoods attached to them, were worn. The head-dress consisted of a pointed cap or of a kind of turban. The dresses of females were distinguished by their shape, the fineness of their texture, and their ornaments. In the latter class we may generally include the nets which they wore over their faces and their frontlets. Of the veils, which were laid aside in the house, and while going about the usual avocations, there were three kinds. The Arabian veil hung down from the head, but left the wearer free while walking to see objects; the veil-dress was a kind of cloak or mantilla thrown over the whole person and covering the head; the Egyptian veil, like that presently used in the East, covered the breast, neck, chin, and face, leaving only the eyes free. Gloves were generally used only for protection. Jewish ladies wore not only sandals, which consisted merely of soles strapped to the foot, but also more or less costly slippers, sometimes embroidered, bestudded with gems, and containing delicate perfumes emitted by the pressure of the foot.¹ Thus, both in veils and shoes, necessity gave place to luxury.

Still more manifest was the love of splendour, which indeed is one of the natural characteristics of Orientals, in the ornaments worn by both sexes. Gentlemen generally wore a seal

¹ On this and the following see Hartmann's *Habräerinn am Putztische*.

either on the ring-finger or suspended round the neck, which, together with the staff, were almost in universal use. The barbarous practice of shaving had not as yet banished the natural ornament of man, and the fashionable Jews carefully trimmed, anointed, and perfumed their beards. Slaves were interdicted from wearing them, and during deep mourning the beard was cut off. The hair was considered another of the chief points of beauty, and a bald person was held unfit to discharge the priestly functions. Young people and females wore their hair long, but in men such would have been regarded as a token of effeminacy. Peasant girls tied their hair in a simple knot, but the rich patrician ladies were wont to curl and plait it, and to adorn its tresses with gold ornaments and pearls. Indeed hair-plaiting and curling was a special, although not a respectable business, which Mary Magdalene is supposed to have carried on.¹ Some dandies had their hair dressed, and the Talmud mentions both hairpins and combs. A lady's hair was anointed, perfumed, and sprinkled either with gold-dust,² or dyed so as to appear reddish, this colour being the favourite in climates where it is rare. Even false hair seems to have been used.³

In general, anointing was usually combined with washing, as tending to comfort and refreshment. The hair, the beard, the clothes, the forehead and face, even the garlands worn at feasts, were anointed. Ointments were prepared of oil, and home or foreign perfumes, and, if very costly, preserved in alabaster boxes. Perfumers, however, were generally despised even amongst heathen nations, and in Athens males were prevented from engaging in that trade. Some Jewesses used also cosmetics. They painted their cheeks, and especially blackened their eyebrows with a mixture of antimony, zinc, and oil, which at the same time acted as a preventive against inflammation of the eyes, a disease common in the East. Of the other ornaments worn by ladies, we may mention gold head-dresses, nose-rings, finger-

¹ Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.*, pp. 498 and 1081; however, other derivations are also given of the name.

² *Antiq.* viii. 7. 3.

■ *Shab.* vi. 3.

rings, necklaces, bracelets, and ankle-rings. Girls had also their ears bored, a thread or small piece of wood being kept in the hole till the wound was healed, when either a plain ring or a drop, a pendant, or a little bell, was inserted. Besides their head-dresses and gold ornaments, frontlets and ear-rings, Hebrew ladies also wore nose-rings, which the law ordered to be put aside on the Sabbath.¹ In the East these rings are now either fastened in one of the nostrils, or in the septum between the nares, and made so as gracefully to hang over the mouth, without, however, interfering with the salute of the privileged friend. Two kinds of necklaces were worn, the one closely fitting, the other loose and like a chain, frequently consisting of stones and pearls strung together, which depended over the chest, and even to the girdle. Fashionable ladies wore two or three such chains, to which smelling-bottles, perfumeries, and even small heathenish ornaments, as crescents, suns, snakes, &c., were fastened. From the frontlet, or the head ornament, which was generally in the shape of a snake,² gold pendants descended. The bracelets, sometimes worn even by gentlemen, were fastened above the wrist, commonly only on the right arm, and were made of ivory, gold, or of precious stones strung together. The girdle worn by ladies was fastened lower and more loosely than that of gentlemen, who wore it round the loins. It was frequently made of very costly fabric, and adorned with precious stones. The rings round the ankles were generally so wrought, as in walking to make a noise like the tinkling of little bells. Sometimes they were connected together by a chain, and the fair wearer had to walk with small and mincing steps. According to some Rabbins, it was intended for different purposes. Besides, ladies wore gold or diamond pins in their clothes, rings on their fingers, and when needful, even false teeth in their mouths.³

However luxurious in their dress, the ancient Hebrews were much more simple in their domestic arrangements than the neighbouring nations. The places on which they rested at night varied with the rank and circumstances of their owners,

¹ Shabb. vi. 1.

² *Ut supra.*

³ Shabb. *ut supra.*

from the stone pillow and the covering of the upper garment, or the more or less simple couch, to beds, the posts of which were hung with gay and costly fabrics. The middle classes, no doubt, used low couches, similar to the modern divans of the East, which served as sofa by day and as bed by night. Baths partly for refreshment, partly as means of preserving or restoring health, and partly for Levitical purifications, were very common. The laws with reference to purification were punctilious in determining where, when, and how lustrations were to be performed.¹ Some were in the habit of daily resorting to these plunge-baths. In general, the houses of the better classes had bathing-rooms, or else a bathing apparatus attached to the court. Public baths in and near towns were provided for the poor, in which a kind of bran seems to have been used for removing impurities.² Palestine possessed several mineral springs, which were used internally and as baths, but their use was generally restricted to invalids. During the summer season, a retreat was indeed sought in the cooler parts of the country—especially in the neighbourhood of the Lake of Gennesareth³—where the wealthy and the noble had their villas. The middle classes generally resorted to their gardens in the neighbourhood of the different towns where they resided, and which served the various purposes of rearing fruits and vegetables, of affording shelter during the heat of the day, of retreat and enjoyment, and often also of final resting-places. The most famed mineral baths were those of Tiberias or Emmaus, of Gadara, and of Cal-lirrhœ. Tiberias lay at a distance of 120 stadia from Scythopolis, and about twenty English miles from Nazareth. Close beside it, at the village of Emmaus, are hot springs (about 48° Réaumur), which contain sulphur and salts of soda and of iron. About 60 stadia from Tiberias, and on the south-eastern shore of the Lake of Gennesareth, lay Gadara, the capital of Peræa, situate upon the mountains, at the foot of which hot sulphureous

¹ Compare specially Mikooth.

■ Pesach. ii. 7.

³ Comp. the article and Tract quoted at p. 213. The name "Gennesareth" is explained by some as "Gene Sarim," the gardens of the nobility.

streams flowed towards the Jordan.¹ The waters of Gadara were specially resorted to by lepers. Callirrhoë lay on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea.²

The Hebrews presented also ■ favourable contrast in the simplicity of their amusements when compared with the barbarous sports of heathen nations. While in the streets and markets, children engaged in amusements with which we are familiar,³ young persons exercised themselves in athletic games, by lifting, swinging, and throwing great weights. Games of chance, such as dice, and a kind of racing, not with horses, but with doves, are mentioned,⁴ but always in terms of unqualified disapprobation. The chase was not resorted to as an amusement, and snares were laid for game and fowls simply in order to get possession of them. Public popular amusements were unknown till the period of Syrian domination and Jewish decadence. With the exception of religious festivals, all such amusements were contrary to the Jewish idea of proper individual and family life. The exercises of the gymnasium only led to close intercourse with Gentiles, and engendered a dangerous familiarity with heathen practices, which ultimately even originated the idea of effacing the peculiar bodily mark of Judaism.

The first verses of the first Psalm were held to apply equally to the amusements of the theatre or amphitheatre, to frequenting the ring, and to witnessing the performances of jugglers.⁵ It was well known that such indulgences would operate detrimentally upon the piety and morality of the people. Under the rule of the Herodians, theatres and amphitheatres were indeed reared in various cities of Palestine, in imitation and in honour of the Romans. But as the games there celebrated were essentially foreign, they were discountenanced and even interdicted by the Rabbins. With equal zeal did the Rabbins warn against all contamination with idolatry. Anything that could directly or indirectly be connected with idolatry, such as heathen orna-

¹ Relandi *Palæstina*, pp. 775, &c.

² *Ut supra*, p. 679.

³ For example, *Chelim*, xvii. 15.

⁴ *Shab.* xxiii. 2; *Rosh ha-Shan*, I. 8.

⁵ *Ab. Sar.* 14.

ments, &c., might not be lawfully used by a Hebrew who was in no way to compromise himself with countenancing anti-Jewish practices. To throw down a stone in honour of Mercury, or to touch those which had so been thrown down, to enter into business-relations with heathens three days before or after their feasts, to make purchases in shops decorated with garlands in honour of idols, even to celebrate the first of January (the new year), or any other calends (first of the month) the saturnalia, the birth, or the coronation day of a heathen emperor, was strictly interdicted. Sometimes these views took the direction of intolerance and persecution. Thus it was not lawful to assist at the birth of, or to suckle a heathen infant. Sad experience daily corroborated the Biblical testimony of the character of heathenism, and although the manifestations of Jewish abhorrence were sometimes wrong, and always external rather than spiritual, we can scarcely wonder at the repugnance of the synagogue. But whatever their other feelings may have been, the most prominent was that of contempt. As possessing superior knowledge, the Hebrews despised the religions of the old world, and esteemed contact with them as polluting, or at least detracting from their own purity. Thus their relations were akin to those between the sages and the unlettered in Israel. It was not so with reference to Christians. They were objects of fear and hatred to the Rabbins. The natural mind rose in rebellion against the spiritual doctrines and claims of the religion of the New Testament, as embodied in the person of Christ. His person, doctrine, sacrifice, and work, were equally opposed to their religious tendencies, and to the bent of their natural hearts. The lives and the activity of His followers, in as far as they were such, elicited kindred feelings. What the Jews hated about the Gospel was not the mean condition of Jesus of Nazareth, nor his character as a teacher. These considerations might indeed have been distasteful, but what led to the crucifixion of Christ, and to the intense hatred of Christianity, was the doctrine of a *Saviour*, and the perfection

¹ On this and the following particulars, comp. the treatise *Avodah Sarah*.

of that spiritual element which they had never perceived in the Old Testament, which they had refused when it was pointed out, and which, if realized, would have converted their pride and self-confidence into the humble and earnest inquiry, "What shall we do to be saved?" Views like these produced the undisguised malice and hatred of the synagogue, which at one time placed the most specious arguments against Christianity into the mouths of heathens, at others incited the mob to bloody deeds, or, when occasion served, led to their commission, and to various attempts at seducing Christians from the simplicity of their faith.

Before closing this account of the state of society amongst the Hebrews, it may be well to present the popular ideas on various subjects, as these are scattered over the pages of the Talmud.¹ Although at the risk of going back upon our record, or of anticipating to some extent what is to follow, they will afford a more faithful portraiture of the popular mind than any other description could have done.

The Divine Word, which was the framework of Jewish society, admitted, in popular opinion, a variety of interpretations, all equally true and equally valid as rules of faith and of obedience. "Every line and stroke in the Bible is of vast importance,"² was the fruitful principle of this view, to which great part of traditionalism owed its origin. It was held that the oral law had been received by Moses from God, and communicated first to Aaron, then to his sons, and finally to the elders of Israel. In point of fact, these studies were preferred to the Bible. The Talmud³ (in application of Isaiah iii. 1) compares the Halacha to bread, and the Hagada to water, because the latter was even more frequently required, and was more refreshing than the former. A Midrash explains Deut. xxxii. 13, 14, respectively of the Pentateuch, and of the other portions of Scripture; of the Mishna, of the Talmud, of the various exegetical rules, of

¹ This sketch of moral philosophy is a condensation of Menorath Hammaor, by Isaac Aboab, a celebrated Spanish Rabbi (1433-1493). The edition before us is in 3 vols. Krotschin, 1848.

² Erubin, 21.

³ Chag. 14.

the Halacha and of the Hagada—an interpretation which, however extravagant, sufficiently indicates the state of feeling. As the law of God, both written and oral, was the source of happiness and delight, so from lust and ambition all wretchedness flowed. Thus, while Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, suffered in consequence of their envy, lust, and ambition, Aaron received as reward of opposite virtues the honour of wearing the breast-plate, and the Urim and Thummim.¹ Satisfied with little, the pious ought not to take care for the morrow, not knowing what a day may bring forth,² and thus to imitate the Rabbins who laboured with their hands in order to acquire the means for those studies which are the grand end of life. Hillel, the rich Eleazar ben Charsom, and the Patriarch Joseph, were instanced to shew that neither poverty, riches, nor temptation should prevent from engaging in such occupations.³

In general, it was thought that punishments and rewards stood in exact correspondence with man's actions. Thus, Samson's strength prepared his destruction, Absalom's vanity led to his being hung by the hair; while, on the other hand, as Miriam had waited on Moses when he lay in the ark of bulrushes, so Israel waited in mourning after her decease. Similarly,⁴ unchastity would induce dropsy; groundless hatred, jaundice; pride, poverty; calumny, diseases of the respiratory organs, &c. Some sins, as blasphemy, a denial of the truth of Scripture, and especially of the resurrection, entailed not only temporal but eternal destruction.⁵ Broken vows entail the loss of one's wife; non-payment of tithes causes famine (Mal. iii. 10); robbery brings locusts (Amos iv. 1, 9); mal-administration of justice leads to war, pestilence, &c. (Jer. xxxiii. 23, 24.) As these calamities fall on the whole nation, every person ought, as far as possible, to prevent his neighbour from sinning, or at least reprove him. Neglect of this duty (to which Lev. xix. 17 referred) brought punishment even on the righteous (Ezek. ix. 6).⁶ However, a reproof should be administered delicately and in

¹ Shab. 139.³ Joma, 35.⁵ Sanh. 91.² Sota, 45.⁴ Shab. 32.⁶ Av. Sar. 4.

private. Rabbi Triphon thought that in his age none was worthy to reprove; for, to the admonition, "Remove the mote from thine eye," it might be replied, "Remove first the *beam* out of thine own eye;" whilst Rabbi Akiba doubted if any would be found willing to listen to reproof. It was deemed an unfavourable sign if the inhabitants of a place loved a Rabbi, as indicating unfaithfulness on his part.¹

True riches were not to be sought in the possession of wealth, but in contentment with one's estate.² A different spirit could only lead to theft, which was more culpable even than robbery, as manifesting a greater fear of *man* than of *God*;³ hence theft and not robbery was mentioned in the Eighth Commandment. Upon the same principle the use of false measures and weights was considered a greater sin than theft.⁴ Robbery, however, was the iniquity which filled up the measure of the antediluvian world, (Gen. vi. 13.)⁵ In point of principle, the robbery of a penny was as culpable as that of a life;⁶ and forced sales, damaging one's neighbour, or the keeping back of wages, were of the same stamp.⁷ Comparatively speaking, it was more culpable to rob an individual than even to abstract from that which had been dedicated for the Temple.⁸ Usury was a heinous offence, entailing poverty here and wretchedness hereafter. So carefully was it to be avoided, that a debtor was not even to bow to his creditor, unless he had formerly been in the habit of so doing. But a penitent usurer was to be encouraged; the parties wronged were to forgive him as God forgave them, and not to press the offending brother for restitution.⁹ Bribery was compared to the small hook by which large fishes were caught. Judges were warned against the bribery of flattery, and even the offer of a gift to him incapacitated a judge from deciding in a cause. Every appearance of covetousness was to be avoided. An article should not be purchased below its fair value, and

¹ Keth. 105.² Shab. 35.³ Baba Kama, 79.⁴ Baba Bathra, 85.⁵ Sanh. 108.⁶ Baba K. 119.⁷ Baba Mezia, 111.⁸ Baba B. 88.⁹ *Ut supra*, 90, 94.

parties were interdicted from buying anything at less than five-sixths, or selling it at more than one-sixth of its real value.

Gluttony and winebibbing (Prov. xxiii. 20, &c.) which "made red here and pale hereafter," entailed sorrow and led to sin.¹ On the other hand, chastity was one of the principal virtues. All needless conversation with females, looking at them, at their hair, dress, &c., was improper. A husband who, after a long life in wedlock only discovered, after his wife's decease, that she had had only one arm, was mentioned as a model of chastity. According to the not inapt mode of speaking at the time, it was said that to preserve chastity in the midst of temptations, conferred merit equal to that of a *poor* man who restored what he had found, or of a *rich* man who gave his tithes in *secret*.² Assiduous study of the law was recommended as the most likely help to this virtue.³ All the curses (in Deut. xxvii. 15) applied to adultery.⁴ Self-confidence was here specially out of place. Legend had it that the fall of David was due to this cause. It was said that he had presumed to expostulate with God because He was not called the God of David as well as of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The folly of his challenge to be submitted to a trial similar to theirs was shewn in his fall,⁵ (Ps. xxvi. 1). Indeed, every person had a good and an evil inclination; the latter at first slender like a thread, became by and by strong as a cart-rope.⁶ In 2 Sam. xii. 4 this evil inclination was represented as first a *pilgrim*, then a *guest*, and finally a *lord*. To overcome this evil concupiscence⁷ was equal in merit to offering all the sacrifices prescribed by the law.

Ambition was another dangerous enemy which had brought Joseph into an earlier grave than his brethren.⁸ All honours came from God, who bestowed them not only on an individual but on his latest posterity (Job xxxvi. 7), who are only deprived of them if they become proud.⁹ That pride might not be fostered, parochial offices should only be conferred with the express sanc-

¹ Sanh. 70; Erab. 75; Berach, 63.

² Pesach, 113.

³ Av. Sar. 20.

⁴ Sota, 37.

⁵ Sanh. 106.

⁶ Joma, 32.

⁷ Sanh. 43.

⁸ Sota, 13.

⁹ Meg. 13.

tion of the congregation (Exod. xxxi. 2, 3), and administered with meekness.¹ To this virtue Deut. xxx. 12 referred, while the expression "the Commandment is not in heaven," indicated that observance of the law was not with the proud. God only establishes man in the way which he himself chooses, and the sinner is ultimately left like Balaam, while he that seeks the Lord is assisted, protected, and sanctified from on high.² It was thought comparatively easy to observe the law which only consisted in loving one's neighbour as one's-self. Thus, Hillel the Great had summed up Judaism in the one command, "Do not that to thy neighbour which would be displeasing to thyself."³ Circumstances could not palliate any of these three sins: idolatry, incest, and murder. All other transgressions of positive injunctions were thought to be expiated by penitence; those of negative commandments by penitence and the day of atonement; those of which the breach entailed the threat of "being cut off," by penitence, the day of atonement and sufferings; while only death could set free from the guilt of sins connected with a profanation of the Divine name.⁴ Trifling offences, if committed by sages, may bring dishonour upon the name of the Lord. The command, "To love the Lord our God," was generally interpreted as referring to the duty of making His name beloved. An excessive anxiety on this subject, however, induced a relaxation of rigour when sins were committed in secret.

The tongue which God had given only to praise Him had become a dangerous member—a circumstance which even its position within the twofold walls of cheeks and teeth⁵ indicated. Every word of God, whether embodied in the written or the oral law, was to be implicitly believed and carefully studied.⁶ Legend had it,⁷ that when Moses ascended into heaven he found God making strokes at the letters of the law. "Is it not customary in thy city to salute?" asked the Lord. "Lord of the world,"

¹ Bosh. Hash. 16; Ber. 51.

³ Shab. 31.

⁵ Er. 15.

² Macc. 10; Joma, 38.

⁴ Joma, 86.

⁶ Chel. 99.

⁷ Shab. 89.

replied Moses, "may the servant salute his master?" "Then thou shouldst at least assist me," rejoined the Lord. These were the strokes from which Rabbi Akiba and his successors elicited the Halacha. Even apparently incredible statements of Rabbins, such as that God would in the last days make the gates of Jerusalem of diamonds, each thirty cubits square, that women would conceive and bear in one day, &c.,¹ were to be implicitly believed. On the other hand, all untruth, even by way of joke, was to be avoided,² except when spoken "for the sake of peace," when it was not only lawful, but even duty.³ Thus, an ugly and disagreeable bride might be praised before her intended as being beautiful, clever, pious, &c. Falsehood, for the sake of gain, was like idolatry.⁴ Promises were to be inviolable, and all oaths were to be made in the sense in which others were likely to understand them.⁵ As vows, however, rashly made, were strictly binding, all vowing was disapproved.⁶ The term *Amen* indicated either an oath, an assent, or a confirmation. Flattery was one of the greatest and most dangerous sins.⁷ To punish a want of faithfulness, God, in answer to the expostulations of justice, recalled the merciful passing by of his people in Ezek. ix. 4, and ordered the work of destruction to begin at his saints, (ver. 6).⁸ To deceive even a heathen by word or deed was strictly forbidden.⁹ So far was scrupulosity here carried, that it was held to be wrong to invite to dinner, or to offer a present where it was known that it would not be accepted. To offend or grieve a person was worse than to cause him a pecuniary loss which might again be compensated. One witness could only give private information against a person, and even then incurred a danger similar to that of Joseph, who had accused his brethren both of having eaten flesh cut out of living animals, of having reproached the sons of Bilhah and of Zilpah, and also of having sinned with the heathen maids of the country. For these denunciations he himself afterwards suffered analogous punishments.¹⁰ It was thought that

¹ Chel. 100; Baba B. 75.⁴ Chel. 92.⁷ Pes. 113; Sota, 41.² *Ut supra*, 88.⁵ Shab. 39.⁸ Shab. 55.³ Yebam, 65.⁶ Shab. 32.⁹ Chul. 94.¹⁰ Kidd, 70.

people generally accused their neighbours of the faults of which they themselves were guilty, while regular gossips spake evil of every person. Secrets were always to be respected.¹ Calumny was not even excusable in a student or sage, such as Doeg the Edomite, the calumniator of David, supposed to have been very learned, to whom Ps. lii. 3, 4, and liii. 4, were thought to apply.² The party who had formed a habit of this kind was in danger of being cut off from the people of God. The Talmud speaks also of "the dust of calumny,"³ or conduct which leads to calumny. The danger of this sin, which stands next to murder, incest, and idolatry, may be gathered from the fate of the spies whom Joshua sent into Palestine.⁴ God generally punished it with leprosy, as in the case of Moses' sister. Those who listen to calumny are equally guilty (Ex. xxii. 31, xxiii. 1), as fingers and earlaps are provided to enable us to shut our ears against backbiters.⁵ Jeroboam had been admitted to parity with the kings of Judah (Hosea i. 1),⁶ because he had not listened to calumnies about Amos (Amos vii. 10, 11), while the kingdom of David was divided in consequence of this sin (2 Sam. xix. 29). It was, of course, more heinous if committed against the sages, who ought to be praised by every person.⁷ Light or indecent conversation led to various trials,⁸ (Isa. ix. 16), and those who indulged in it were, in popular conversation, described as the descendants of heathens.⁹ Even the most trivial conversation will form subject of inquiry in the day of judgment (Amos iv. 13).¹⁰ Delicacy and kindness were amongst the most sacred duties. To affront another was almost equal to the sin of murdering him. It was one of the three sins: adultery, using hard words to our neighbour, and offending him, which entailed the punishments of hell, and which in such cases will never cease.¹¹ An eminent example of delicacy was Tamar, who, not to put her father-in-law to shame, only sent him his staff and ring.¹² In general, talkativeness was a sign of low breeding. As all conversation was either wholly

¹ Sanh. 29.² *Ut supra*, 106.³ For example, Baba B. 164.⁴ Er. 15.⁵ Kethub. 5; Pes. 118.⁶ *Ut supra*, 87.⁷ Baba M. 84.⁸ Kethub. 5.⁹ Av. Sar. 22.¹⁰ Chag. 5.¹¹ Chag. 15.¹² Sota, 16.

detrimental, or partly useful and partly detrimental, or neither useful nor detrimental, or wholly useful, three-fourths of all common talk ought to be wholly dispensed with. "When two persons quarrel, one of them at least is of low origin,"¹ was a common and not untrue saying. Besides actual ill usage, all hatred, cursing, revenge, and bearing of grudges, were interdicted. It was declared to be better to suffer persecution than to persecute.² Excessive merriment also might lead to sin, and even on joyous occasions mirth should be tempered: hence when at a marriage one of the sages was asked to sing, he complied only by reminding the company of death, while another Rabbi on a similar occasion purposely broke a splendid vase.³ Especially when going to prayer or to study, all talk and laughter should be avoided. These exercises required a composed and happy frame of spirit. On feast days half the time was to be spent in study, and the other half in prayer and amusements.

God hath in his law given Israel 630 commandments (365 *commandments* according to the number of days in a solar year, and 248 *forbids*, according to the number of the members of the body) in order to make them happy.⁴ These laws David had reduced to eleven (Ps. xv.), Isaiah to six (Isa. xxxiii. 15), Micah to three (Micah vi. 8), again, Isaiah to two (Isa. lvi. 1), and Amos and Habakkuk each to one (Amos v. 4; Hab. ii. 4). The different ordinances had not always a reason attached to them, as⁵ such specifications might have led even good men to break them, under the impression that the grounds of the law did not apply to them. From such views Solomon had neglected two warnings in Deut. xvii. 16, 17. If only the letter of the law were obeyed, the motives were of comparatively small importance, as continued practice would at last lead to proper motives.⁶ A pietism intended merely to gain the esteem of *men* was despicable. In this respect the revulsion of feeling from the overweening estimate attached in the days of the Saviour, to the utter contempt of the Pharisees manifested at a later period, is

¹ Kidd. 71.² Baba K. 93.³ Berach. 30, 31,⁴ Macc. 23.⁵ Sanh. 15.⁶ Pes. 50.

remarkable. The Talmud caricatures seven kinds of Pharisees:¹ the Pharisee "like the inhabitants of Sychem," for filthy lucre; the Pharisee who walked slowly by way of looking grave; the Pharisee who knocked his head against the wall by way of shewing contrition; the Pharisee with the drooping head, as if he were not to see what was going on in the world; the Pharisee who sounded his own merits; the Pharisee from a desire for future rewards; and the Pharisee from fear of future punishments. Pharisees were popularly called "the whited ones," and described as acting like Zimri, but looking for the reward of Phinehas.

The possession of children being looked upon as one of the most desirable blessings, it was considered that matrimony without issue should be dissolved; but male descendants were the great object of desire. It was said that the Bible had employed different expressions (1 Kings xi. 21) to intimate the death of David and that of Joab, because the one left sons and the other not. Unmitigated indulgence towards children could only have evil consequences, as in the case of Ishmael, who, in his fifteenth year, had brought an idol into Abraham's house, so that Sarah had to insist on the removal of so dangerous a companion to Isaac. On the other hand, learning was to be encouraged, not only on its own account, but as conferring merit on those who had taken part in the upbringing of a sage. Neither trouble nor sacrifices were spared to attain the desired result. The duties of children towards their parents were even of greater importance than those towards God, provided obedience involved no sin; hence the fifth commandment was placed on the first table, which detailed the duties towards God. During the first year after a parent's death, the children were to pray, "Let all the punishments due to him come upon me." Afterwards the deceased should be spoken of as "of blessed memory." A child's prayers and learning might expiate for the sins of a departed parent. Even heathens received reward for this virtue. Any injury should be borne by children with patience and meekness,

¹ Sota, 22. The word used in the Talmud is "Pharisee."

and every respect shewn to parents. A Rabbi distinguished himself by serving every morning as footstool to his aged mother; another is mentioned as having agreed successively to her various extravagant demands.

Marriages were supposed to be arranged in heaven; and forty days before the birth of a child it was there announced to whom he or she was to be wedded. The marriage relation should be entered between eighteen and twenty; but these ties did not prevent the zealous student from prosecuting his studies. The policy of second marriages was considered doubtful, as nothing could make up for the loss of a first wife (Isaiah liv. 6). An unmarried person was without any *good* (Gen. ii. 18), without *joy* (Deut. xiv. 26), without *blessing* (Ezek. xliv. 30), without *protection* (Jer. xxxi. 23), without *peace* (Job v. 24), and could not properly be called a man (Gen. v. 2). In the choice of a wife regard should be paid to her family, as daughters generally imitated their fathers, and sons their maternal uncles. The most prized connexion was that with the family of a sage, or at least with that of a ruler of a synagogue, of the president of a poor's board, or of a teacher of youth. Connexion with the unlettered could only be allowed if the wealth so acquired were to be devoted to assist the sage in his studies; in general, the unlearned were "dead even while living" (Isaiah xxvi. 14). Mutual affection and modesty, specially on the part of the wife, were regarded as the chief means of obtaining male descendants. It was observed that God formed woman neither out of the head, lest she should become proud, nor out of the eye, lest she should lust, nor out of the ear, lest she should be curious, nor out of the mouth, lest she should be talkative, nor out of the heart, lest she should be jealous, nor out of the hand, lest she should be covetous, nor out of the foot, lest she should gad about, but out of the rib, which was always covered. Improper marriages—from lust, for beauty, or for money—were strongly condemned and described as leading to wretchedness, inasmuch as whether good or bad, woman is always so in the superlative degree. The husband is bound not only to honour

and love, but to treat his wife with courtesy: her tears call down Divine vengeance. In general, he is to spend less than his means warrant for food, up to his means for his own clothing, and beyond that limit for that of his wife and children. As woman is formed from a rib, and man from the ground, man seeks a wife and not *vice versa*; he only seeks what he has lost. This also explains why man is more easily reconciled than woman; he is made of soft earth and she of hard bone. A woman should abstain from all appearance of evil, immodesty or impropriety; she should always meet her husband cheerfully, cleanly, and kindly, receive his friends with politeness and affability, and be obedient and respectful. Hospitality was a duty much prized amongst the Hebrews. It was thought that Abraham had planted the grove of Mamre for the reception of pilgrims, and that while partaking of the refreshment set before them, he had taught them to call upon the Lord. Strangers were to be kindly received and provided with all necessities, both while under the roof of their host, and when departing. The performance of such duties should even take precedence of study, more especially if the persons so entertained were sages. Next to hospitality was charity—a virtue incumbent even on those who themselves were the recipients of it. For of all chastisement, poverty was the sorest with which God had visited Israel. The relief of the poor conferred rewards in this life and in that which is to come. Thus when Rabbi Akiba had spent four thousand pieces of gold belonging to Rabbi Triphon, which he had taken on pretence of buying a piece of ground for him, for behoof of the poor, he replied to his expostulations by reminding him of Psalm cxii. 9. In illustration of this duty, it was said that as the proprietor who let his fields to farmers expected at least part of the produce, so God also expected a return from us, whom He for a time had intrusted with what properly belonged to Him. The poor were to be promptly and considerately assisted. In giving charity, relatives were of course to be first remembered. Poor persons were to be assisted according to their former stations. Hence Hillel once provided

a horse for a pauper, while another Rabbi, under similar circumstances, sent fowls and old wine. To provide for orphans, and especially for orphan girls, was an important duty, which even in this life often met with deserved reward. Thus Eleazar of Bartotha, who was so liberal that the parochial officers used to avoid him, as he distributed beyond his means, had given away the whole of his daughter's portion, except one measure of wheat, when his barn was again miraculously filled. Great delicacy should characterize every act of charity, lest the feelings of the recipients be wounded. Money should be lent to those who would not accept of it otherwise, and even untruths might be resorted to, in order to overcome the scruples of the poor. Paupers were to receive food every morning and evening; money payments were to be made for a week in advance; and a demand for clothes was to be immediately attended to. However, claims for perpetual aliment were to be carefully investigated. A duty of greater importance than even the bestowal of charity, was that of the redemption of captive Jews.

To visit the sick was to imitate the Lord, who had Himself buried Moses. This duty was the more obligatory as each visitor was supposed to carry away a small part of the disease. Thus Akiba personally tended a neglected sage, and thereby contributed to his recovery. It was thought the Divine Majesty rested at the head of the sick-bed. A kindred duty was to bury the dead, to accompany them to their last resting-place, and, if they had not left male issue, to act as mourner. So sacred was this as to take precedence of all the other commandments. It should be performed in a manner respectful to the dead, the more so as the body retained consciousness, until it had become wholly putrid. Some added that the bodies of sages crumbled to dust only one hour before God again raised them. Death, which set free from the ills of life, was not to be dreaded as a calamity. Mourners were to be visited, and rich and poor were to supply them with meat and drink, and to empty with them "the cups of consolation." All the acquaintances of the deceased were to take part in the mourning, especially if he had been a sage, whose

loss was felt by his whole generation. In general, trials and the death of children were viewed as an expiation of past sins. Funeral orations were commonly delivered by some Rabbi, who dilated on the good qualities of the departed, who was supposed to listen to the oration, and to notice its effects upon the hearers. Examples of such addresses, or at least an abstract of them, are left us. The following may be taken as a specimen, probably, of the peroration:—"The palm-trees bend their tops for the departure of the godly; for he was like one of them. Let us mourn for him both by day and by night, even as his days and his nights were solely devoted to study." At the funeral of R. Chanan, who, on the day of his decease, became for the first time father, it was said, "The day of joy became one of sorrow. Delight and grief went hand in hand. Sighing came in the season of his joy, and, before the son was educated, he who should have instructed him has departed." It was thought that certain portents accompanied the death of eminent sages. Legend had it, that on one occasion the gates of a city shed tears; that on another blood flowed from the pipes of a city, or that the stars became visible in the day-time; that trees were rooted up, red-hot stones fell from heaven, the arches of a bridge suddenly gave way, acorns grew upon date-trees, the walls on opposite banks of a rivulet bent over and met, &c. In Galilee the mourners were wont to walk before the bier, announcing the good deeds of the departed; in Judea they followed it. A roll of the law was also carried before the bier, laid upon the coffin, or even buried with the dead—generally an old and useless roll—to indicate that the departed had obeyed its behests, and that study had been his chief occupation. As Joseph had fulfilled the last offices to the patriarch Jacob, his bones were allowed to accompany the ark into the Land of Promise. The Hagadists related that Joseph's coffin had been lowered by the superstitious Egyptians into the Nile, to insure its yearly overflow, but that at the command of Moses the coffin had risen of its own accord. While the regular funeral orations for sages were sometimes delivered in the synagogues, the lecture-rooms

remained closed for some days, and orations were delivered at the grave. To die without having become very emaciated, without weeping, or looking to heaven or into the room (not to the wall), on a Friday (not Saturday), immediately after the day of atonement (not before it), were all deemed favourable indications. After death every person was supposed to be welcomed by three divisions of angels. It was stated that Solomon had built two gates in the Temple, one for newly-married persons, the other for mourners, so as to enable all Israel either to congratulate or to console their brethren. Mourners were to be comforted, not by pointing out the *necessity* of submitting, but by referring to the fact, that all the Lord's dealings were for good, and that too much sorrow could only entail upon the mourner other trials. Mourners were not to be first accosted by their visitors, who were to sit in silence, from time to time making such Hagadic applications of Scripture as seemed suitable.

The strictness of justice was as much as possible to be tempered with mercy. Wrong decisions would certainly be avenged by the righteous Judge. Solomon had six steps to his throne, and, as he ascended them, a herald successively proclaimed, "Turn not aside the right,"—"respect not the person of any,"—"take no bribe,"—"plant no grove,"—"rear no idolatrous pillar,"—"sacrifice not that which has any blemish." The Divine majesty was thought to rest upon just judges. Obedience to the law was conducive to longevity, and procured eternal happiness. Thus R. Nechunjah ben Hakanah mentioned, as the ground of his longevity, that he had never accepted any honour which entailed humiliation upon another; that he had never gone to sleep without having been reconciled to his opponent; that he had always been liberal; and that he had never accepted of a bribe.

The Thora, or Divine law, had existed before creation, and had served as the plan and model upon which God had framed His world. Seven things (the last five only ideally) existed before the world,—the Thora, the Throne of God, penitence, paradise, hell, the Temple, and the name of the Messiah. By

the exercise of his free will, man may attain to purity and perfection even on earth. As the world was only created for the sake of the Thora, it was of course the most important object, and Israel, as its recipients, the noblest and most favoured of nations. However, the study of the Mishna was of greater merit than that of the Thora, and again that of the Talmud more important than that of the Mishna. The most suitable time for study was the night, specially in its last watch. It was thought that David, whose harp was placed against his bed towards the north, so that the north wind at midnight might wake its sounds, rose at that time, and having first played sweet melodies, betook himself to the study of the Thora, and that his subjects followed his example. A reward was promised to those wives who encouraged their husbands in such occupations. For the sake of study, it was duty even to leave one's family, to expose one's self to privations, difficulties, and even disease, for all which the Lord would compensate in the world to come. In order to remember what had been studied, it was deemed necessary not only to commit to memory, but frequently to repeat. Worldly callings were, however, not to be neglected, lest students should be cast upon the charity of others, and if only all the spare time was dedicated to the law, it was considered as if the *whole time* had been set apart for that purpose. A person might, indeed, by worldly motives, be induced to *enter* on sacred studies, but if a *sage* used his acquirements "as a crown wherewith to shine, or as a spade wherewith to dig," he not only lost his reward in the world to come, but injured his happiness on earth. Accordingly, when on one occasion the disclosure of his name had saved Rabbi Triphon from imminent death, he mourned that he had made use of his reputation for such a purpose. The study of the law was of greater importance than the preservation of a man, than the building of the Temple, than the honouring of parents, and conferred greater honour than even the mitre of the high-priest. There were three crowns, that of study, that of the priesthood, and that of worldly dominion, of which the first was the most glorious. It was duty to converse about

theological subjects, and disputation was of vital importance as leading to thorough investigation. Superstitious views were entertained about the influence of outward things upon the mind. Thus, that to eat of that which mice had touched, or of the heart of an ox, or too many olives; to drink of that which had been left from the ablution of the hands; or to wash the feet with the one foot crossing the other; or to place the garments under the head at night, was thought to impair the memory. On the other hand, to eat wheaten bread, soft-boiled eggs without salt, to drink pure oil, well-spiced wine, water left from that which had been destined for kneading dough; or to dip one's finger first in water, then in salt, tended to strengthen the memory, &c. As occupation with theological subjects procured freedom from disease, so the neglect or forgetting of what had been acquired involved various evil consequences. Thus, because Joshua had once intermitted his nightly instructions to the children of Israel, before Jericho was invested, he died childless. Hence, also, the merit of training pupils, and the corresponding sin of shutting up knowledge. Doctrines above the range of reason were to be humbly and believingly received as uttered by the voice of *God*, although that voice was not perceptible by the common channels of information. As the Thora was eternal as the tree of life, so Israel also were never to be destroyed, and their days to be like those of the tree of life. Various illustrations of the value of learning were given. It could even deliver from the grasp of the angel of death. When David knew that his last day had come, he continued studying without interruption. At last the angel of death succeeded in diverting his attention by a rustling amongst the trees of the garden, and then seized the happy moment to remove the pious sage. Prayer was not of such importance as study, as the former was an application for things temporal, while the latter was directed towards things eternal. The unlettered, who, by the produce of their labour, assisted the sages, would reap an eternal reward. Thus, the tribe of Issachar had assisted that of Zabulon, the latter having been wholly engaged with study.

Every honour was to be shown to sages. They were to be chosen for the highest congregational posts—their cause was to be first heard in court—they were free from parochial burdens, and had a claim upon the services of their fellow-citizens. Study delivered also from future punishments, and, if a sage could not enter into joy, he was at least in no danger of the pangs of hell. Thus, when Acher died, the ministering angels declared him, on account of his learning, free from punishment. In the other world the pious—and an ignorant person could not be pious—had mansions assigned to them varying with the amount of their merit. God would crown them with refulgent crowns, and prepare for them a splendid feast. “The spirit returning to Him who has given it,” should return pure and without spot to mingle again with the eternal source from which it had at first issued. Looking upon this life as a preparation for the future, Rabbi Jochanan ben Saccai compared it to the preparation for a royal banquet. The wise made haste and waited at the entrance of the palace for the summons to appear, while fools, deeming the time far off, delayed and continued at their usual avocations. Suddenly the summons would be heard, when those who were dressed for the feast would sit down, while the rest would have to look on, a prey to hunger and want. All this, however, only referred to Messianic times, beyond which no prophet’s eye had ever pierced. Some pious persons obtained even in this world a glimpse of the eternal rewards. Thus, it had been ascertained that Rabbi Chija, whose peculiar merit lay in having improved the education of the young, stood highest in heaven, and was so well acquainted with it, that, unlike its other inhabitants, he was able to find his way without the guidance of angels. His glory was so great that, when a beholder, despite the warning of Elijah, looked at him, he lost his sight, which, at the intercession of Chija, was again granted him during the daytime, to enable him to continue his studies. Another of the sages had prevailed on Eleazar, Abraham’s servant, to announce his visit to the patriarch, who reposed in the lap of Sarah. It was, however, found impossible to bear a sight of Adam, but his

heels were declared to have resembled two suns. All the beauty of earth combined appeared like the face of an ape, when compared with that of Sarah. The same comparison applied to the respective beauty of Sarah and of Eve, and again to that of Eve and Adam. Sometimes the spirits of the departed acquired knowledge of what was to befall men, and information of it might be gathered by overhearing their conversations, or by direct communications from them.

The Lord reserved to Himself three wondrous works:—To open the womb of the barren, to send the latter rain, and to raise the dead. Disbelief in the latter doctrine excluded from all share in future bliss. The arguments in favour of a resurrection were either derived from Scripture, as from passages in which an action of the departed is in the original mentioned in the future, and not in the past tense, as, “Then *shall* Moses and the children of Israel sing,” &c.; or from direct statements of the prophets. But the argument upon which most reliance was placed, and which, in the mouth of Rabbi Gamaliel, was supposed to have silenced the Sadducees, was from such unfulfilled promises as Exod. vi. 4, &c., wherein the Lord had promised to give the patriarchs (*to them*) the land of Canaan—a line of argument, it will be observed, which bears some resemblance to that adopted by our Lord Himself. It was also argued by analogy, that if the Lord quickened the seed of corn buried in the ground, He would in due time deal similarly with His people. An attempt was likewise made to show the necessity of a resurrection. It was held that men would rise with the same infirmities and diseases to which they had been subject on earth, which, however, the hand of the Lord would immediately remove. In proof, Deut. xxxii. 39 was quoted. On the same principle of essential identity in the risen saints, it was even thought that the departed would reappear in the same dress which they had worn on earth.

As God had created the world only in order to be known and revered, it was inferred that the fear of the Lord was the fundamental requirement. Without this fear, even a sage was

only like a person who had got the keys of all the apartments in a house, but not that of the house itself. Such were in danger of double destruction. It was not difficult to attain, to preserve, and to grow in the fear of the Lord, as every man's choice was completely within his option. A difference was also made between the fear and the love of the Lord, the former being apparently viewed as the awe which a contemplation of God inspired; the latter as a free affection, to which much greater merit attached.

In the prosecution of studies a certain amount of caution was requisite. Only very few, and these under the guidance of a pious and experienced teacher, were to be initiated in the mysteries of the Kabbalah; and even then every such student was to be at least forty years of age. The same age was requisite to warrant an attempt at settling questions concerning the ritual. The study of logic was wholly interdicted to youth. Repentance removed guilt, and converted sins committed willingly into "sins of ignorance." It even elevated the penitent to a higher position than that occupied by continued piety. Reuben returned to look for Joseph in the pit into which his brethren had cast him, after he had spent the interval at home in the exercise of repentance, having fasted in sackcloth and ashes; hence the prophet Hosea had sprung from the tribe of Reuben. In the same sense, the passage in Job xxxiii. 23, 24 was accommodated to penitence; and it was argued, that the intercession of *one* angel, thus propitiated, would silence the accusations of a thousand adversaries. Confession was not deemed essential to repentance. To pardon injuries procured the pardon of sins, because it indicated a humble mind; hence efforts, some say three times, should be made to bring about a reconciliation with our enemies. If the person offended had departed this life, a confession of the wrong should be made at his grave in the presence of two persons. In illustration of the value of self-humiliation, Ahab's delayed punishment was mentioned, and it was said that Cain "went out from the presence of the Lord" with a joyful heart, the half of his punishment having been remitted upon

making a full confession of his crime. Likewise Pharaoh, when almost perishing in the Red Sea, had made the profession (Exod. xv. 11), "Who is like unto thee, O Lord, among the gods?" and was hence preserved and sent to Nineveh, where he became king, in confirmation of Exod. ix. 16, "For this cause have I raised thee up, for to shew in thee my power; and that my name may be declared throughout all the earth." Hence when Jonah arrived in that city, Pharaoh and the inhabitants of Nineveh were ready to humble themselves before the Lord.

Fasting was an essential element in humiliation; but in course of time, as the anti-pharisaical tendency, to which we have alluded, was developed, it became more rare, until at last it was almost wholly relegated amongst the exercises prescribed to penitent sinners, while sages were warned against its frequent practice. It was, however, in use as a substitute for certain sacrifices, as an expiation for sins, and as "a feast of sadness" on the anniversary of national calamities. When any public calamity, as famine or pestilence, threatened the land, an extraordinary fast was proclaimed. On such occasions the roll of the law was carried to the street and ashes put upon it, the head of the Synagogue and all the sages fasted in sackcloth and ashes, whilst one of their number, in an oration suited to the occasion, called to repentance. Then the Nasi made special intercession. If his prayer was not immediately heard, the chief of the Synagogue either gave way to outbursts of grief, or abdicated, as henceforth unworthy of the sacred office. To absent one's self from such solemnities involved exclusion from the consolations of Israel. As penitence produced such mighty effects, and the door to it was open to all, none need despair. It was even suggested that Israel had made the golden calf, and that David had sinned with Bathsheba merely in order to show that return to God was open to every sinner.

Some Rabbins held that the Lord judged men every day and every hour; but the general opinion was that on the feast of the Passover (the 15th of Nisan) the Lord settled about the harvest for the ensuing year; on the feast of Pentecost, about the pro-

duce of fruit; on new year's day (the 1st of Tishri), about the fate of men; and on the feast of tabernacles, about the quantity of rain during the year. The judgment of the new year's day commenced immediately after the Jewish Sanhedrim had settled that the new moon of Tishri had actually appeared. Then the fate of Israel was first sealed, afterwards that of the other nations. The 1st of Tishri was otherwise a memorable day. On it Adam had been created; on the same day he had sinned and was driven out of paradise; Abraham and Jacob were born and died on that day, having thus lived out their full years; Sarah, Rachel, and Hannah had been visited on that day; and on it Joseph and the children of Israel were respectively delivered from their trials in Egypt. In the month of Nisan, Isaac had been born, and Israel led out of Egypt; the future deliverance of the world was to take place in the same month. To return, on the 1st of Tishri, three books were opened in heaven, in which respectively the deeds of perfect saints, of perfect sinners, and doubtful cases, were chronicled. Immediate judgment was then passed for the year on the two first-named classes, while the final sentence of the third was delayed till the day of atonement. During that interval, penance and penitence might be of special avail. Hence the ten days between new year's day and the day of atonement should be well improved. On the day preceding the latter solemnity, the Hebrews were to bathe, in order to appear even outwardly clean in the presence of the Lord. The day of atonement, which was the anniversary of Abraham's circumcision, and of the second gift of the tables of the law, was the most solemn in the year. Israel stood then sinless before the Lord, like the angels in heaven. Sufferings were sent partly to remind man of his sins, partly to invite to repentance, and to expiate guilt. They were also meant to try the godly. Under all circumstances they should be meekly borne. Some attributed differences of lot to the influence of the stars under which persons were born. Rabbi Jehuda suffered from illness for twelve years because he refused protection to a calf which had sought it at his feet. For a corresponding act

of kindness, he was afterwards restored. It was remarked that during the whole time of Rabbi Eleazar's sufferings, every person had attained a good old age, and that the rain had never been withheld during Jehuda's illness: such was the value of the sufferings of the pious sages, for whose sake alone God had created the world. The humiliation of pious Hezekiah, and of Israel, had led to the destruction of the vast host of Sennacherib, which had marched ten days' journey in one day, in order to surprise Jerusalem. It was laid low in one night; it is variously asserted by the hand of the Lord, by His finger, by the sword, or by the breath of Gabriel; by terror occasioned on hearing the clapping of his hands, or the song of the living creatures in heaven. The Hagadists related curious stories about this deliverance, and about Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar. It was asserted that of all the host only five escaped,—Nebuzar-Adan, Nebuchadnezzar, and Sennacherib with his two sons. In order to disguise himself, and so to escape the vengeance of the princes whose relatives had fallen, Sennacherib cut off his hair and beard. But when on the water a terrible storm overtook the party: the sight of a floating board then reminded Sennacherib of the Ark of Noah, on whose God he now called, vowing, if delivered, to sacrifice one of his sons. The lad overheard his father, and accordingly resolved on the death of his parent (2 Kings xix. 37). Nebuchadnezzar obtained the throne for having walked four steps for the glory of the God of Israel. When godless Ahaz died, the day was shortened by ten hours to prevent any mourning for him, while ten hours had been added to the day of Hezekiah's restoration to health. Wondering at this marvellous prolongation of a day, King Merodach-Baladan, who had been informed of its occasion, sent to congratulate Hezekiah in a letter which commenced,—“Peace to King Hezekiah, peace to the city of Jerusalem, and peace to the great God,” &c. The king's secretary, Nebuchadnezzar, had been absent when the letter was written and despatched, but afterwards successfully remonstrated with his master because the name of the Lord had not been put foremost. Nebuchadnezzar

was sent to bring back the letter, but he had only gone four steps when the messenger, who had been stopped by Gabriel, returned. It was also said that when Nebuzar-Adan entered the temple, he saw the blood of the murdered prophet Zacharias continually boiling. To propitiate the manes of the departed, he successively killed the members of the Sanhedrim, and the noblest Jews. But by and by he became conscious of the magnitude of his own guilt, who had slaughtered so many Jews, and immediately became a proselyte. While Naaman the Syrian only received the faith but did not adopt the practices of Judaism, Nebuzar-Adan became a proselyte of righteousness. Even some of the posterity of wicked Haman afterwards became distinguished sages, and Shemaja and Abtalion descended from Sennacherib. Had not the ministering angels expostulated, some of Nebuchadnezzar's posterity would have become ornaments of the religion which their ancestor sought to destroy. Wherever Israel's lot was cast, if they were only faithful to their God they would soon become the masters of their masters, while, on the other hand, their sin would quickly find them out. Thus, when the spies sent by Moses into the land on the 29th of Sivan, returned after forty days' absence on the 8th of Ab with their false report, Israel wept all night to the 9th of Ab; accordingly that day became ever afterwards a fatal day in their history. If the sins which led to the destruction of the first Temple were fearful, they could at least be chronicled. Hence the first captivity was limited to seventy years, but as the sins which induced the ruin of the second Temple are not mentioned, so Israel's captivity also is indefinite. However, the Lord, it was thought, had been very reluctant to destroy the Temple, and comforted the patriarch Abraham, who interceded for his children, by the promise (Jer. xi. 16), that Israel was to be "a green olive tree, fair and of goodly fruit." From Isaiah xxxiii. 7, it was inferred that even the angels wept over the desolation of the sanctuary, and from Isaiah xlii. 14, that the Lord himself had ever since mourned, and only engaged in teaching children who had died in infancy (Isaiah xxviii. 9). But dark as any

former period may have been to Israel, the darkest was yet to come in the days which are to precede the advent of the Messiah. Then there would be ■ famine of the word; for seven successive years, wretchedness would follow wretchedness, until at last truth and righteousness would perish from the earth; the daughter would rise against her mother, the son against his father, and infidelity would occupy the thrones of the world and spread amongst its nations. It was thought that Rome would fall and be raised, then fall again and be raised a second time, only to fall a third time to rise no more. Then would Messiah come. But in those days the very coffins in Palestine would be dug up to serve for mangers to the horses of the Persian army, and the palm-trees would not be sufficient for posts to the horses of the Medes. The period of Messiah's coming may be hastened by Israel's return unto the Lord, according to the Scripture statement, "To-day, if ye will hear my voice." After the troubles of the latter day God will recall His banished; earth will be renovated, the wicked converted, and both the lion (Judah) and the wolf and the bear (the Gentiles) shall eat straw, *i.e.*, only lawful meat; war will cease, and all will seek the Lord. On the morning of the day of Israel's deliverance, God will prepare a great feast for all the pious departed, and after it the cup will be offered to Abraham to pronounce over it the customary blessing. But Abraham will return it, as having begotten wicked Ishmael, so will Isaac on account of Esau, Jacob on account of his marriage with two sisters, Moses on account of his sin, and Joshua as not having left a male descendant; but David will take it and say, "I will take the cup of salvation," &c. Then he and all his house, and all the godly will be raised, and "A rod shall come forth out of the stem of Jesse," &c. But in vain would Judah call upon the patriarchs to intercede for them, for Abraham will be ignorant of them, and Israel will not acknowledge them, but the Lord himself will then be their Father and Redeemer (Isaiah lxiii. 16).

A number of vague superstitions, more or less connected with

the Kabbalah, were afloat amongst the people. Thus the number two was under the special rule of Asmadi the prince of spirits, and consequently highly dangerous. To drink two or four cups, to eat two eggs, &c., was deemed unlucky. Some persons could exercise supernatural powers, which were to be again counteracted by Kabbalistic formulas. It was deemed unlucky to pass between dogs, between date-trees, pigs, serpents, and women, or to eat under the shadow of a tree, especially of a date-tree. Evil spirits dwelt amongst trees while covered with blossoms, but as these spirits were blind, it was comparatively easy to eschew them. Large trees were the dwelling-places of certain spirits called "Reshef." From the month of January to that of April, a spirit who resided amongst creeping ivy, and frequented at evening lonely dwellings, was wont to raise a dangerous whirlwind. To comb one's hair without having first dried it, to drink the drops from a bucket, and to put on shoes without having properly dried the feet; to cut the nails or the hair, or to be bled without washing after it, were supposed dangerous. However, evil spirits which did mischief might be cited before the Jewish tribunals, and forced to give compensation. It was thought dangerous to go into an empty lecture-room, because the angel of death kept his armoury there.

In outward demeanour the sages were to be distinguished from the common people. The rules in this respect were not unlike those for Jesuits. They were neither to go forth perfumed, nor with gaudy shoes, nor alone at night; they were not to talk with women on the street, nor to appear late in a lecture-room, nor to hold intercourse with ignorant people. They were to be cleanly and neatly attired, and to walk slowly and modestly, avoiding, however, the mock pietism which had at one time constituted the distinguishing mark of spiritual superiority. A sage was allowed full discretion when to speak the truth and when to tell a lie. He was in every respect to conduct himself in a manner becoming his dignity, and to be treated by others accordingly.

To yield to passion, or to indulge in anger, deprived a sage of

his wisdom (as in the cases of Moses and Elisha), and involved grievous punishments. It was on this ground that David's elder brother Eliab, who had been angry with David, was deprived of the throne, which otherwise he and not David would have occupied. For the sake of peace, Gentile paupers were to be allowed to share with the Jews in the charities of the harvest season; and in order to promote mutual good-will, it was right to inform the recipient of a gift of the name of the donor. Examples of the exercise of charity are very numerous among the Jewish sages. Another virtue of great merit was humility, which conciliated the favour of God and men. However, a little pride was not only allowable, but even necessary in a Rabbi.

In the full and faithful picture of Jewish life which we have attempted to present, amidst much punctiliousness and externality, many things truly good, noble, and great will have been observed. In truth, the spirit of the Old Testament had pervaded the nation, and cast Jewish social life in its mould. What was spiritual in that economy—what referred to things unseen and eternal, had become bedimmed. But what was external and all the relations between man and man were preserved. Only that here also the externality of Rabbinism confined the life-blood till it almost stood still. The impulse of the heart of Judaism was feeble—its arteries had almost become ossified. The blood improperly propelled, returned sluggishly through the social system to its fountain-head. Still it circulated. What a contrast is that presented by the social state and the virtues of the Hebrew race, and the dissoluteness and moral disorganization of all other nations at the time.

It will also have been noticed that often the views and even the words of the Rabbins closely approach those enunciated in the pages of the New Testament. The reverent and careful student of history will not hastily infer from this that either party had borrowed from the other. He will rather conclude that both had drawn from the same source, and gathered up the gems of divine truth with which the Jewish commonwealth was,

even in its most degenerate times, so richly bestudded. Only we must be allowed to add that the one polished and presented them in their proper setting as a crown of glory, while the others buried them amidst a mass of rubbish, from which only the search of the antiquarian, or the restlessness of spiritual traffic in merit, could rescue them.

CHAPTER X.

PROGRESS OF ARTS AND SCIENCES AMONG THE HEBREWS.

THE erroneous religious tendency which, as we have seen, gave to Jewish social life its peculiar aspect, operated also in the way both of encouragement and of discouragement on the mental efforts of the nation. With the exception of such foreign elements as their contact with Babylon and Egypt gradually introduced and naturalized in Judea, art and science amongst the Hebrews were entirely of native origin and growth. The poets and thinkers of antiquity were to the synagogue only so many godless heathens, whose speculations, if not absolutely profane and polluting, were infinitely inferior to the attainments of the Rabbins. We have, therefore, in the arts and sciences of the Jews, the sole products of native genius, taking its direction in accordance with the natural bent and the habits of Jewish thinking. A poetry and literature so original would possess its peculiar interest as affording an insight into the national character, even irrespective of the importance which attaches to it, in connexion with a people whose social life the Bible, although in the isolation of its letter from its spirit, had moulded.

Unfortunately our materials are here more scanty than could have been wished. In the pages of the Talmud we can only look for incidental notices which require to be connected, arranged, and interpreted. Yet sufficient may be gathered to form a tolerably correct notion of the intellectual life of the period over which our record extends.

It is remarkable that Palestine has never produced any distinguished painters or sculptors. Whether the genius of the Old Testament was averse to the development of arts, which might so readily be engaged in the service of idolatry or of lust, or whe-

ther the prejudices of the Rabbins operated against all attempts at representation, certain it is, that not only at that period, but even to our own days, painting and sculpture have not been cultivated amongst the Jews. The dwellings of the rich were indeed decorated with works of art,¹ but their introduction was one of those foreign innovations which indicated an assimilation with heathen manners and modes of thinking. It was otherwise with those arts which more especially are the exponents of thought and feeling. Poetry and music have always been favourite engagements with Israel, and from the period of biblical times to our own days, Jews have distinguished themselves by a depth and originality peculiarly their own, and peculiarly expressive of their national mental characteristics. Even when the dry logic and the theological wrangling of the schools seemed to have absorbed the intellectual efforts of the nation, the poetic sentiments found an utterance in their songs of praise, in their prayers, and in the unfettered compositions of the Hagadists.

The poetry of popular common sense is embodied in the peculiar proverbs current in a country. Every nation has more or less of these, indicating both the aspects of common life and the popular mode of viewing them. Sometimes these proverbs are more scientifically elaborated into similes, collections, sententious sayings or maxims, parallels, and fables. The latter form the point of transition into more regular poetry. An abstraction from common life, clad in poetic and concise language—such is the proverb. Of these the Hebrews, who united dry humour, the faculty of viewing and presenting things as they are, with readiness of expression, possessed a large number.² Some of them are similar to Arabic proverbs, others occur in the New Testament. We mention a few on which the reader may make his own comments:—"Sell your goods as long as the dust is on your feet." "People say to a wasp: we neither want your honey nor your sting." "Have you poured out water, add to

¹ Joseph. *Antiq.* xv. 2. 6; xix. 9. 1.

² Dukes (Rabbin. Blumenlese) collects 665, but does not arrange them in any scientific manner.

it meal." "All kinds of wood give no peculiar sound in burning, except thorns, which in crackling say: we also are wood." "Even if a peasant becomes a king he will carry the basket on his back." "A handful does not satisfy a lion, and a hole cannot be filled up with the earth dug out of it." "The fox does not die in his lair." "If you have not made preparation on the eve of the Sabbath, on what will you dine during the Sabbath?" "Physician heal thyself." "A cure without fee is generally worth no fee." "A little coin in an empty bottle makes a great noise." "Do not throw a stone into the well from which you have drunk." "With the measure with which a man metes shall others mete to him." "In three ways you may learn to know a man, at the cup, in money-transactions, and when he is angry." "Let the lord of the vineyard come and root up his thorns." "Every one who humbleth himself is exalted by God, and he that exalteth himself is humbled." "To make an elephant go through the eye of a needle."

Of the regular collections of proverbs and sententious sayings, we mention the work of Jesus ben Sirach, a treatise in the Mishna, entitled: "The Sayings of the Fathers," and the sayings of Rabbi Nathan. The "Wisdom of Jesus ben Sirach" (about 190 B.C.) is a collection of proverbial sayings, originally written in Hebrew, but soon translated into Aramean, and so largely interpolated that Jewish authorities distinguished between the good and the worthless in the Babylonian collection. In its Greek translation (made by the grandson of Ben Sirach) the work is still extant—at least in part—amongst the Old Testament Apocrypha. Probably one of the most interesting passages in it, is the hymn sung at the close of the day of atonement, after the high-priest's blessing had been pronounced (chap. l. 22-25).

"Now, therefore, bless ye the God of all,
Who alone doeth wondrous works everywhere;
Who exalteth our days from the womb,
And dealeth with us according to His mercy.
He grant us joyfulness of heart,
And that peace may be in Israel in our days for ever!
That He would confirm His mercy to us,
And deliver us in His own time."

From their antiquity and contents, the proverbs of Ben Sirach are amongst the most precious relics handed down to us. The Talmud contains frequent quotations from them, which do not generally agree exactly with those in our Greek version;¹ unaccountably the use of the work itself however was interdicted, perhaps as not sufficiently breathing the spirit of Talmudism. The "alphabet of Ben Sirach" is a small production of much less interest, and of a later date.

Besides the proverb in the stricter sense, the *Mashal*, or proverbial poetry, included all sententious sayings, parables, and fables. If the symbol was given without the morale, it was a "Chidda," or riddle; if the morale only, it was a maxim; if introduced or followed by an imaginary narrative, it was either a fable or a Hagadic tale. The Talmudists tried to connect their Meshalim with scriptural expressions or texts. Sometimes a definite number of subjects were grouped under a common attribute. "Three persons the Lord—blessed be His name!—loves:—him who gives not place to anger, who avoids intoxication, and who does not persist in his own will." "Three persons He hates:—him who utters one thing with his mouth, and another in his heart; him who, being able to do so, forbears to testify in favour of his neighbour; and him who, perceiving something improper in his friend, is the only one to bear testimony of it." "Three things are bad in abundance, but good in moderation:—leaven, salt, and obstinacy." At other times the sentences are more antithetic, as—

"The more flesh, the more worms;
The more riches, the more care;
The more wives, the more witchcraft," &c.

In the Meshalim of Rabbi Nathan and of some others, by a series of comparative gradations, a climax was ultimately reached, as—"It is beautiful that one be learned, it is doubly beautiful if he

¹ Comp. Zunz Gottesd. Vortr., p. 102, &c.; Delitzsch Gesch. d. jud. Poesie, *passim*, and Duke's Rabbin. Blumenlese. In Appendix II. we have given a translation of all the proverbs of Ben Sirach which occur in Talmudical writings.

be learned and of good descent, but if of good descent and unlearned, let the fire devour him." Sometimes the point of the Mashal lay in punning upon the words, or in antithetic lines in rhymes, as—

TO A SKULL FLOATING ON THE WATER

" Because thou madest float,¹
They made thee float—
In turn who made thee float
Shall also float. "

OR,—

" Each one who seeks a name
Shall only lose his fame;
Who adds not to his lore
Shall lose it more and more;
Each one deserves to perish
Who study does not cherish;
That man shall surely fade
Who with his crown² does trade."

It has already been indicated that both proverbs and maxims were frequently introduced by the sages into their lectures by way of illustration, and to enliven the monotony of logical abstractions. Specially telling were the parables and fables, which Hagadists intertwined with their comments. Thus it was said, that when Noah came to plant his vineyard, Satan joined him, and asked, "What are you planting?" He replied, "A vineyard." "For what purpose?" rejoined Satan. "Its fruits," answered the Patriarch, "are sweet whether used fresh or dried, and wine is made from them which rejoices the heart" (Psalm civ. 15). "Then shall we two work at it together," observed the enemy. Noah consented, but the wily deceiver now brought a lamb, a lion, a pig, and a monkey, successively killed them, and caused the vineyard to be saturated with their blood. And now before a man commences to drink, he is simple like a lamb; when he has drunk in measure, he becomes like a lion, and says, "Who is like me in all the world?" if he continues to drink, he becomes like a pig, wallowing in all manner of filth; and ultimately like an ape, jumping about, garrulous, full of

¹ Others render it "drown."

² The crown of learning or of merit.

uncleanness, and not knowing what he does. We can only select one or two of the smaller fables by way of illustration.¹ "A cock and an owl awaited the dawn in company. Said the cock, 'The light is of use to me, but what can it profit thee?'" "The tail of the serpent had reproved the head because it always took precedence. 'Let me have it for once,' demanded the tail. The wish was no sooner uttered than granted. But alas! the new guide successively precipitated the serpent into the water, into the fire, and into thorns. Whence all these accidents, but because the head took its direction from the tail? So as long as the small take their direction from the great, God grants them their desires; whenever this process is reversed, they fall backwards." "When the iron was created, the trees all trembled. 'Why tremble?' asked the iron, 'let no wood from you join itself to me, and none of you will suffer any damage.'" Rabbi Meir was peculiarly distinguished for his apt fables. As amongst the cotemporary theologians were two Indian proselytes, his three hundred fables about the fox may have been somewhat akin to similar Indian compositions. The proverbs of Eleazar and of Rabbi bar Mare, the stories of Rabbi bar-bar Chana, and the poems of Azaria, were also renowned. In the Meshalic class of compositions, we may also rank some of the Old Testament Apocrypha, and a work entitled "The Book of Secrets," or "of the Pious," apparently containing the sayings of R. Isa ben Jehuda, of which only a few fragments are preserved. The "Aboth," of Rabbi Nathan, arranged chiefly in a numerical manner, is a work in three sections, of which the first (*Derech Erez*) contains rules for ordinary conduct; the second (*Derech Erez Suta*), ethics for sages; and the third (*Perek ha-Shalom*), a laudation of peace.

Passing from the didactic to lyrical poetry, the *Shir*, or song, claims our special attention. It will scarcely be expected that the profane or secular song should have been much attended to amongst the Hebrews. On festive occasions, no doubt, the song

¹ We have necessarily left out specimens of longer fables, some of which Herder has beautifully rendered into German.

formed part of the entertainment; but if the common Shir was less known amongst the Hebrews, the sacred song or hymn had, under the guidance of Scriptural example, early attained a place of eminence. Not only the hymn of praise, but many portions of the regular prayers of the Synagogue breathe the spirit of the purest, truest, and most elevated poetry. The songs of praise in general use in the Synagogue were those poetic portions of Scripture which have always formed the groundwork of this exercise to the Church. But the Hebrew festivals were festivals in the truest sense. Not confined to certain ceremonies in the Temple or Synagogue, the day or week was spent in festive enjoyment and festive communication with God and Israel. Each individual or family confined not its religious enjoyments to the hours of worship, or even to the narrow circle of the family. It was enlarged so as to embrace all who shared the same hopes, and unmingled joy characterized the intercourse. On occasions like these the hymn found its proper place, and few as these relics of Temple times are, they sufficiently indicate the relation to which we have referred. We will not expect them to breathe a purely devotional spirit. They are rather the social songs of a happy brotherhood congregated on festive occasions. One of these hymns, at the close of the Day of Atonement, we have already quoted. Similar fragments—and we consider them only as such—of hymns for other occasions have been preserved in connexion with the other feasts.

One of the happiest seasons was the Feast of Tabernacles, which occurred five days after the Day of Atonement, and lasted uninterruptedly for a full week, and was followed by the "Sabbath of the joy of the law," on which the annual prelection of Scripture was completed. On this occasion, which equally commemorated Israel's stay in the wilderness, and the goodness of the Lord in granting year by year of the fruits of the land, which had newly been ingathered, the people lived in booths constructed generally of branches of fruit-trees, from many of which their rich clusters still depended. The worshippers, lately purified from sin, kept this as a feast of thanksgiving. Arrayed

in festive garments, carrying in one hand a citron,¹ and in the other the "lulav," or palm-branch, intertwined with willows and myrtle, the worshippers appeared daily in the Temple. Every morning, after the customary sacrifice, a priest drew from the pool of Siloam water into a golden pitcher, capable of containing three logs. Amidst the sound of trumpets he entered the Temple through the water-gate, and poured it on the altar of burnt-offering. On the second, the sixth, and the seventh day, "that great day of the feast," (John vii. 37), wine was also poured,² which, through a separate vase, flowed into a receptacle under the altar, destined to receive drink-offerings. Louder than the sound of the Levites' instruments was the voice of praise, or the call for mercy and deliverance. In the evening a religious feast was celebrated. After the evening sacrifice, announced by the customary nine blasts from the trumpets of the Levites, the people congregated in the court of the women, the men below, the women upon balconies all around. Immense golden candelabra, each with four branches, gave their light; and on four ladders, one beside each branch to feed the flame, youthful priests were placed. The glare of that light shed its brightness over the city beneath, and every court in Jerusalem was lit up by the flame in the Temple. The pious and chief (perhaps the Essenes and Pharisees) danced before the people, and swung and threw up the torches in their hands. The music of the harp, of the cymbal, and of the psaltery, of flutes and of trumpets, resounded from the courts of the Sanctuary. On the fifteen steps which led to the court of the women, stood Levites, who, with their instruments, accompanied those hymns, of which the following is a fragment:—

THE PIOUS AND THE MEN OF RENOWN.

"O happy youth, devoted sage.

Who will not put to shame our age!"

¹ In Kitto's Cyclopædia of Bibl. Lit., Art. "Feast of Tabernacles," the description is not very satisfactory. The author professes to criticise Winer, but has almost entirely copied his article in the "Real-Wörterbuch."

² Even Winer *in locum* is not quite accurate on this subject.

THE PENITENTS.

" O happy, also, is our age,
Which now atones for youth, not sage !"

BOTH IN CHOIR.

" O happy he on whom no guilt does rest,
And he who sinn'd with pardon shall be blest."

At the upper gate which led from the court of the people to that of the women, stood two priests with trumpets. As soon as the crowing of the cock announced the approach of dawn, with blast of trumpets they descended into the court and passed on to the eastern gate, when, facing round toward the Temple, they sang—

" Our fathers here establish'd by Thy grace,
Had turn'd their back upon Thy holy place,
And to the rising sun they set their face ;
But we will turn to Thee, Jehovah God,
Our eyes are set on Thee, Jehovah God."

Another happy day was the 15th of Ab, when the collection of wood, required in the sanctuary, was finished. Then¹ the maidens all went forth arrayed in white garments, specially lent them, that so rich and poor might be on an equality, into the vineyards round Jerusalem, where they danced and sung. The following fragment of a song has been preserved :²—

" Around in circle gay the Hebrew maidens see,
From them the happy youths their partners choose.
Remember beauty soon its charms must lose,
And seek to win a maid of fair degree.

When fading grace and beauty low are laid,
Yet her who fears the Lord shall praise await,
God blessed her handiwork, and, in the gate,
' Her works have followed her,' it shall be said."

Such are some of the interesting relics of temple-days and temple-usages which have been preserved. It is scarcely necessary to state that as in Scripture, so in early Jewish poetry, neither definite and continued metre, nor regular and premeditated rhyme must

¹ Taan. iv. 8.

² We give the fragment as preserved in the Mishna, in preference to the variations introduced in the Gemara.

be sought. As it was composed for song, a certain metre no doubt must have been observed, but it was rather that of thought, the unfettered, immediate outpouring of the soul, than the measured step to which we have been accustomed. Gradually, however, these forms also developed. One of the most ancient attempts at it was in stanzas of four unequal lines. If only the long lines corresponded, it was termed "Levenah al gabeh levenah," (brick upon brick); if the short lines "Ariah al gabeh ariah," (piece of brick upon piece of brick). If one and two were short, and three and four long, it was "Ariah al gabeh levenah;" in the opposite case, "Levenah al gabeh ariah." But it was comparatively long ere Hebrew poets learned—some think from strangers—regularly to range their ideas in the order in which they are now marshalled. Josephus and some of the fathers have, at least in the interpretation of some, attempted to find in Hebrew poetry the classical forms to which they were strangers both in matter and manner. The modern and scientific mode of pronouncing the Hebrew is that in Trochees. The traditionary, and to our mind more musical and appropriate, if not more correct, is that in Iambics.

From the Shir we naturally pass to the Tefila or prayer. Properly prayer was considered the spontaneous effusion of the soul, called forth by a sense of immediate wants or experienced blessings. The measures taken by Ezra for the celebration of public worship throughout the land and the regulation of the temple-service, were the first steps towards a liturgy, which at first consisted probably in traditionally preserved prayers of sages and leaders of congregational devotions, (the "Sheliach," "angelos," or messenger of the congregation). They were afterwards committed to writing, and gradually became the nucleus of the present Jewish prayer-book. In this liturgy about fifty fragments belonging to the talmudical period are incorporated. The oldest, which date from "the men of the Great Synagogue," comprise the confessions of the High Priest on the day of atonement, the arrangement of the "Shema," its three accompanying prayers, and six of what are called the eighteen eulogies. The

high-priestly confessions on the great fast were successively for himself, for his household, for the priests, and for the people. Turning towards the most holy place, and laying his hands on the bullock which stood between the court and the altar of incense, he pronounced the first, which in substance is similar to all the others. "Alas, O Jehovah! I have committed iniquity, I have transgressed, I have sinned, I and my house. Alas, Jehovah! atone for the iniquities, the transgressions and the sins which I have committed and sinned before thee, I and my house, as it is written in the law of Moses thy servant: for on that day will He atone for you to make you clean, from all your transgressions shall ye before Jehovah be cleansed."

Again, after he had tied a strip of red wool round the head of the scape-goat, and another round the neck of the goat to be sacrificed, he turned the former towards the east gate, whence it was to be led forth, and laid his hands upon the head of the bullock confessing the sins of the sons of Aaron. Legend had it that the voice of confession was heard even as far as Jericho. It was responded in the praises of the people who, when the high priest pronounced the ineffable name of Jehovah, fell on their faces and exclaimed, "Blessed be the name of the glory of his kingdom for ever and ever." Though pronounced ten times on that solemn day, yet the voice of praise and the sound of the priests' instruments concealed the mysterious name from priest and layman. Then the high-priest slew the bullock, caught its blood in a vase, and caused it to be stirred by an attendant. Having put fire into a golden censer, and incense into a spoon, he rapidly advanced to the Ark of the Covenant, placed the censer between its staves, and put the incense on the coals. A second and a third time he entered with the blood of the bullock and then with that of the goat, and sprinkled the Ark once above and seven times below. In the same manner he sprinkled the curtain, and then, mingling the blood of the sacrifices, the Golden Altar and its horns. He then confessed over the scape-goat the sins of the people. At the close of the service he prayed, "May it please Thee, O Lord our God, and the

God of our fathers, that neither this day nor during this year, any captivity come upon us; yet if captivity befall us this day or this year, let it be to a place where the law is cultivated. May it please Thee, O Lord our God, and the God of our fathers, that no want come upon us either this day or this year: but if want visit us this day or this year, let it be due to the liberality of our charitable deeds. May it please Thee, O Lord our God, and the God of our fathers, that this year may become a year of cheapness, of fulness, of intercourse and of trade, a year with abundance of rain, of sunshine and of dew; one in which Thy people Israel shall not require assistance one from another. And listen not to the prayers of those who go forth on a journey.¹ And as to Thy people Israel, may no enemy exalt himself against them. May it please Thee, O Lord our God, and the God of our fathers, that the houses of the men of Saron may not become their graves.”²

The only really fixed form of daily prayer was a collection of passages constituting a kind of confession of faith, (termed the “Shema” from the first word occurring in it,) which every Israelite was to repeat morning and evening. It consisted of Deut. vi. 4-9; xi. 13-21; Numb. xv. 37-41, and was in the morning preceded by two and succeeded by one; and in the evening both preceded and succeeded by two prayers, which although considerably enlarged are still in use. We quote them, omitting all later additions as probably in use at the time of our Lord.³

[*Before the Shema morn and evening*—“Blessed art Thou, O Lord, king of the world, who formest the light and createst darkness, who makest peace and createst everything; who in mercy givest light to the earth and to those who dwell upon it, and in Thy goodness renewest day by day, and continually, the works of creation. Blessed be the Lord our God for the glory of His handiworks, and for the light-giving lights which He hath

¹ Who might pray against the fall of rain.

² There are other versions of this prayer, but the above is the most simple. We have purposely rendered it as closely as possible.

³ Compare the criticism in Zunz, *Gottesd. Vortr.* pp. 369, &c.

made for His praise. Selah! Blessed be the Lord, who has formed the lights!"

Subjecting the second prayer to the same criticism, we read it: "With great love hast Thou loved us, O Lord our God, and with much overflowing pity hast Thou pitied us. Our Father and our King, for the sake of our fathers who trusted in Thee, and Thou taughtest them the statutes of life, have mercy upon us, and enlighten our eyes in Thy law; cause our hearts to cleave to Thy Commandments; unite our hearts to love and fear Thy name, and we shall not be put to shame, world without end. For Thou art a God who preparest salvation, and us hast Thou chosen from amongst all nations and tongues, and hast in truth brought us near to Thy great name, Selah, in order that we in love may praise Thee and Thy unity. Blessed be the Lord who in love chose His people Israel." Then follows the "Shema:" "Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord," &c. The morning prayers concluded with the following portions of the prayer now in use: "True it is that Thou art Jehovah our God and the God of our fathers, our King and the King of our fathers, our Saviour and the Saviour of our fathers, our Creator, the Rock of our salvation, our help and our deliverer. Thy name is from everlasting, and there is no God besides Thee. A new song did they that were delivered sing to Thy name by the sea-shore, together did all praise and own Thee king, and say, Jehovah shall reign world without end! Blessed be the Lord who saveth Israel." An addition dating from the second century, inserts before the words "A new song, &c." a particular record of God's past dealings. The additional prayer for the evening is as follows: "O Lord our God! cause us to lie down in peace, and raise us up again to life, O our King! spread over us the tabernacle (covering) of Thy peace; strengthen us before Thee in Thy good counsel, and deliver us for Thy name's sake. Be Thou for protection round about us, keep far from us the enemy, the pestilence, the sword, famine, and affliction. Keep Satan from before and from behind us, and hide us in the shadow of Thy wings, for Thou art a God who keepest and deliverest us; and Thou, O

God, art a gracious and merciful King. Keep Thou our going out and our coming in, for life and for peace, from henceforth and for ever !”

Although these prayers were sometimes lengthened or shortened,¹ they were at a very early period in general use amongst the Hebrews. Among the other forms of prayer then in use, we reckon portions of the grace at meat, various thanksgivings, supplications, and confessions. For a long time, however, the Psalms of David continued the only regular prayer, as well as hymn-book. This inspired collection was arranged into certain divisions adapted to various festivities, of which indications are even found in the LXX. and the writings of Philo. Thus the 23d, the 47th, the 93d, the 28th, and the 37th Psalms are expressly set down for certain periods ; two hallelujahs are spoken of, the larger embracing Psalms cxiii. to cxviii., and the smaller in which Psalm cxv. 1-12, and Psalm cxvi. 1-11 are omitted, &c. On the feast of tabernacles, priests and people sung Psalm cxviii. 25, while marching round the altar of burnt-offering. In times of public calamity, the Levites standing at their oratories—to which every morning the herald summoned them, the priests and the people² pleaded daily from Psalm xlv. 24, and during the night before the day of atonement, the High Priest was kept from falling asleep by the hymns of the chief of the people, who, amongst others, sung Psalm cxxvii. The collection of Psalms designated as the Great Hallel, is variously supposed to commence with Psalm cxviii., with Psalm cxx., or even cxxxv. and to end with Psalm cxxxvi.³ The general division of the Psalms into five books (the 1st, Psalm i.-xli. ; the 2d, Psalm xlii.-lxxii. ; the 3d, Psalm lxxiii.-lxxxix. ; the 4th, Psalm xc.-cvi. ; the 5th, Psalm cvii. to the end), dates probably from a very early period, and the addition of the blessings at the close of the first four books, may possibly have been made for liturgical purposes about the time of, if not by Ezra himself. Were this the place for it, we might, from an analysis of the prayers of that period, gather interesting information as to the theological views and spiritual

¹ Berac. i. 4.

² Joma 20, b.

³ Comp. Bartolucci Bibl. Rabb. ii. p. 240.

tendencies of the synagogue. However solemn and often sublime their conceptions of the Divine greatness, goodness, and power, and strong the expressions of the confidence and submission of the chosen people, they are throughout characterized by sad deficiency of a sense of spiritual wants. Part of the ritual, still in use, for Sabbaths, fast-days, the new-years, and day of atonement, the feasts of Esther, and of the Temple-dedication, date from, and previous to, the first centuries of our era. However, the synagogue had not at that period adopted any regular prayer-book.

Besides the ordinary devotions which seem to have taken place three times a day, and after the destruction of the temple as far as possible to have been substituted for the sacrifices, another class of devotional exercises was general and apparently became much sooner liturgical than the proper Tefila—we mean the blessings, eulogies, or berakas. Besides generally concluding other prayers, they were used before partaking of food or drink, in prospect of danger, &c. As every Beraka contained a recognition of the Lord, it was reckoned a merit to pronounce every day a large number of them. These eulogies became sooner liturgical than congregational prayers, as the wants of a congregation are much more apparent, and there is always sufficient cause for entreaty and thanksgiving, even where the mind is not alive to deeper spiritual necessities. Certain expressions, as—"Blessed be the Lord our God, and the God of our fathers;" "the Lord, the great, the mighty, the terrible;" "from everlasting to everlasting,"—the latter as a testimony against Sadduceeism, recur frequently in these eulogies.¹ The most remarkable collection of them are the eighteen berakas, which were to be repeated every day, at least in part or summary.² They were as follows:—

THE EIGHTEEN BERAKAS.

I. "Blessed be the Lord our God and the God of our fathers, the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob,

¹ Berac. ix. 54.

² *Ut supra*, iv. 2.

the Lord, the great, the mighty, and the terrible One; the eternal God, who showeth mercy and kindness, to whom belongeth everything, who remembereth the piety of our fathers, and in love for His own name's sake, sendeth a Saviour to their children's children—king, helper, deliverer, and shield! Blessed be the Lord, Abraham's shield!"

II. "Thou, Lord, art mighty to all eternity, Thou raisest the dead, Thou art mighty to save. In kindness He satisfieth the living, in great pity He raiseth the dead; He upholdeth those that fall; He healeth the sick, and setteth free them that are bound; He will manifest his faithfulness to those who sleep in the dust. Who is like the Lord of might, and who is like Thee, Thou King, who killest and makest alive, and causest Salvation to spring forth? Faithful art Thou to restore life to the dead: blessed be the Lord who restoreth life to the dead."

III. "Holy art Thou, and Thy name is holy, and Thy Saints shall praise Thee every day, Selah! Blessed be the Lord, the holy God! We will sanctify Thy name in the world as those do who sanctify it in the heights of heaven, as it is written by Thy Prophets, 'And they called one to another, Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts! the whole earth is full of His glory.' Together do they sing praise! blessed be the glory of the Lord from his habitation. And in Thy holy word it is written, 'The Lord shall reign for ever; Thy God, O Zion, from generation to generation,'—Hallelujah! From generation to generation will we declare Thy greatness, and for ever and ever we will sanctify Thy holiness; and Thy praise, O our God, shall not pass from our lips, world without end, for Thou, Lord, art a great and holy king: blessed be the Lord, the great and holy One."

IV. "Thou grantest knowledge to man, and teachest him understanding. Thou hast granted to us the knowledge of Thy law, and hast taught us to do the statutes of Thy good pleasure. Thou, O Lord our God, makest a separation between the holy and the profane, between light and darkness, between Israel and the nations, between the seventh day and the six work-days.

Our Father, our King, cause the days that are before us to begin in peace to us, deliver from all sin, and clear from all iniquity, and uphold us in Thy fear. Grant us from Thyself knowledge, understanding, and wisdom : blessed be the Lord who granteth knowledge."

V. "Bring us back again, O our Father ! to Thy law ; bring us near, O our King ! to Thy service ; and cause us to return with a perfect repentance before Thy face : blessed be the Lord who taketh pleasure in repentance."

VI. "Forgive us, our Father, for we have sinned ; pardon us, our King, for we have transgressed, for Thou pardonest and forgivest : blessed be the gracious Lord who multiplieth forgiveness."

VII. "Behold our misery, and plead our cause, and save us quickly for Thy name's sake, for thou art a strong Saviour : blessed be the Lord, the Saviour of Israel."

VIII. "Heal us, O Lord, and we shall be healed ; save us, and we shall be saved, for Thou art our praise. And grant us a perfect remedy for all our ills, for Thou, Lord and King, art a physician, faithful and merciful : blessed be the Lord who healeth the sick amongst his people Israel."

IX. "Bless to us, O Lord, this year, and all kinds of produce in it, for good ; grant a blessing upon the land ; satisfy us by Thy goodness, and bless our years even as the good years : blessed be the Lord, who blesseth the years."

X. "Blow Thy great trumpet to announce our liberty, and lift up the standard to gather our banished, yea gather us together from the four corners of the earth : blessed be the Lord who gathereth the outcasts of His people Israel."

XI. "Restore our sages as at first, and our counsellors as at the beginning ; remove from us sorrow and sighing, and reign Thou alone, O Lord, over us in mercy and in pity, and justify us in the judgment : blessed be the Lord the King, who loveth righteousness and judgment."

XII. "And let there be no hope for the calumniators, let all heretics (Minim) speedily pass away, and let all thine enemies

be cut off. Speedily root up, break down, and tear up the wicked, and lay them low speedily, in our days : blessed be the Lord who breaketh down the enemies, and layeth low the wicked.”¹

“Let thy tender mercies, O Lord our God, abound to the pious, to the elders of Thy people, the house of Israel, to the remnant of their scribes, to the proselytes of righteousness, and to us, and grant a good reward to all who in truth trust in Thy name. Let our portion be with them for ever, and we shall not be put to shame, for we trust in Thee : blessed be the Lord the support and the hope of the pious.”

XIII. “And return in pity to Jerusalem Thy city, and dwell in the midst of it, as Thou hast spoken, and build it speedily, even in our days, with an everlasting building, and establish speedily in the midst of it the throne of David : blessed be the Lord who buildeth Jerusalem.”

XIV. “Speedily cause Thou the branch of David, Thy servant, to shoot forth and exalt his horn by Thy salvation, for in Thy salvation do we trust all the day : blessed be the Lord who causeth the horn of salvation to shoot forth.”

XV. “Hear our voice, O Lord our God, and spare us, and shew mercy upon us, and accept in mercy and in grace our prayer, for Thou art a God who hearest prayer and supplication. Let us not return empty, O our King, from before Thy face, for Thou, Lord, in mercy hearest the prayers of Thy people Israel : blessed be the Lord who heareth prayer.”

XVI. “Be gracious, O Lord our God, to Thy people Israel, and to their prayers, and restore the service to the halls of Thy house, and accept the men of Israel in grace, and their prayers in love, and let the services of Thy people Israel be well-pleasing for ever. Cause our eyes to see it, when Thou in mercy returnest to Zion : blessed be the Lord who bringeth again His Shechinah to Zion.”

XVII. “We bow down before Thee, because Thou art Jehovah our God, and the God of our fathers for ever and ever. The Rock of our lives, the Shield of our salvation art Thou, from

¹ This prayer is altered in most editions of the prayer-book.

generation to generation. We will bless Thee, and show forth Thy praises for these our lives, which are in Thy hand, and for our souls, which we commit to Thee, and for Thy wondrous works, which we witness every day; for Thy marvellous doings and Thy mercies at all times, evening, morning, and noon. Gracious God! because Thy mercies are without bounds; merciful Lord! because Thy kindnesses are never done, we trust in Thee to all eternity."

XVIII. "For all these things shall Thy name, O our King, be blessed and exalted for ever, world without end; and all living shall praise Thee, Selah, and shall in truth bless Thy name, O Lord, our salvation and our help, Selah. Blessed be the Lord, Thy name is 'The Merciful,' and to praise Thee is comely."

It will be observed, that affection and trust in the Lord and His Word, longing for the coming of the Saviour, confidence in their privileges as Hebrews, and a desire after and respect for knowledge of the law (in the rabbinical sense), constitute the chief burden of these prayers. The first three and the last three eulogies date probably from the time of the high-priest Simeon. Between them private prayers were inserted on various occasions, according to the felt wants of individuals or of the times. Eulogies IV., V., VI., VIII., IX., XVI., stand next in the order of composition; VII. dates probably from a period of national calamity,—perhaps the time of Pompey. Eulogies XIII., XIV., XV., were composed about the time of the final dissolution of the Jewish Commonwealth, when certain changes were also introduced in Eulogy XVI., such as the addition, "Restore the service to the halls of thy house." The prayer against the Minim, beginning, "And let there be no hope," &c., was composed by Samuel the Less, and prefixed to Eulogy XII.¹ The sect of the Essenes, supposed to have been the Chasidim, or Saints, mentioned in Jewish writings, had peculiar hymns and prayers suited to their mystical tendencies. We shall refer

¹ Comp. Zunz, *ut supra*.

to these when treating of the peculiar doctrines of Jewish mysticism; suffice it meantime to say, that the rising sun found them each morning finishing "the Shema," with their faces towards the east.

Much of the poetry of Eastern nations has been derived from the paraphrastic translations of the Bible (the Targumim), Hagadic Commentaries, and current legends. The Talmud has sometimes poetical descriptions, of which the following is a specimen:—"If any one should wish to form an idea of Rabbi Jochanan's beauty, let him take a silver cup as it comes glowing from the mould, and fill it with the purple blossoms of the pomegranate, then encircle its brim with a garland of purple roses, and place it between light and shadow. The rays which it emits are but faint emblems of the beauty of R. Jochanan."

We present three other specimens of early Hebrew poetry, as expressed in legends, comments, and even Halachic opinions:¹—

"Upon that burning pile the sun has set,
With slaughter weary, Babel's warriors sleep,
And with them misery and death do rest;
Yet, as the frame from that dread hour recoils,
In which the spirit leaves its house of clay,
So shrunk Jerusalem from Babel's sword—
It fell, but left Jerusalem unharm'd.

"In Zion's streets unbroken silence reigns,
The Temple-roof presents a vision strange:
The priests array'd in robes of white come forth.
One bears the incense, one the harp of praise,
The knife a third, a fourth the trumpet holds.
Each brings what he for sacred service used,
Yet without sacrifice. No incense mounts;
No sound of harp or horn the stillness breaks.
And now from out the ranks of priests forth comes
Their venerable chief. His form is wrapt
In garments worn on that most solemn day,
When, with atoning blood, the ark he nears.
Now slowly he approach'd the building's verge,
And, looking upwards, spake: 'Thou Lord of all,
None other hand but Thine could light these flames;

¹ They are rendered from the free paraphrastic version of M. Ch. Sachs and M. Veit, in their "Stimmen vom Jordan and Euphrat." Berlin, 1853; and are taken respectively from Aboth de Rabbi Nathan, from Tanch. Ex. xxvii., and Sheb. x. 1.

Yet, Lord, we bless Thy name, that Babel's rites
 Will ne'er profane where once the ark had stood ;
 But we no longer are required. Lo ! here,
 The badge of office which I held from Thee,
 I now return it to Thy hands.' Then he
 From out his garment takes the golden key
 Which shut the Temple-gates. He lifts it high :
 It shone so bright as from the Temple now
 The light did mingle with the sheen of stars.
 And lo ! a hand from Heaven has seized the key,
 And from the roof the high-priest and the priests
 Precipitate themselves into the flames :
 The Temple falls—their grave and monument."

In the second specimen Israel is compared to a dove :—

" A dove art thou, my people dear,
 And well may'st thou a dove be call'd—
 As faithful to her chosen mate,
 No other friend the dove doth know.
 So faithful thou to Him, thy Lord,
 Remembering still the solemn vow.
 As calm the dove bows down her neck
 To the destroyer's cutting knife,
 So thou, when for thy vow of love,
 Thou bear'st the torture and the death.
 As when the flood, in Judgment dire,
 All living men had swept away,
 The dove brought first the olive-leaf,
 A sign of coming peace and life ;
 So Israel goes forth abroad
 A herald of His word and love."

We give yet another specimen :—

" If death has snatch'd from thee the wife of youth,
 It is as if the sacred city were,
 And e'en the Temple in thy pilgrim days,
 Defiled, laid low, and levelled with the dust.
 The man who harshly sends away from him
 His first-woo'd bride, the loving wife of youth,
 For him the very altar of the Lord
 Sheds forth its tears of bitter agony."

Among this class of composition many of the apocryphal writings must be included, of which some have erroneously been supposed to have originally been dramatic compositions.¹

Among the poetic contributions of Jews in foreign countries, those of Alexandria were specially distinguished. The peculiar

¹ For example, by Luther ; comp. Schudt jüd. Denkwürdig, vol. iv. Cont. ii.

philosophy with which Judaism was brought into contact in that city, so tended to develop the mystical element, that a complete separation was made between the uninitiated, to whom the law applied in its literality, and adepts, who, through it, penetrated to a deeper philosophy.¹ This tendency gradually induced the belief that the initiated of other times and nations had substantially held the same principles. In order to prove this statement, the fragments of unknown authors were published as the compositions of Orpheus, Linus, Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, &c. By and by Jewish writers ascribed, by a "pious fraud," their own compositions to these classical writers. Some of these pieces will be found in the work of Eusebius, "On the Preparation for the Gospel," lib. xiii. 12-14, and other passages. Whether the writers whose compositions are there cited had in reality been all Jews, may be doubted, but these extracts were either written under Jewish influence, or interpolated for such purposes. From internal evidence we would infer that at least two of them, Theodotus the poet, and Philo the elder (not Philo Judæus), were Jews, although Josephus ranks them² amongst heathen writers. Theodotus recorded in verse part of the history of Jacob, Philo sings of Jerusalem. Among Jewish compositions we also include some of the oracles of Apollo, recorded by Eusebius. The frequent contact with Alexandrian Jews, whose religion had assumed the peculiar philosophical cast of the time and place, must have exercised a considerable influence upon the heathens. It gave to some more correct notions of Jewish history (as appears from some of the extracts preserved by Eusebius), while it so favourably impressed others, that they declared Judaism to be almost identical with Greek philosophy (as we gather from Noumenios, Porphyry, Aristeus, Clearchus, Hekatiös of Abdera, &c.) Even before the translation of the Bible into Greek, portions of Scripture history were known to heathens. The LXX. gave a new impulse to the Judaizing tendency of philosophers, and again stimulated Jewish philosophers to bring their peculiar system more into harmony with current opinions. Judaism, as repre-

¹ Euseb., *Præpar. Evang.* viii. 10, p. 378.

² Joseph. *Contra Ap.* i. 23.

sented by Philo, however distasteful to the bigoted idolater, and hateful to a suspicious and zealous people, would present many attractions to Grecian philosophers.

Two chapters of the thirteenth Book of the above-quoted work of Eusebius are devoted to extracts from the works of Aristobulus, the Jewish peripatetic, and of Clement, one of the Christian fathers, professedly containing extracts from ancient heathen poets corroborative of Jewish doctrines. Many of these are doubtlessly Jewish interpolations. One specimen will suffice. After an introduction of nine verses, in which Orpheus is represented as calling on all to forsake former errors, and to enter on the road which alone preserves from destruction, as revealed in ancient writings, he says of God,—

“ One and self-existent ! Though all be formed by Him,
And He pervadeth all. Yet none of mortals e'er
Beholds His face ; the soul alone perceiveth Him.
The source of good, He sends no ill to mortal men.
Though favour follow Him, and with it also strife,
And war and pestilence, and weeping sorrow, too,
Beside Him is no other God. If thou on earth
Him first discern, 'tis easy *all* the rest to learn.
His mighty hand, His goings, as they shine,
Reveal my Son, the mighty Being there divine.
Himself I cannot see ; for mist enshrouds from me,
And tenfold covering envelops Him from men.
The God who ruleth mortals none has e'er beheld,
Save one alone of yore, who sprung from Chaldee race.”

Then follows a sublime description of this God as revealed to the inspired seer. We quote the following line to shew the Hebrew cast of its theology :—

“ And in Himself He has beginning, middle, end.”

Various readings of this fragment are extant,¹ shewing that if any portion of the poem was ever composed by Orpheus, it had at least been recast by later editors. Among confessedly Jewish compositions, we reckon also a tragedy by a Jewish Alexandrian poet, entitled “ The Exodus from Egypt,” of which the theology, the poetry, and versification, are all second-rate ;² and a poem by Phocylides (in 230 hexameters), which, having successively

¹ In Justin Martyr, and Clement.

² For specimens, see App. III.

been described as the production of a heathen, and of a Christian, has lately been assigned to Jewish authorship.¹

Although some Alexandrian Jews distinguished themselves by Talmudical lore, their theological tendencies generally took a different direction. They were rather mystical and rationalistic than traditional. The religious intercourse between Egypt and Palestine was very much confined to the transmission of tithes in corresponding sums of money, and to vicarious sacrifices by individuals appointed for that purpose. However, the rival temple in Egypt must have diverted many of these offerings. The best-known representative of Alexandrian Jewish literature was Philo Judæus. In comparing the imaginative poetry of antiquity with that of inspiration, he finds in the former metre, rhyme, and songs, which merely delighted the ear; in the latter the Divine poetry of God's works, while all nature constituted a hymn of eternal truth, harmoniously executed. In Divine poetry truth takes the place of myths, and the harmony of nature that of metre and rhyme.² In another passage he somewhat similarly contrasts the myths of the ancients with the types and allegories of the Bible.³ Still it may be mentioned, as an instance of the essential difference between the Judaism of Philo and that of the Rabbins, that the former never scrupled to attend heathenish theatrical representations, the Circensian games, and gladiatorial contests, and records with approbation passages which, to say the least, are essentially Grecian.⁴ In the same manner he compares the Essenes, for whom he professes the highest admiration, with the Persian magi and the Indian gymnosophists.⁵ All this may seem natural in an Alexandrian Jew exposed to such influences. In fact, some early Christian writers adopted a similar line of argument in their vindications of Christianity. Still it indicates spiritual decadence and misunderstanding, and

¹ The poem of Phocylides was used as a class-book amongst the schoolmen, on account of its elegant Greek and Biblical sentiments. Scaliger, in 1606, ascribed it to a Christian author, and Dr. Bernays has lately proved its Jewish origin. Comp. Dr. J. Bernays' Ueber d. Phokylid. Ged.

² Philo, Liber de eo quod deter. potiori insid. solet; ed. Collon. (1613), p. 138.

³ De Mundi Opificio, u. s., p. 27.

⁴ Quod omnis probus, &c., p. 685.

⁵ *Ut supra*, p. 687.

in Philo a different religious and national stand-point from that occupied by his brethren in Palestine.

The facts to which we have already called attention, that extra-Palestinian Jews used in their prayers the languages to which they were accustomed, is in itself a proof that a regular liturgy was unknown at that time. Even the Shema seems to have been recited in Greek. Of the prayers of the Egyptian Jews, only two thanksgivings uttered on their delivery from the cruel governor, Flaccus, are preserved. In them they declare their intention of filling earth and the sea, the air and heaven, with thanksgivings, as nought else had been left to them by which to display their gratitude.¹ These compositions are, however, probably rather those of Philo than of the Egyptian Jews, and accordingly contain the un-Jewish address to the Deity,—“Father of mortals and of immortals.” The Therapeutæ, an Egyptian Jewish sect called into existence by a tendency akin to that which produced monasticism, resembled in many of their principles and practices that of the Essenes in Palestine. The Essenes exhibited in their views more of pure Eastern mysticism, and led an active, the Therapeutæ an entirely contemplative life.² Their time was spent in attempts at eliciting out of the plain text the hidden meaning of Scripture. Twice a day prayers of a mystical character were repeated, and metrical and rhymed hymns sung. Thus six days were spent by each individual in complete solitude, and on the scantiest diet, broken by frequent fastings; but, on the Sabbath, men and women joined in a common meal, and mystical hymns and dances celebrated the solemnity.³ The seventh Sabbath was deemed peculiarly sacred. All fragments of their hymns and prayers have unfortunately been lost.

To the above brief sketch of strictly Jewish poetry, it is right to add, that notwithstanding Rabbinical interdicts, classical poetry, such as that of Homer, was extensively studied even in Palestine. Amongst some classical Jewish writers we may

¹ In Flaccum, p. 760.

² De Vita Contemplat., p. 688.

³ *Ut supra*, p. 691, &c.

mention Fuscus Aristius, the Jewish friend of Horace,¹ and Theodorus of Jerusalem, the hated critic of Martial.² Jews were also amongst the *earliest* writers in the Persian and Arabic languages, and, centuries before Mohamed appeared, a Persian translation of the Pentateuch existed.³

Music and poetry were at first almost inseparably united. The poet generally sung his productions, or accompanied them on an instrument. This arrangement accounts in part for the simplicity in the forms of both arts, and for the absence of artificial arrangements in both. Music, poetry, and dancing were resorted to under very different circumstances. Whenever the soul was full, it poured forth its feelings in the language of poetry, and in harmonious accents. At feasts, marches, in triumphal entries, and even on mournful occasions, but specially in the services of the Sanctuary, music and poetry were prominent features. The melodies were very simple, and, as such strains generally are, expressive of feeling, and touching. They embodied, or carried home the poetic thought, and were not separate from it. The production of one mind and heart, the melody modulated with the feelings of the poet—it harmonized with the hymn, and *accompanied* it. Notes were not known, and of course compositions unwritten; nor was there any artificial harmony, although the arrangement of the voices must early have led to a natural harmony. Ordinarily, the performance consisted of a simple, sweet melody, sung in unison, and often supported by instrumental music, which also filled up the intervals between the stanzas. Different divisions of time must necessarily have been observed. Thus we find, that on the feast of the New-year, which was pre-eminently designated as "The Feast of Blowing the Horn," the different sounds emitted were regulated by time. A *theruah* was a blast of twice the duration of a *thekiah*, and equalled the time occupied by three deep inspirations. A third interval, equal to two *theruahs*, is also mentioned.⁴ In the Temple, an elevated place was occu-

¹ Odes, i. 22; Sat. i. 3.

³ Comp. Delitzsch, Jüd. Poesie, p. 139.

² Mart. xi. 45.

⁴ Rosh ha-Shan. iv. 9.

pied by those Levites who sung the praises of the Lord. Their number amounted at least to twelve, but might be indefinitely increased. Beneath them stood the young Levites, whose voices were agreeably to harmonize with those of the adult performers.¹ Daily, as the priest bent over the altar to pour out the drink-offering, an official gave the signal, and the song of praise commenced with the sound of cymbals. The Levites then took up the hymn. At every paragraph they stopped, the trumpets sounded, and the people fell in adoration on the ground. The Psalms were sung in the following order in the Temple. On the first day of the week the 24th Psalm was recited; on the second, the 48th; on the third, the 82d; on the fourth, the 94th; on the fifth, the 81st; on the sixth, the 93d; and on the seventh or Sabbath, the 92d Psalm, which was ascribed to Adam, and supposed to refer to the happiness of the eternal Sabbath.² The instruments in use amongst the Hebrews have been arranged as stringed, wind, and instruments of percussion. Those most common were the cymbal, the flute or pipe, with its mouthpiece of reed to sound softer, the trumpet (of silver or brass), and the horn (bent or straight), the lyre and the harp—some add to these a kind of organ.³ In a flute-solo one performer concluded the piece, in order to make the melody more soft. For the same purpose not more than one pair of cymbals were sounded in the Temple, nor less than two trumpets and nine lyres. The performers are by some supposed to have been subordinate priests; by others, members of the noble families of Phegorim, Zipparja, and Amaoth; others suppose that they were Levites. At the time of Ezra women sung in the Temple (ii. 65), but at a later period all public singing of females was deemed improper, and indeed confined to wandering foreign prostitutes. Popular opinion on the subject is indicated in the following expression:—"If men sing and women respond, it is indecent; if women sing and men respond, it is like fire amongst stubble."⁴ The dance, as the expression of the highest stage of mental ex-

¹ Er. ii. 6.

² Comp. Tamid, vii. 3. 4.

³ Comp. the above Mishnic Treatises.

⁴ Sota, 48, 1.

citement, when all the members of the body sympathized with the emotions, was generally connected either with religious or idolatrous festivities. In the first class we also reckon the dances which welcomed the heroes of the nation, or took place at public festivals; in the second class, the dancing festivities which intercourse with other nations introduced. The dance consisted of rotatory, semi-rotatory, or saltatory motions, arranged according to the fancy of the moment, or pantomimically representing any event. In either case the steps were accompanied with music by the dancer, or by an orchestra.

It would be idle and ungrateful to enter on the various erroneous opinions current amongst the Jews on scientific subjects. In as far as the natural sciences were based on speculation, and not simply a record of observed facts, and of deductions from them, they could only lead to unfounded and often extravagant results. The classical student knows that philosophical investigation among the heathens frequently fell far short of truth. The study of the exact sciences was more cultivated in Babylon than in Palestine, and Chaldean and Persian elements found their way amongst the Rabbies. The speculative parts of many sciences were often theosophic and mystical. Various speculations were propounded as to the size of the earth and its place in the universe, as to the centre of our globe, and the different ways in which first the centre and then the sides of it were formed, and afterwards its various products called into being. The thickness of the crust of the earth was computed by some at 1000 cubits.¹ The idea of *pure* creation out of nothing, in opposition to formation or emanation, was by no means so general and firm an article of faith as might be supposed.²

The geographical investigations of the Hebrews are not without interest, as throwing light on many places mentioned in the Bible.³ With the exception of the seats of the captivity in Babylon, and of the places of residence of the ten tribes, the stream of Hebrew emigration flowed mostly, and that at an

¹ V. Bartolucci, *Bibl. Rabb.* ii. 234.

² *Ut supra*, iii. 434

³ For a brief abstract of them, compare App. IV.

early period, westwards, and most European countries seem to have been known to and visited by the Hebrews. Thus we read of "Rodos," or "the image of Rodos," for the isle of Rhodes with its celebrated Colossus, of "Grecian Italy" for Calabria, of "Perandissin" for Brundisium, of "Athuna" for Athens, of "Kartigna" for Carthage, of "Buli" for Constantinople, of "Sardi" for the island of Sardinia, of "Aspamia" for Spain, of "Britania" for Britain, and of "Galia" for France. We hold that the latter country derived its name from the inhabitants of Galatia, and that the Celts or Gauls are the descendants of Gomer, and migrated from Phrygia through Thracia, Panonia, &c., into Gallia.¹ It may be assumed that the Celts had originally settled in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus. This supposition gains strength from the fact that the "Gallia" which Rabbi Akiba is said to have visited, could scarcely be the "Gallia" of our days, but the Gallia or Galatia from which we suppose the other derived its name.

Mathematics, geometry, and astronomy, were looked upon as the peculiar study of the Jews, to which such passages as Deut. iv. 5, 6, were applied. So thoroughly Jewish was their cultivation, that to communicate them to Gentiles was declared sinful.² Astronomy and geometry were considered a noble sequel to sacred study,³ and even formed part of theological lore. An acquaintanceship with these branches of knowledge was requisite for many Rabbinical decisions. To ignorance in these respects, Isaiah v. 12 was applied, and it was said, "Woe to men who see, but know not what they see; who stand, but know not on what they stand."⁴ Such studies were supposed to lead to knowledge of the Creator, and to have been specially designed by Him as means of religious instruction to the Gentiles. Nor were the attainments of the Hebrews inconsiderable. The Talmud recounts the planets by name, as lochab (the star)

¹ However, an opposite theory is generally entertained, according to which, at an early period, the Gauls are supposed to have migrated from their seats in Europe into Galatia. The whole of this subject requires a more thorough historical consideration than it has yet received.

² Compare Fürst Kultur u. Liter. Gesch. d. Jud. p. 40, &c.

³ Ab. iii. 17.

⁴ Chag. 12. b.

for Mercury; Nogah (splendour) for Venus; Maadim (red) for Mars; Zedek (righteousness) for Jupiter; Sabbatai (Sabbath star) for Saturn. These names correspond with those mentioned by Aristotle. A Hebrew term for *planets*, corresponding to the Greek designation, was early formed. It was stated that the planets moved in elliptical circles. Besides the seven circles of the planets, other two were enumerated, of which one is called that of the stars, being the sphere which contains the stars, the other that which contains the whole universe. All the planets move round their own axes, and their roundness of shape depends on a fundamental law of creation, that of circularity of form. The twelve constellations of the Zodiac were in the ninth orbit of stars. These constellations are enumerated and partly described. The Milky Way was called "the fiery stream," or "the heavenly path," and the tail of Scorpion was described as lying to the west of it. It was asserted, that if a comet passed beyond Orion, it would destroy the world. The heat of Orion, and the cold from Scorpion, maintain the equilibrium of proper temperature, and if the tail of the latter were not close to the Milky Way, "no creature could endure the bite of the Scorpion." It was suggested, that at the time of the flood, God had taken two stars from Scorpion, and when the waters were to subside, two from the opposite constellation. The reader will, in connexion with this subject, remember the calculations of Rabbi Joshua, concerning the periodical appearance of a comet after seventy years (properly after seventy-three years); another Rabbi was popularly called the "Moon-gazer," and said to be as well acquainted with the motion of the stars, as with the streets of Nahardea. Other details connected with the equalization of the calendar, and the changes of the seasons, are very elaborate, and exhibit both original investigation and acquaintance with the studies of Gentile philosophers. The years were arranged in cycles of nineteen, and the change of seasons (Tekupha), and the appearance of the new moon (Moled), were exactly calculated. Between one Tekupha and another, 91 days $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours intervened. According

to Jewish calculations, the world was created in Moled Tishri, in the year of the Julian era 953, being Monday, 5 hours and 204 Chlakim, (*i.e.*, under the meridian of Jerusalem), or Monday the 7th October, 5 hours 204 Chlakim; and according to our division of hours, on the 6th October, at 11 minutes past 11 o'clock of the year 3761, B.C.¹ Tradition also records the existence of works on the structure of the world, on the sun and moon, the stars, the seasons, and the causes of their changes, the laws of nature, &c. Nor is it improbable that the following quotations may indicate some acquaintanceship with the principles of electricity.² "To lay iron between newly hatched chickens is superstition, (literally, according to heathen ways,) to do so on account of thunder and lightning is lawful." A commentary from the 14th century explains that the tower at Babylon had been reared in order to conduct the lightning which God might at any time send, and it is added, "Just as now-a-days some of our sages are acquainted with a method by which to conduct hail within defined boundaries."

In Egypt, where medicine and surgery were not only known, but where every physician confined himself to the treatment of only one species of disease, the Israelites had enjoyed opportunities of becoming acquainted with these sciences. At first, partly from the circumstances of the nation, and partly from ignorance, surgical manipulations, outward applications, and assistance at child-birth, were the principal departments of medical lore. But gradually the study of medicine became enlarged, and at the time of our Lord physicians seem to have resided not only in larger towns but even in the country.³ Certain diseases (specially those of the abdominal viscera) are described as peculiar to students, and a special physician was employed for the priests who served in the temple, and whose constant exposure must have rendered them peculiarly liable to various distempers.⁴ The frequency of sacrifices, and the laws

¹ For details, compare Ideler's *Chronologie*, i. p. 537 to the end.

² Compare Schwartz *das Hiel. Land*, p. 325.

³ Joseph. Vita, 72.

⁴ Compare Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebr.* 781.

concerning clean animals, &c., must have early led to an acquaintanceship with anatomy. In common opinion there were 248 bones in the body,¹ of which 30 belonged to each foot and hand (120 in all), 10 to each ankle, 2 to each leg, 5 to each knee, 1 to each thigh, 3 to each haunch, 2 to each forearm, 2 to each elbow, 1 to each arm, 4 to the shoulder, 11 ribs on each side, 18 bones to the spine, 9 to the skull, 8 to the neck, 6 to the breast, and 5 to the outlets of the abdominal viscera. It is matter of doubt whether the Hebrews had any idea of the structure and functions of the nervous and circulating systems. Much attention seems to have been paid to the art of preserving life and health. The exposure of so many mistakes committed by our predecessors has probably now led to the opposite extreme, and induced a culpable and unscientific scepticism and inattention to this subject. As purely physical means of prolonging life, long-protracted sitting at table, (implying slow mastication, a variety of dishes, and rest after it,) attention to regularity of secretions, proper diet—wheaten bread to youths, and oil to the aged, together with wine—and in cases of debility, the breath of and the contact with healthy children, specially of a different sex, are recommended.² The first requisite for the preservation of health was *purity of air*. Both the law of Moses and that of tradition direct care to this point, and the sanitary police regulations were very strict. From its geographical position the climate of Palestine was very salubrious; and it is almost more than a figure of speech when the Talmud maintained that the very air of Palestine made its inhabitants wise. The Hebrews recommended a moderate temperature, and looked upon the cooling north wind as restoring its balance. The hot southerly or easterly winds were deemed exceedingly dangerous, and during their prevalence no surgical operation was ordinarily performed.³ Strict attention was also paid to *personal cleanliness*, which, it was said, would lead to purity of the heart.⁴

¹ M. Ohol. i. 8.

² Compare generally R. J. Wunderbar, *Bibl. talmud. Medizin*. Riga, 1851.

³ Yebam. 72. a.

⁴ Sota, 49.

The divers washings, however useless in a religious point of view, were important as sanitary regulations. Besides the use of baths in private dwellings or public establishments, bathing in rivers, the use of warm or of medicated baths, either in the mineral waters of Tiberias, &c., or in warmed oil,¹ and vapour baths, were recommended. In the latter it was the practice to inhale vapour (though this was supposed to be detrimental for the teeth,²) to drink hot water, and to have the body rubbed with ointments and perfumeries. Immediately after the vapour bath, cold water was poured over the whole body, and a mixture of wine, oil, and water drunk. Inattention to cleanliness induced certain distempers and even madness.³ Cleanliness was felt of such importance that parties on a journey, in the wilderness, or in the country, were pitied as being far from bathing establishments.⁴ Students whose garments were filthy deserved to die, nor were they to settle in any place where either police or bathing establishments were defective.⁵ In these establishments it was the practice to rub the body with warm oil, the benefit of which has of late been acknowledged by eminent physicians. Attention to *regularity of secretions* was insisted upon as a duty, the neglect of which entailed dangerous consequences. *Daily regular exercise* was strongly recommended, as preventing abdominal diseases. After every meal some exercise was deemed requisite to promote digestion, but continued or rapid motion was thought dangerous. Equally noxious were all *violent emotions*. "Even one sigh destroys half the body,"⁶ while "anxiety, the discomforts of travelling, and sin, consume all the strength of man."⁷ The night is destined for *sleep*;⁸ "and if a person vows that he is not to sleep for three consecutive days (and nights) he is to be punished with stripes (for perjury), and to be immediately sent to bed."⁹ Sleep early in the morning was refreshing, but to remain too long in bed, or to sleep during the day for more than 60 breaths, was unwholesome. To sleep on

¹ Joseph. Wars, i. 33. 5.² J. Abod. v. 6.³ Nedar. 81.⁴ Erub. 55.⁵ Sanh. 7.⁶ Ber. 58.⁷ Gitt. 70.⁸ Erub. 65.⁹ Sheb. 25. a.

the ground was unsafe. Particular attention was also paid to *diet*. Milk and honey, the latter specially for children and old people, wheaten bread, meat boiled, roasted, or fried, and of vegetables, lentils, beans, and onions, constituted the chief articles of food. Hunger or thirst were to be the immediate indications for seeking supply;¹ and at every meal a proper quantity of fluids, specially of water, was to be used.² Great attention was to be paid to the quality of the water. To eat early in the morning imparted strength, and dinner was to be taken with daylight. Between supper and bedtime three or four hours were to intervene. Proper attention to mastication was conducive to health, nor should eating be continued to satiety. Particular directions were given as to the diet of pregnant women and suckling mothers. Directions for the treatment of new-born infants occur already in Ezek. xvi. 4.

The Talmud distinguishes between indisposition and dangerous diseases, and allows that the latter may be attended to even on Sabbaths. The proximate causes of disease were irregular and insufficient atmospheric movements, (a view akin to that of the Pneumatics); deficiency of heat, (a view related to that of Hippocrates)—hence moderate fever was deemed to contribute to the healing process; excessive secretions, and the state of the bile, which was thought to induce eighty-three different kinds of disease. Like the Alexandrian physicians the Jewish distinguished white, red, green, and black bile, the latter being an abnormal state of green bile. Every disease commenced with different premonitory symptoms, such as a rash, yawning, pains, &c., and if terminating favourably passed through different stages to convalescence, when the patient became younger and stronger than before the attack. The crisis of the disease was anxiously watched for on certain days, and appeared by sternutation, perspiration, abdominal secretions, sleep or dreams. Certain hours brought relief to the patients. They felt most easy during the three first hours of the day, and most uneasy during the three last hours of the night. Summer was more favourable for effect-

¹ Ber. 62.² Gitt. 70; Shab. 41; Ber. 40.

ing cures than winter. Changes of diet might entail disease, and one ailment lead to another. Thus croup began in the abdomen and terminated in the throat. The ailments most common among the Hebrews were fevers, inflammation of lungs and liver, diseases of the heart, leprosy, malignant ulcers, dyspepsia, dysentery, hæmorrhoids, poisons introduced by bites, and gout. Of surgical operations the most frequent, important, and most accurately described is that of circumcision. The process of embalming dead bodies was a purely Egyptian practice,¹ and the services rendered to the body of Christ (John xix. 39) were only an imitation of the Roman practice to delay putrefaction. The help of art for obstetric purposes was early called in. Midwives are mentioned in the oldest Hebrew records. When necessary, artificial means of breathing (by the nostrils) were employed, and if the infant was apparently dead, the connexion with the mother was kept up for a little, and the circulation otherwise promoted. Inability to suckle on the part of the infant was due to cramp, and to be remedied by the application of heat.² Of the obstetrical operations we may mention the gastrotomia or *side-operation*,³ and the Cæsarean,⁴ the latter only practised when the mother was dying, the partition of the infant, and in certain cases the introduction of a tube.⁵

Blood-letting, practised in Greece at a much earlier period, was frequently resorted to in the first centuries, not only in actual disease, but by way of prevention. Up to the fiftieth year, venesection was recommended once a month; after that period gradually, more rarely. To touch the wound, to expose one's-self to cold, to go about, to bathe, or to commit an error in diet after the operation, was deemed dangerous.⁶ Blood-letting was also resorted to under certain astrological combinations.⁷ The operation was, according to circumstances, performed on the upper or the lower part of the body, either by scarificators, (in a manner analogous to our cupping,) by open-

¹ For particulars compare Herod. ii. 85-88.

³ Bechor. 47.

⁵ Nidda. 24. b.

² Shab. 130.

⁴ Sanh. 21. b.

⁶ Shab. 129.

⁷ A practice adopted much later in Germany. Compare Fr. Rapaldi's Mag. and Perpet. Alman. for it. Antwerp, 1551.

ing a vein,¹ or as arteriotomy by a lancet,² or by the application of leeches.³ Artificial issues and setons were also known.⁴ An unskilful surgeon was amenable to justice;⁵ a skilful one bore the designation of Doctor. Students of the law and divines were not expected to pay any fee, and the poor were rather to be assisted than hardly dealt with by pious medical advisers.⁶ A variety of surgical operations are referred to in the Talmud, and in cases of amputation the deficiency was, if possible, supplied by artificial limbs.⁷ In fractures of bones, splints of wood or metal-plates were employed.⁸ The excision of tumours and cancerous swellings,⁹ and even of the spleen in the case of runners, was practised;¹⁰ and, in Alexandria, the excision of the ovarium in cows seems to have been generally resorted to. Dislocations were treated by cold-water bandages;¹¹ other wounds by the application of vinegar and wine,¹² or by surgeons' lint, soft cotton, &c. Three interesting operations are recorded, by which dislocations of the jaw,¹³ of the neck,¹⁴ and a hernia,¹⁵ were reduced.

The remedies employed in the cure of disease were either sympathetic and supernatural, or scientific. Supernatural influences were often brought into requisition, and people born under the same constellation were supposed to stand in "rapport" with each other. But, above these superstitions, the offspring of a false philosophy, and of unacquaintance with the laws of nature towered a firm confidence in a special overruling Providence, preventing the consequences which might otherwise have resulted. The Essenes, and other mystical sects, performed cures partly by the application of herbs and roots, and partly by supernatural means. Amulets, consisting of small pieces of parchment, on which verses of Scripture or mystical formulas were inscribed, were worn as preventives, and deemed probate if they had performed three cures, or been executed by

¹ Kethub. 39.

■ Tan. 21.

¹¹ Shab. 147. a.² Krith. 22.⁷ Kethub. 20. b.; Ker. 15. b.; Sanh. 4. 28.¹² *Ut supra*, 109. b.

■ Ab. Sar. 13. b.

⁸ Shab. 147.¹³ Ab. Sar. 29.⁴ Shab. 3; 107.⁹ Ab. Sar. & Yeb. 76. b.¹⁴ Shab. 66. b.⁵ Baha B. 21.¹⁰ Sanh. 21.¹⁵ Chulin, 56.

an adept. In their scientific treatment the Hebrews placed more confidence in dietetic and preventive than in remedial agency. However, as in Europe some centuries ago, the rarity, the costliness, and the oddity of a remedy, often invested it, in the opinion of the people and of doctors, with extraordinary powers. Such means were, however, only resorted to by a few, and perhaps less prescribed by native than foreign quacks. The next step in the progress of the science was the adoption of very composite formulas. As a general rule, however, minerals were not much resorted to, and, whether consciously or unconsciously, the principle seems to have been acted upon that nature provided remedies for the diseases peculiar to a district, in the products of that district. It was a principle, that too much drugging was hurtful.¹ Mineral waters and purgatives were, unless absolutely requisite, only to be used in spring.² Among them the juice of the date-palm, derived by incision into the tree;³ Babylonian beer; an Egyptian decoction, prepared from equal portions of barley, saffron, and common salt; mechanical means, and what was known as the trometon egg, or one prepared in a very peculiar manner, were in common use. Certain articles of diet, as hard-boiled eggs, roasted meat, liver, &c., were interdicted; others, as spinach, honey, the stomach and the lungs of geese, &c., were recommended to convalescents. Some of the remedies prescribed in the Talmud indicate that experience, extensive observation, and sound reasoning, had characterized the medical practice of the Hebrews.

Following the analogy of the law of Scotland,⁴ we may arrange the code of the Hebrews into *statutory* or *written*, (meaning by this the law of Moses,) and *customary* or *unwritten* law (referring to the traditionary law of the Mishna.) It is with the latter exclusively that we have at present to do. All jurisdiction was either civil, criminal, or ecclesiastical, according as questions of private right, public morality, or religious duty were to be decided. It requires, however, to be borne in mind,

¹ Pes. 112.² Shab. 110; 117.³ *Ut supra*.⁴ *Vide* Erskine's Principles of the Law of Scotland, p. 6, &c.

that by the peculiar constitution of the Jewish courts, and by the institutions of the country, a complete separation between these different branches could not be effected. Besides the above, a number of police, sanitary, and public regulations were also enacted by the Rabbins, which we shall notice as occasion offers.¹

The Jewish law acknowledged rights in every individual, and, with few exceptions, placed all on a footing of equality. We have already referred to some of the rights of women, and shall only supplement our statements. Though a mother could not claim equal² respect, she was on the same footing towards her children as the father, and biblical examples of her influence will readily occur. All the forbids of the law applied equally to both sexes, but all those *commands* whose execution was confined to certain definite periods (for example, the day-time, &c.), were only binding on males. Legal exceptions to the validity of marriages entailed the disqualification of the offspring. In all ordinary circumstances the child inherited the rank of the father. The offspring of illegal marriages, as when either of the parties was a bastard, or belonged to the excluded nations, were considered bastards. If the mothers had been incapable of contracting marriage, as in the case of female slaves, the children ranked with the mother. Thus the family of a bastard might become legitimate, if the bastard (father) married a slave (mother). Their children were then not bastards, but slaves, and, being emancipated, might become legitimate citizens, and intermarry with Israelites. Of the different relations of foreigners to Jews we have already spoken. They were either passing or resident strangers, or naturalized denizens. An uncircumcised person was allowed to offer sacrifices and tithes (of course according to the Jewish ritual), but not to partake in the Passover, or to marry a Jewess. Jews were allowed to marry the daughters of heathens, except those of the seven Canaanitish nations, and of the Amalekites. The grandchildren of Egyptians and

¹ Comp. Saalschütz d. Mas. Recht. Berlin, 1853.

² Kerith. vi. 9. We omit farther references to the Mishna, as they would prove too numerous.

Edomites, who had settled in Palestine, might enter the congregation. The law with reference to the Moabites and Amorites, as well as to the seven nations and the Amalekites, was, however, repealed by the Rabbins in favour of proselytes, and the sons of all foreigners resident in Palestine, and all proselytes were allowed to enter into the congregation. Any intercourse with heathens which might either further their idolatry, or issue to the disadvantage of the Jewish nation, was interdicted. Unconverted strangers might hold property in Palestine, and enjoyed, with a few trifling exceptions, the same rights as Jews. The Proselytes of the Gate were obliged to observe the seven Noachic Commandments which we have formerly specified. Finally, it is noticeable, that the Mishna confines the term bastards to those begotten in incest, to cases where marriage had been legally impossible, and to the children of harlots.

Every householder shared in all the public burdens, such as the keeping up of roads, baths, city-walls, gates, &c. Any party who transferred a public road from one part of his property to another, forfeited his right to both. All obstructions were to be removed from streets and roads, and, where they had been the occasion of damage, the person to whom it was traced was liable for compensation. Attention was also paid to beautifying towns. All property, consisting of fields, was restored in the jubilee, but the party restoring could claim something for improvements made. Within that period fields could be redeemed by the original proprietor only after a lapse of two years from their disposal. Houses in open (not walled) towns, or in villages, or in fields, &c., enclosed within town-walls, or built on the city-wall itself, were considered as fields, and returned in the jubilee to the original proprietors. Houses in walled or in unwalled towns might be redeemed by the original proprietor within a year after their sale; but after the lapse of a full year, houses in walled towns remained the *perpetual* property of the purchaser.

To our former remarks on servitude, we add, that only one of two grounds could exist for the servitude of a Hebrew, viz.,

theft, when, in order to discharge the legal pecuniary punishment, the authorities might order the sale of the culprit; or poverty inducing a Jew to sell himself. Hebrew maids obtained freedom in the seventh year; nor could they have their ears bored. If a Hebrew sold his daughter, the law assumed that it was for the purpose of marriage, and forbade her sale by her master. She was either to become a member of the family, or to be set free. As she could only be sold during her minority, she attained freedom whenever the marks of puberty appeared. A heathen slave might obtain his liberty by redemption, manumission, or in consequence of ill-usage. If a slave was sold to a heathen, or beyond the boundaries of Palestine, he obtained by the very act his legal freedom, and, if fugitive, could not be reclaimed. Heathen slaves, however, did not share all the privileges of Jewish servants. Thus, for example, they could not retain possession of anything found by them. If a heathen slave became a proselyte, he was generally manumitted, and then baptized a second time. The daughters of such enjoyed the same rights as other Hebrewesses, and, if their mother had been a Jewess, might even be married to priests. If a man left his fortune to his slave, he attained with it his liberty also. Regular letters of manumission were given, in which it was essential that the words, "from this time forth be free," should actually occur. These letters, if once written, even though not delivered or despatched, could not again be annulled. If a slave belonged to several masters, and one of them renounced his rights, the others could be forced to do likewise, the emancipated person incurring a corresponding monetary obligation towards them. Hired servants, if engaged by the day, could claim their wages at night—if during the night, on the following day. But while the law respected the rights of the employed, it also carefully protected the employer.

Properly speaking, marriage was considered a purely civil contract, but it was customary to wed the bride in presence of witnesses, and with the pronouncement of certain blessings, or to

wed her "according to the law of Moses and of Israel." The free consent of the bride, and, if a minor, of her father also, were requisite. A bride descended from the family of Aaron had a double dowry (400 dinars) assigned to her. Marriage between minors was invalid, nor could any act short of a renewal of the ceremony make it afterwards valid. A union with the condition, that after a certain time it was to become valid, was not binding, but from the moment the marriage-contract had been signed the union could only be separated by formal divorce. Although boys attained their majority at the age of thirteen, they could not dispose of immovable property till after the age of twenty. If sufficient funds were on hand, a bride could insist on having a portion assigned to her conformable to her station in life. A second daughter could claim a portion equal to that of her elder sister, or else one-tenth of all immovable property. A mistaken opinion as to the circumstances of the bride, unless she had wilfully deceived her intended, formed no valid ground for divorce. If the lady's property had been entered into the marriage-contract, the bridegroom was bound to assign to his wife the full value of her portion, and one-half more, or, if it consisted in jewellery, &c., one-fifth less than their value. In such cases the property belonged to the husband, either simply for use—the wife retaining her right of disposal—or absolutely, the husband being, however, answerable for any loss. If a wife inherited property, the husband enjoyed only the use of it, but a wife could not dispose of any property without the consent of her husband. If the husband's rights were attainted by any vow of his wife, he was at liberty to absolve her from such obligations. The duties of both parties, and their mutual rights, have already been detailed. We add, that the claims of the wife upon her dowry, and those of children, did not require to be expressly mentioned in the marriage-contract. The husband was the heir of his wife. In cases of separation (not divorce) he was bound to assign her a proper aliment; and the divorce *a mensa et thoro* was held suspended during the Sabbath festivity. In cases of dispute, the

law protected chiefly the interests of wives. One witness, even though incapable of giving testimony in other cases, was sufficient to attest the death of the husband, *i.e.*, if no suspicion of collusion existed; but a period of three months was to elapse between a first and second marriage. Before receiving her dowry, the wife had to swear that she had not previously got any portion. These provisions applied of course only to regular wives. We need not detail the laws regulating marriage with the wife of a deceased brother, as even the Mishna recommends that it should not be performed. An Israelite was prevented from marrying within the prescribed degrees of consanguinity, and priests from uniting themselves with harlots, with divorced or profane persons, *i.e.*, the offspring of marriages forbidden to priests. To prevent interdicted marriages, every priest was to inquire into the family of his bride, (up to four degrees, if she descended from the family of Aaron—in other circumstances to five degrees,) except when the bride's father was a priest in active service, or a member of the Sanhedrim. The daughters of proselytes, or of libertines, if their mothers had been Israelites, and the children of profane *mothers*, might be married by priests. In a city taken by an enemy, the priests had to divorce their wives, unless special testimony could be borne to their chastity. The virgin which the high-priest wedded was to be no more than six months beyond the period of puberty.

Although divorce was lawful, the various regulations to be observed must, in practice, have considerably limited it, and its practice was generally reprobated. Besides, it was always first sought to bring about a reconciliation. If a wife had transgressed "the law of Moses" (in her duties as wife), "or that of Israel" (by immodesty or forwardness, &c.), and in other exceptional cases, she had no claim on her dowry. A letter of divorce had to be signed by witnesses, and expressly stated that N. N. was now regularly divorced, and free to marry any other. In prospect of a distant journey, or of death, the mere order of the husband to draw up a letter of divorce was deemed sufficient, except when he had specially been solicited to do so. Letters

of divorce might be transmitted by messengers, provided they had been delivered by both parties in the presence of witnesses. The messenger was not allowed to marry the divorced party. Where the doubtful fame of a woman was the ground of separation, she was interdicted from marrying again.

The mutual rights and duties of parents and children have been already referred to. While the sons were in measure independent, the father could dispose of his daughters during their minority, either by marrying or by selling them. All that a minor found or gained, though not what she inherited, belonged to the parent. However, the disposal of a daughter was deemed improper, except in cases of urgent necessity. Although the father was bound to have his son circumcised, redeemed, educated, trained to a trade, and even taught to swim, he appears to have been under no legal obligation to maintain his children after they had passed their sixth year. But, in such extreme cases, the magistrates could oblige the unnatural parent to bestow on his children as charity what could not be insisted upon as legal obligation. The first-born son inherited a double portion of the property actually left by the father (not by the mother), and on hand at the time of his decease. Sons and their descendants, though these descendants were females, were considered the sole heirs, when even the right of primogeniture extended to the daughters of the deceased eldest son in preference to their father's brothers. Failing direct heirs, the property descended to the father of the deceased, and then to his brothers or sisters, and so on upwards. Bastards, or the offspring of illicit connexions, with the exception of the children of heathen or slave-mothers, were not excluded from sharing in the inheritance. Crimes of any kind, even the forsaking of Judaism, did not disqualify from the above rights; but kings might deprive rebels of their property and rights. The rabbinical law makes provision for disposal by testament (termed after the Greek "*Dijathiki*"). It distinguished between the disposition of persons in good health and of those in prospect of death. The latter might either leave or dispose of their pro-

perty, if such disposal did not run contrary to the law of Moses. Only an inheritance could never go wholly beyond the circle of the rightful heirs, but fell ultimately to one or other of them (the others being perhaps tacitly passed by). If a person in good health gifted away any portion of his property, actual possession on the part of the recipient was requisite to complete the transaction. If a patient recovered, he could recall the donation, provided he had not, by retaining part of his original property, indicated that he had at the time anticipated recovery. The claims of the widow have already been referred to. The duty of burying a widow devolved upon *her* legal heirs. A widow could only claim payment of her dowry from what was *actually* left at the time of her husband's decease. Daughters had to be maintained by their brothers, even though this would have thrown the latter upon public charity. When marrying, a daughter could claim a tenth part of what had been left as her portion. Where the father had not chosen tutors or curators, such were appointed by the authorities. The curator had to watch over the education and property of the minors, and to give an account of the latter to the authorities. The wife was not heir to her husband. The husband might formally renounce his right to his wife's property when she was at liberty during her lifetime to dispose of it. A mother was not heir to her children, but *vice versa*, and step-daughters had, even after their step-father's decease, the same claim to aliment as his daughters.

A farmer was obliged to keep the ground in good order, and to make all customary improvements. If a crop was destroyed by locusts, fire, or any public calamity, the damage was borne by the landlord. Leases were generally for seven years, but flax might only be sown or wood cut during the first year, as the former exhausted the ground, and the latter took long time to grow. If any person let his house to another without fixing a term, he could not dispossess the occupant between the Feast of Tabernacles and that of the Passover (the end of autumn and the end of spring). In summer, thirty days' notice of removal had to be given, and, to the occupants of shops or of town-

houses, a full twelvemonth. The occupants of manufactories and large works had to receive three years' notice. The proprietor was bound to execute any repairs which required a tradesman.

The law distinguished between movable and immovable property. The latter afforded security to creditors even where such had not formally been stated; the former did not. Claims upon movable property could only be substantiated if such property had actually been delivered, else neither the fact of payment nor the statement of witnesses could make the transaction legal. Immovable property was acquired by payment, document, or actual possession. In cases of exchange of one article for another (with the exception of produce of the land), actual possession by *one* of the parties was sufficient. A deaf and dumb person might conclude a bargain by signs, and, if a transaction had been concluded, no after-agreement could annul it.

The drawing up of documents for various purposes pre-supposed such minute acquaintance with the forms of law, the smallest neglect of which destroyed their validity, that professional writers, in whom we recognise the scribes of the New Testament, were soon required. Having received a theological education, they were of course not excluded from being promoted to seats in the different Colleges of Justice, or from being doctors and teachers of the law. Documents were either *plain* or *folded*. In plain documents the contents were recorded consecutively, and the signatures of *two* witnesses followed at the end. In folded documents (originally used in divorces to give the husband time for ample reflection), a fold succeeded after every few lines, and was always attested by three witnesses. Any informality, or the absence of proper signatures of witnesses, rendered the document invalid. A letter of divorce might be drawn up in the absence of the wife, and her receipt for the dowry in the husband's absence—an acknowledgment of debt in the absence of the creditor, and a letter of purchase in that of the buyer. Documents concerning marriage, farms, arbitration, or judicial findings, could only be written in presence of both

parties, and the latter were valid even if drawn up by non-Jewish authorities. Property professedly bought or received, consisting of houses, fountains, baths, slaves, fields, and anything else from which continual profit might be derived, was indisputable if the original proprietor had not, during three years, objected to the validity of the rights of the holder of the property. The holder of property was not bound after that term to produce documents to prove his right of tenure, provided he had, during that period, given the original proprietor sufficient intimation of his claims. But this limitation was suspended if war or robbers prevented communication from place to place. But the burden of proof might rest on the defender in the case of tradesmen or workmen, of part-proprietors, farmers who shared in the fruits of the ground, of curators, or in questions between husband and wife or father and son. If a property was too small for division, or such division was inconvenient, neither party could insist on it unless prepared to purchase the whole. Where flats belonged to different parties, the proprietor of the upper story could, if the house fell, insist on the rebuilding of the lower, or take possession of the ground. A wall had to be removed at least four cubits from the windows of a neighbour, and if broad enough to allow a person to stand upon it, required to be built either four cubits higher or lower than such windows. Where a neighbour's wall was in danger of being injured by any operation, a distance of three spans was to intervene, and the wall to be protected. It was not allowed to cultivate in a field what might injure the crop of a neighbour—as to cultivate mustard if a neighbour had sown onions. Trees had to be removed six cubits from the property of a neighbour, and the branches, if they overhung the wall, might be cut off. If two gardens, of which the one was higher than the other, bounded, the declivity belonged in part to both, so that the proprietor of the higher ground claimed so much as he could reach from his property with his hand, while all the rest went with the lower ground. Neighbours had a first right of purchase.

Sequestration of an insolvent required legal permission. A curious legal provision, strongly indicative of the altered times and views, was made by the Rabbins to prevent the cessation of monetary obligations in the Sabbatical year. It was not only declared lawful to accept payment during that year (if proffered), but such conduct on the part of the debtor was declared meritorious. It was also enacted, that debts contracted upon pledges, or secured by written documents deposited in Court, or containing an express surrender of the right of remission on the part of the creditor, technically termed *Prosbol*, did not come within the range of the Sabbatical remission. In case of insolvency, the creditor might force the debtor to work for him in lieu of payment. If a debtor died, the claims of creditors took precedence of those of the heirs. Originally these claims were, however, confined to immovable property—a limitation which was afterwards removed. The claims of the widow upon her dowry were those of a creditor, and in general the latter ranked according to the date of the loan. Various provisions were made for the protection of either party from fraud. Acknowledgments of debt did not require to contain the name of the lender, and were payable to any party who possessed the document. If a dying person declared in general terms, that one amongst many outstanding loans had been repaid to him, all obligations to him became thereby invalid (on account of the doubt), but if more than one had been incurred by *one* creditor, only the largest was held to be discharged. In cases of part repayment a special receipt was granted, or the authorities drew up a new document embodying the reduced sum, but preserving the original date. If a party *wholly* denied a debt, he could not be constrained to swear, as the law assumed his innocence, and the burden of proof rested with the pursuer. It was otherwise when the defender admitted part of the debt. However, at a later period, a peculiar oath was required even where an unqualified denial had been given. Notices of orders, &c., in a merchant's books, were admitted as partial proofs.

The Jewish law arranged all occasions of damage under four

classes, as those by cattle, by pits, by grazing, and by fire. If one animal hurt another, the proprietor of the former paid *half*, and, if previous warning had been given him, the *whole* damage. If a person dug a pit ten span deep, he was responsible for deterioration or loss of any animal which had fallen into it; otherwise, only for the former. Anything left or spilt on the street which occasioned damage, involved responsibility. The person last engaged with an object causing damage, was held responsible, and the amount computed by competent judges. If any object had been lost, or received damage, while in the temporary possession of a stranger, the law made several distinctions. If a party had been intrusted with an article, he could not be sued for damages; if he had borrowed it he was obliged to pay damages; if it had passed out of the proprietor's hands in the way of business, the temporary owner, who had remained within the conditions of the contract, was only responsible if it had been stolen or lost. A party was allowed a certain percentage for waste, if the article intrusted had been wheat ($2\frac{1}{2}\%$), barley (5%), or flax (10%). A vessel must not be needlessly removed, nor any money intrusted diminish through negligence. A banker, but not a private party, was allowed to use money intrusted to him. The proprietor or keeper was answerable for damage caused by his cattle, if the party injured had not exposed himself; but where such injury could not have been foreseen, only half the actual damage could be claimed, and that only from the value of the injuring animal. If a flock had been properly secured, the proprietor was not answerable for its breaking loose and causing damage. If a fire originated from the spark of an anvil, the party causing it was answerable. The master was not answerable for any damage caused by his slaves. A person was not legally bound to assist another, attacked by murderers. An article found in a public place, if possessing any value, and characteristic marks by which it might be recognised, was publicly described during three festive occasions, and for seven days after the Feast of Tabernacles. But letters of divorce, of manumission, testaments, conveyances, and receipts,

were not to be returned, as probably they had been purposely thrown aside. Animals found straying, might either be employed or sold, and their value afterwards returned to the owner.

The criminal law of the Hebrews contrasts favourably, not only with that of heathen, but also of many professedly Christian nations. The purposes of punishments were (according to Deut. xix. 19, 20) judicial vengeance, judicial atonement, the deterring of others, to which we may add, restitution to the party injured, and the removal of ulterior consequences from the criminal. Much stress was laid by the Rabbins on the latter point, which transformed the punishment from a harsh reprobation and haughty exclusion into a kind and parental correction. The death of the criminal or the infliction of forty stripes, which in law took the place of the biblical threat of "being cut off," was supposed to atone for the crime of the penitent criminal, and to remove the crime, both in this world and in that which is to come. The crime ceased with the punishment. Hence the attempt to induce the culprit to confess, the solemn and mournful conduct of the judges, and the beautiful practice, on the part of the relatives of a felon, to wait on the judges and witnesses, in order to shew that they harboured no ill feeling towards them. Another equally peculiar provision of the law was that by which no person could be executed or receive forty stripes, unless the witnesses to the deed had warned the criminal, and he had persevered in his sin. The punishments awarded by the Jewish law were upon the life, body, and property of the criminal. Incarceration was not a Jewish mode of punishment. The legislative principle of retaliation must be looked upon rather as the basis of the administration of justice than as any individual law, and was in practice considerably limited.

The law of Moses is explicit in the mention of those crimes to which the punishment of death was to be awarded, but the Rabbinical statutes limited its execution in various ways. In fact, every legal device was employed to avoid this unpleasant necessity, and it was expressly stated that the court which inflicted capital punishment more frequently than once in seven,

or, according to some, in seventy years, was cruel. Rabbies Triphon and Akiba declared they would never have consented to such a sentence. On the day of pronouncing capital sentence, the judges fasted. The Jewish law recognised four modes of execution. The party to be stoned was cast by one of the witnesses from a height, after which (if he was not dead) a second witness threw the first stone at him. If this punishment had been inflicted for blasphemy or idolatry, the body was hung up till even. There were different places of interment destined for criminals, and their relatives were not to mourn for them. Burning was generally executed by pouring boiling lead into the criminal. Decapitation was performed with the sword. Strangulation was the ordinary punishment, and executed with a cord wrapped in a cloth, and drawn together by two persons. From the punishment threatened in John viii. 5, we gather that the adulteress there accused had not been actually married but was only a bride. When the criminal was led to the place of execution—which always took place on the day of his condemnation—a herald going before him called upon all who might be able to say anything in his favour to appear before the judges, and the procession might thus be four or five times arrested : at the same time the criminal was admonished to confess and repent. Before the execution, a cup containing an intoxicating mixture of wine and spices, was handed to him. On Sabbaths or feast-days, and on the days of preparation, capital offences could not be tried. If the punishment of forty stripes had been twice inflicted, the criminal was on a third occasion confined into a narrow prison, and fed first upon very spare diet, then on barley bread, until “ his bowels gushed out.” The same was also done when a murderer escaped capital sentence through non-observance of any legal form.

The four degrees of excommunication were called *Nesiphah* or reproof, which lasted only for seven days,¹ *Niddui* or exclusion, *Cherem* or bann, and *Shammatha* or excommunication. The

¹ Compare Buxtorff, *in verbum*. The treatise of Danzius on this subject, in Meuschen's Nov. Test. ex Talm. illustr. p. 615, &c., is not quite exact.

punishments executed on the body of the criminal consisted in the infliction of stripes—often in the case of Rabbins—the largest number being forty, or in practice thirty-nine, from a dread of inflicting one in excess, it being always first ascertained that the culprit was able to bear his sentence. The instrument used was a scourge of leathern thongs. The hands of the criminal, who was in an inclined position, were tied to two pillars, and two-thirds of the stripes inflicted on the shoulders, the rest on the chest. During the infliction, Deut. xxviii. 58 and 59, xxix. 9, and at the close Ps. lxxviii. 38, were read to the criminal. The law recounts 207 cases in which forty stripes were to be inflicted. The fines prescribed in the law of Moses were so far modified by the Mishna that no actual fine (only simple restitution) was required when the criminal confessed his fault of his own accord. However, under no circumstances was an individual incriminated by any statement of his own, nor could such be used against him. As a general principle, severe punishments were only inflicted where amendment, restitution, &c., was in the nature of the thing impossible. The Rabbins recount thirty-four breaches of forbids and two of commands which expose to the threat of “being cut off,” a punishment in their opinion more severe than that of sudden death by the hand of God (which follows upon eleven crimes.) Corporal punishments were inflicted by the officers of the various synagogues. In exceptional cases the law warranted those present at the perpetration of a crime to execute summary vengeance, provided the crime had been *publicly* committed, and was punished immediately. But if, under such circumstances, a criminal killed his opponent in self-defence, the law took no notice of it.

In general, the Jewish law assumed the innocence of every party till actual and intentional guilt had been established, nor, while declaring the rendering of testimony meritorious, did it oblige any person to lay information. The most fearful crime was that of blasphemy, which was only then supposed to have been committed, if the ineffable name of Jehovah had been used. That name had originally been generally known, and

was, in certain defined circumstances, still pronounced. Gradually its proper vocalization had become unknown, probably in connexion with mystical views on the subject. In cases of accusations of blasphemy all present were removed, and the judges asked the worthiest amongst the witnesses to repeat what they had heard; the others simply assented. The judges then rent their garments in token of mourning, and the convicted party was stoned. Direct acts of idolatry were punished by stoning, any indirect assistance of it by forty stripes. The Mosaic law, which ordered the extermination of a city whose inhabitants had become idolaters, was limited by the Rabbins to instances in which the *majority* of the inhabitants had been seduced by parties belonging to the same town and tribe. Witchcraft, or having a familiar spirit, was punished by stoning; participation in such practices, by forty stripes. Intentional profanation of the Sabbath deserved stoning; the breach of other ritual ordinances, forty stripes. A false prophet, *i.e.*, one who prophesied without having received a Divine message, or who delivered what had been sent by another prophet, or spake in the name of a strange god, was to be strangled.

The Rabbins also distinguished between casual and unintentional homicide; manslaughter, where there had been an intention to hurt but not to destroy, and murder, which implied premeditation and the infliction of blows or wounds in themselves mortal, and from which escape would have been impossible. *Only* in the last-mentioned case was the murderer executed. During the investigation every party accused had a right to go for safety to one of the cities of refuge, under the escort of two Rabbins. If death issued in consequence of a quarrel and fight, the murderer was executed if the blow given was in itself sufficient to induce immediate death. The same law applied also to slaves. But if a *heathen* slave had lingered a few days before dying, capital sentence was not inflicted. Any person about to commit murder, unnatural crimes, or to violate a bride, might lawfully be killed. Where fatal injury had been sustained from an animal, the animal was stoned; and the proprietor, if previ-

ously warned of its dangerous character, had to pay the computed value of the party killed, and, in the case of slaves, thirty shekels. The eating of the flesh of a stoned animal exposed to the punishment of forty stripes. If a murder was committed, and the perpetrator unknown, a deputation, consisting of five members of the Sanhedrim, performed, along with the elders of the township nearest to the place of murder, certain prescribed solemnities, after which the latter were declared free of the blame of official negligence. In cases of suicide the body remained uninterred till even. Persons guilty of men-stealing were strangled if the party stolen had actually been brought within the domain of the accused.

In cases of theft the punishment was restitution, with the addition of double or five-fold the value of the article stolen. In order to constitute theft, the article must have actually been lifted up or removed from the boundaries of the owner. Thus a thief who killed and then sold an animal on the property of its rightful owner was only bound to make restitution. Nor did the law of compensation apply to the theft of slaves, documents, immoveable property, or things dedicated. A thief who voluntarily confessed, under whatever circumstances, was only bound to make restitution. When the article stolen was restored, it must be accompanied by an addition of one-fifth of its value, and handed to the proprietor in person, and that, however trifling the article or distant his place of residence, so that his forgiveness might be obtained, after which a sacrifice should be offered. Tradesmen, as tailors, carpenters, &c., were interdicted from retaining any of the material intrusted to them. To prevent temptation, it was also forbidden to buy wool, milk, or young animals from a shepherd; fruits or trees from a hired gardener, &c. If the thief had not the means of paying the legal fine, he might be sold, but not beyond the bounds of Palestine. Females could not be sold. When anything dedicated had been stolen, it had to be restored, with the addition of two-fifths to its real value. In cases of robbery, only simple restitution was required. The witnesses who intentionally bare false witness were ordi-

narily visited with the punishment which would have been awarded to the accused party. In exceptional cases this was converted into a fine or the infliction of forty stripes. Where the charge was capital, and sentence had actually been pronounced, the witnesses were liable to death. A husband who had falsely charged his bride with previous unchastity had to pay 100 shekels to her parents, and could never be divorced from her. The various crimes connected with oaths were arranged into inconsiderate, needless, and criminal swearing—the latter when a party either denied his knowledge of, or refused to mention a favourable circumstance—and perjury; all of which were more or less severely punished. In all these cases a simple “Amen,” in answer to adjuration, was deemed an oath.

Rabbinical ordinances, as in all other crimes so in respect of adultery also, tended to lighten the law of Moses. The punishment due to that sin was stoning, but the Rabbins limited this to affianced brides, and, latterly, even to breach of chastity in a bride during the first six months after her majority. The evidence of two witnesses was requisite to establish the crime. If a woman had married again, after having received false tidings of her husband's death, both her first and second husband had to divorce her with the loss of her dowry, and the offspring of her second marriage was deemed illegitimate. Rabbi Jochanan ben Saccai abolished the practice of administering the waters of jealousy, on account, as he said, of the frequency of adultery. This mode of detection was supposed to be only then reliable if the husband had not himself been guilty of infidelity, and was used after the husband had, in presence of two witnesses, admonished his wife to abstain from intercourse with a suspected party. One witness, even a slave or a maid, was sufficient evidence in cases of actual adultery after admonition, when a woman might be divorced with the loss of her dowry, except when the witness against her was a near female relative of her husband. If a man seduced the concubine of another, he had to bring a sacrifice, and the woman received bodily chastisement. Prostitution was a sin uncommon amongst Jewesses, and criminal intercourse with pro-

stitutes was interdicted on penalty of forty stripes. In cases of seduction a threefold, in rape a fourfold fine had to be paid. The father of the damsel might insist also on marriage, which could not again be dissolved. In cases of rape the law always insisted on marriage. A priest's daughter who was guilty of adultery or public prostitution was burned. The strict biblical law concerning criminal resistance to parents was almost rendered nugatory by Rabbinical additions. Thus the parents were to be perfectly agreed in their accusation; neither of them was to be decrepit, blind, deaf, lame, &c. The son must once before have been judicially punished by stripes, and have passed his thirteenth year; finally, the law extended only to three months after the date of the offence. Cursing parents—whether living or dead—was punished by stoning; striking, if traces of the ill-usage had been left, by strangulation. Insubordination to magistrates was severely punished, and, if committed by a judge who had taught or acted against the decision of the Supreme College, he was to be executed in Jerusalem, and on a feast-day.

The office of judge was filled by the learned and doctors of the law. It had no immediate or necessary connexion with the office of teaching, although, from the nature of the thing, the ablest teachers were generally selected as judges. This distinction was also retained in the early Church; and, while the College of Elders judicially ruled in all matters pertaining to the flock, he who besides was also capable of teaching, was deemed worthy of double honour. Only that the jurisdiction of the synagogue was strictly speaking secular, even in its theological departments, while that of the Church was entirely spiritual. The law distinguished three classes of judges, according to the size and importance of the place in which they resided. The lowest court was that of three judges, the next that of the Sanhedrim of twenty-three, and the highest that of seventy-one, or the great Sanhedrim.¹ The judges of all these courts were regularly ordained by the imposition of hands. This solemnity was performed by an ordained Rabbi, in the presence of at least two

¹ Consult generally, Selden de Synedriis Ebr.

others; but, in exceptional circumstances, judges might be set apart by letters or by mere designation. The number of judges in the various colleges of justice was uneven, in case of diversity of opinion. In a capital conviction, which could only be passed by a Sanhedrim, a majority of at least two was requisite, and sentence was only pronounced after a night spent in solemn deliberation had passed. In cases of dubiety assessors might be chosen. Besides these colleges of *ordained* judges, parties might choose three judges or arbiters to decide in cases of dispute. In Jerusalem there were besides the great Sanhedrim two other Sanhedrim of twenty-three. We have already referred to the honours due to the judges, to their mode of meeting, and the gradual promotion of students. The authority of the president of the Sanhedrim was requisite before ordination to the judicial office. The power of appealing to higher courts lay with the judges, if they were not sure of their sentence, or in pecuniary matters with the accusing party. The judges were not in receipt of any regular salary, but were compensated for any loss of time. Any communication with the parties or favouritism, disqualified a judge from pronouncing sentence. The candidates for the senatorial office were required to be of good report, learned, grave, not engaged in any degrading or sinful occupation, to be married, and to have children; nor to be either too young (at least above twenty), or too old. The members of the family of Aaron were not judges *ex officio*, and even the high-priest was subject to the jurisdiction of the Sanhedrim. But it will readily be conceived that these functionaries were almost always members and frequently office-bearers of the Sanhedrim. Kings were neither members of the Sanhedrim nor subject to its authority. The regular times for Sanhedrim meetings were the second and the fifth days of the week, and oftener if requisite, provided such meetings did not interfere with sacred observances. The hours of meeting were between the morning and evening sacrifice, and extended over a space of between seven and eight hours. The judges were not allowed to communicate to parties on which side they had voted.

Perfectly distinct from ordination to the office of judge was that to the office of Rabbi or teacher, or, as it was expressed, for "loosing and binding."¹ Sages set apart for one office were indeed generally supposed to be qualified for the other also, but in theory and in practice a distinction was made between the two. The Rabbi set apart "to loose or bind" might authoritatively declare what was binding on the conscience and what not, and in Talmudical writings the phrase continually recurs by which a teacher or a school is said to *loose* or to *bind*, *i.e.*, to declare something obligatory or non-obligatory—a licence or ordination which was afterwards conferred by the Saviour upon all His disciples, acting under the guidance of His Holy Spirit.

In all criminal, and even in most civil cases, the testimony of at least two witnesses was requisite. Parties interested, enemies, women related to parties, minors, slaves, heathens, robbers, felons, usurers, gamblers, and publicans, as well as idiots, &c., were incapable of bearing witness. Witnesses were adjured by the parties at the bar, and, at a later period, also sworn by the Court. They were strictly examined concerning the time, place, and circumstances of the crime, and the slightest disagreement between them annulled the whole testimony. If the judges did not understand the language of any of the witnesses, they were not allowed to engage the services of an interpreter, and, if dubious concerning their veracity, the case had to be heard again before another court. The law distinguished three kinds of oaths which might be exacted from parties at the bar,—that according to Biblical, according to Mishnic, and according to Gemaric ordinance. The first was made by a party suspected of unfaithfulness, by a defendant who had admitted a claim in part, and by one against whom only *one* witness had testified. The second was made by the *pursuer* in a cause where other sufficient proof was wanting. The third form of oath was introduced at a later period for all other disputed cases, and for testing witnesses. Finally, a legal provision denominated "*Miggo*," *in consideration of*, declared

¹ Comp. Selden, *ut supra*, p. 689, &c.

that a favourable presumption attended the party who admitted a fact, which, if fraud had been intended, might have been concealed by him.

We have already hinted, that a college of priests attended to the duties of Temple police, and decided in all purely priestly questions. Any farther details on this subject would necessarily lead us to an extended sketch of a former period. We, therefore, close this account of the state of the Hebrew nation by a brief exposition of their theology, with its kindred sciences.

CHAPTER XI.

THEOLOGICAL SCIENCE AND RELIGIOUS BELIEF IN PALESTINE.

IF any person conversant only with the inspired writings were to transport his preconceived ideas into the relations which existed at the time of the Saviour's advent, and to expect that the Synagogue had any system of doctrines regularly elaborated into a Confession of Faith, an examination into the actual state of matters would soon convince him of his mistake. Only on two dogmatic points, directly connected with the Bible, were the Rabbins agreed,—the being and unity of God, and the claims of the Scriptures to implicit belief and obedience. On almost every other article of faith, and on many of the duties incumbent on members of the Synagogue, we have nothing but the isolated and often discordant opinions of the sages. It is, therefore, comparatively easy for friends and enemies of the Synagogue to find in these various statements proofs of what either approaches to Gospel teaching, or of what not only contradicts it, but is opposed to sound reason, right feeling, and the acknowledged codes of morality. All such inferences are equally unsatisfactory. It must be borne in mind that the statements of individual Rabbins are not the deliberative verdicts of the Synagogue; that they were not uttered as the result of professed investigations of the subjects on which they treat; and are hence at most to be taken as indications of the prevalence of certain tendencies amongst the Rabbins, and of the currency of certain religious ideas amongst the people.¹

¹ Hence while we repudiate not only the conclusion, but also the spirit of certain enemies of the Jews, such as Eisenmenger, Wagenseil, and their successors, we cannot wholly admit the bearing of the reasonings even of some friends of the Jews, such as Macaulay and Oxlee.

In its general aspect Judaism was a vast system of rationalism, which, according to the bent of different minds, took the direction of traditionalism, of scepticism, or of mysticism. While its foundation was immoveably fixed in the Bible, its general cast was rationalistic, inasmuch as it only provided for the intellect, and elaborated Judaism entirely in accordance with rationalistic principles. The only settled thing was the letter of the law, the text of the Commandments. The meaning and application of the latter formed subject of inquiry. The doctrines, or the spiritual import of the Bible were, except when they seemed directly to contravene the general teaching of the Synagogue, left unsettled and to the free choice of every individual. This rigid adherence to the letter, the attempt to apply it to all conceivable relations, and the excessive value attached to mere knowledge and learning, introduced and developed the principles of traditionalism. At first propounded with a desire to apply the text of the law in agreement with the wants of the times, and in accordance with the wisdom of the fathers, this principle, once introduced, rapidly developed. Gradually men sought not so much to elicit from the text, as to introduce into it the principles of their peculiar schools, or the decrees of the Synagogue. Manifestly these deductions from the Bible would have been without value, if the Synagogue had not somehow ascribed Divine authority to them, handed them down in unbroken succession, and connected them, according to certain general principles, into one harmonious whole. Thus the direction of Judaism, as the religion of the letter, the circumstances of the times, and the pride of knowledge, gave rise to traditionalism. It is scarcely necessary to shew that all traditionalism, and specially that of the Synagogue, is rationalistic, being based on the idea of the insufficiency of the Bible alone, and cast, as to substance and form, in a rationalistic mould.

We have already stated that Jewish traditionalism took the threefold direction, which indeed seems inherent to human thinking, of pure adherence to the letter of tradition, of scepticism, and of mysticism, the latter being the more healthy reac-

tion of the other two extremes, and containing the most numerous remains of genuine spiritual elements. Before these tendencies appeared in the schools, they were embodied in the rival sects of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. As the "knowledge" element became more dominant in the Synagogue, these parties rapidly disappeared, scarce leaving a trace of their existence. Henceforth, one or other of these directions was chiefly, though not exclusively, followed in the various schools, or by different Rabbins.

It is a point of great importance in the study of Judaism generally, and of traditionalism in particular, to bear in mind that the outward observances, and not the doctrines of the Bible, formed the subject of authoritative teaching. Every separate traditional legal ordinance was termed a "Halacha." The Halachas, or traditional ordinances, in their scientific arrangement, constituted the Mishna, or Deuterosis (traditional or second law), of which the Talmud or Gemara was the commentary, the explanation, illustration, and application. But as traditionalism itself was understood to be not so much an addition to, as a paraphrastic comment of the Bible, it was early felt necessary to connect the Halacha with the text of Scripture. The latter was to remain the basis of all teaching in the Synagogue, from which the Mishna was to be evolved, or with which it was at least to be organically connected. At the same time traditionalism, which, either in its principles or in its ordinances, was traced through the fathers to God, was declared inspired, or rather of Divine authority, and, as the infallible and authoritative explanation of the requirements of Scripture, was in some sense superior to them, and at all events required more careful study, and demanded more implicit obedience. The same relationship between Scripture and tradition, the same internal necessity for it, and a similar origin, may indeed be traced in all analogous systems of religion, and especially in Romanism.

It may at first appear strange, that the outward ordinances of the Bible should have exclusively formed the subject of teaching in the Synagogue; but, leaving out of consideration the fact

that they only could have formed the substance of the religion of spiritually unenlightened men, these ordinances, and the books from which they were derived, occupied in the mind of the Hebrews a peculiar position. Although all Scripture was divinely inspired, the Jews distinguished three kinds, or at least degrees of heavenly teaching. Only to Moses (in the law) had God spoken face to face. The Prophets were indeed under the direction of the Spirit of God, but their inspiration was different in kind from that of Moses. In fact, great teachers and commentators were to some extent subjects of a similar inspiration. The third kind of Divine direction, applying specially to traditionalism, was the "Bath-Kol," "daughter-voice," perhaps the echo of the voice which Moses had heard, and to which we have already referred. If the law (the Pentateuch) was thus separated from all other portions of Scripture, as inspired in its letters, sounds, and signs, so that not a stroke, particle, or preposition in it could possibly be in vain, or without special meaning, nor a figure or rhetorical illustration be found in it, a somewhat similar view was taken of the ritual observances contained in it. These were neither symbolic nor temporary, but constituted the substance of religion, were in themselves right, and of eternal obligation. This confusion of the moral with the ceremonial law, which ran through all Judaism, and made it all ceremonial, led to startling and even blasphemous inferences. As legal observances were eternal, and in themselves right and binding, not only had Abraham, Abimelech, and even Adam himself practised them,¹ but they were the law of Heaven itself. Bound by these legal determinations, God, who according to the notion of the Rabbins even wore the phylacteries, had, against His inclination, felt obliged to take the sceptre from Judah. The Court of Heaven was turned into a Synagogue, and it was thought that God himself could not improve upon the dicta of the Rabbins, which were eternal truth, but felt bound to decide accordingly. He studied the Bible, consulted the opinions of

¹ Mac. 9, a. We refer here generally to Dr. Hirschfeld's works on the Halacha and the Hagada, and to the classical production of Dr. Zunz, *Gottesd. Vortr. d. Jüden*.

the Rabbins, and had theological discussions with his angels.¹ Any appearance in tradition of an addition to or diminution from the law of God was talmudically accounted for by Ps. cxix. 126, which was explained as indicating that a time might come when, by making void the law, the Lord would be served. However, the ordinances of the Rabbins differed from the plain and express injunctions of Scripture in this, that the former could not again be taken as the basis of farther legal deductions. It certainly seems unaccountable, that with this adherence to the ordinances of the Pentateuch, the Synagogue could have ever reconciled itself to the abrogation of sacrifices. But it requires to be borne in mind that this was not only a stern necessity, but that, in the course of its complete development, traditionalism had by that time reached the pole opposite to literalism, that of pure rationalism.

To connect the Halacha with the text of Scripture, was the first and principal task of Jewish theologians. That problem once solved, traditionalism rested on a secure basis. Hillel the Great, Nahum of Gimso, Nechunjah, Ishmael ben Elisa, but specially Akiba, had attempted to accomplish this. Unlike the Hagadist, who, differently engaged, although also divinely authorized, and an infallible teacher, might be allowed more loosely to import his lessons into, to intertwine them with, or to lean them upon Scripture, the connexion between the Halacha and the Bible had to be established on clear and definite exegetical principles, which in turn gave rise to the "Midoth," or exegetical canons of these Rabbins, which are the condensed formulæ of their exegetical methods.

A Halacha might be derived from Scripture in one of four ways. It was first sought directly to gather it from a plain and natural interpretation of a text, it being, however, understood, that for this purpose it was not necessary to consult a text in its connexion, but that any portion of a verse torn out of its natural context was sufficient to establish a Halacha.

In the absence of a simple Scriptural proof, logical inductions

¹ Gitt. 6, b.

or deductions were attempted. If such were impossible, a superfluous letter, word, or particle, or something unusual in the mode of expression, was laid hold of, or a transposition, omission, or change of letters attempted, in all which, however, "wont and custom" formed a chief element of determination. When all these means failed, Scripture was used as a *point d'appui*, as a mere means of support to the Halacha. In accordance with the Talmudical terms, we may designate the first of these methods "the simple Scriptural;" the second "the inferential or logical;" the third "the expository;" and the fourth "the conjectural, or mnemonic."¹

In the Hagada, which was the second branch of Jewish theology, a sage was not fettered by legal determinations. It allowed an unlimited display of Talmudical ingenuity and wit, and hence gradually swallowed up other studies, the more so that the method of the Halacha naturally tended towards the Hagada. Engaged in such investigations, sages were declared to be greater than even prophets, while Scripture proved to them "the castle of thoughts, where each spiritual warrior hung his shield." It was the more satisfactory to engage in such studies, as every interpretation, if not inspired, was at least valid and infallibly correct. Rabbinical pride went farther. It declared that the patriarchs had prosecuted such investigations, that fallen and unfallen spirits listened to and admired them, that God himself carried them on. Yea, man's achievements in this department were even greater than the creation of heaven and earth; creatures and worlds might be called forth at his command; he might heal the sick and raise the dead. For his sake dust might be turned into gems, he had power over the fallen and the un-fallen spirits. In illustration, it will be remembered to what ruse the angel of death had recourse before it became possible that David should die. Similar plans had to be devised to get the temple destroyed, and to prevent the immediate restoration of Israel. Yet, as if to shew how extremes here also meet, a curious kind of spiritualism and humility was connected with

¹ For a full exposition of these methods, see Appendix V.

this blasphemous conceit. Thus a spiritual Jerusalem and a spiritual deliverance were also sometimes spoken of; and at the same time, as on the one hand everything was literalized, so on the other everything was spiritualized. It was also owned that sin clave to man from his birth, and that he stood in continual need of Divine grace. But it was added that such wants could only be supplied by a continued course of theological studies.

From the above it will also be understood how, in the Hagada, different theological tendencies should have appeared in a confused mass. Like the Halacha, the Hagada took the Bible for its foundation, and presented commentaries, translations, paraphrases, legends, moral sayings, philosophical views, sermons, &c., in connexion with it. Here also the Pentateuch was held to be pre-eminently Divine. As Philo claimed inspiration for the LXX.,¹ so the Talmud for some of the Targumim, or paraphrastic versions.² The theological predilections of the Hagadists, in fact, varied from the most material and often coarse literalism to a spiritualism, which is sometimes wholly ideal, at others introduces the abstractions of heathen philosophy. As the Hagada was intended to explain and apply the hidden meaning of the text, two tendencies became manifest in it. It was either attempted to explain—sometimes to play upon—merely the words of a passage, or else to elicit the secrets not of its letter but of its contents, in short the doctrines and spiritual facts which the text either indicated, or to which it alluded. The former of these tendencies we may distinguish as the Talmudic, the latter as the Gnostic Hagada. Both were identical in their fundamental idea, and both spiritualized and ultimately discarded the text of Scripture. It needs no demonstration that the Gnostic Hagada was in reality such only in form. Necessarily, it was the fundamental principle of every Hagadic mode of interpretation that a number of diverse comments might lawfully be attached to one and the same passage of Scripture, and that all were equally correct. In this setting up of man's judgment

¹ De Vita Mosis, ii. p. 512.

² Meg. 3, a.

above the simple Word of God, we again recognise a principle nearly akin to that of Romanism, which also claims for its Hagadic commentators a kind of Divine authority, and practically owns the propriety of making the Scriptures only a *point d'appui*. To return. The means used by the Hagadist for eliciting the hidden meaning of the text were, simple study of the expressions, of any hint which the text afforded, or an attempt at directly ascertaining its mysterious contents. These various methods are together termed *Pardes*, a word formed by the contraction of the initial letters into one word. But even "Pardes" did not prove sufficient, and various other means had to be devised. The tendency represented by the Sadducees, so far from being sufficient to offer resistance to Talmudism, became itself absorbed in the movement, and any real opposition could only result from the prosecution of a totally different direction. This was done by the Church—at least at first—and much of its success, or the want of it, may be traced to the presence or absence of this cause.

The student of the Hagada was enjoined wholly to give himself to it, to prosecute it prayerfully, but especially under the implicit guidance of properly authorized teachers. Frequently the Hagada introduced foreign ideas and subjects into the sacred text, by way of illustrating the Scriptures, or of independently establishing the points elicited from the text. Proverbs, fables, and witticisms were brought forward as exegetical auxiliaries, and the scientific notions of the times were freely referred to. Thus, it was said that the attraction of the magnet had been taken advantage of by Jeroboam, in order to make the idolatrous calves ascend so as to lead Israel to adore them; the existence of four elements was proved from the history of Creation, &c. Any historical references were generally grossly erroneous and absurd. Thus, it was asserted that Romulus had reigned over the whole world, that Alexander had ruled only for one year, &c. Even with respect to Palestine curious legends were current, such as that at one time it had been 400 (geographical) miles square, that since the exile it had shrunk like a deer's

skin, &c. Even heathen myths were introduced, and mixed up with Biblical histories. Thus, when Esau embraced Jacob, the neck of the latter became marble; and references were made to persons who were transferred amongst the stars. We meet also with other heathen notions. Some Hagadists spoke, like Platonists, of original ideas, prototypes, &c.; others observed and interpreted numbers, like the Pythagoreans. At the same time all these views were professedly derived from Scripture, and for this purpose figurative expressions were explained literally, and *vice versa*. By such quotations the exact powers of fire were, for example, described, a harmony of the spheres proved, the nature and progress of the wind defined, the number of angels fixed at 18,000, &c. Apparent contradictions or difficulties were easily removed; the heroes of Biblical antiquity were made to discuss the Halacha, and relations in themselves marvellous changed into fabulous. Sometimes the reins were given to imagination, and the appearance, &c., of a leviathan described; at others, with voluptuousness and even obscenity, passages of Scripture were distorted, and particulars elicited vastly different from those meant by the inspired penman. Historical relations were frequently enlarged and spiritualized. Thus the four kings with whom Abraham had contended, indicated the four powers antagonistic to Israel—Babylonia, Persia, Media, and Rome.

Still as the Halacha had its seven and its thirteen Midoth, so even the Hagada proceeded on defined principles. Certain peculiarities of the Hebrew language admitted different interpretations. Thus, as the second person masculine of the future sounds like the third feminine, the one was exchanged for the other; and the command to Noah to make the ark was interpreted that the ark made itself. The letter which indicates comparison was made to intimate not identity, but similarity, as when Israel is compared to Sodom, &c. Where any distinct purpose was to be served, the rules of grammar and construction were directly violated. Again, with no other purpose than that of giving a striking or clever comment, letters were changed. Even the order and shape of the letters themselves gave rise to

Hagadic sayings. Ordinarily, the exact meaning of words was determined by sometimes valuable traditions; but if necessary, an unusual application of a term was devised. Words were separated into two, or explained by other and similarly sounding words. Sometimes they were traced to cognate languages, or their meaning elicited from parallel passages. Similarly the slightest hint was eagerly watched, and the proper vowel-points (the Hebrew being written only with the consonants) or the connexion set aside. The first letter of the alphabet was exchanged for the last, the second for the one before the last, &c., or the twenty-two letters divided into *two* parts, and the first interchanged with the twelfth, the second with the thirteenth, &c. Still more arbitrary methods were "gematria," by which the numerical value of the letters was ascertained, and the text interpreted accordingly; and "notariakon," by which every letter of a word was made the initial letter of a new word. Everything good and high was always connected with God, the name "Jehovah" indicating His grace—that of "Elohim" His justice. Certain expressions were connected with certain other events, and a repetition of a name or a blessing was viewed as an omen for good. Upon principles like these, thirty-two exegetical rules for the Hagada were propounded by Rabbi Gamaliel. Without enumerating them, we may say in general, that besides the substance of the thirteen Halachic Midoth, they referred to gematria, notariakon, transposition and exchange of letters, division of words, explanation of particles, re-arrangement of sentences, inferences from the context, or from the subjects treated in it, general application of similes employed and of statements made in a particular passage, reference of things to more suitable subjects, selection of most suitable things, application of numbers, &c. &c. In order to remove difficulties, the text had often to be supplemented, and dialogues between biblical persons, as between Korah and his wife, between Nadab and Abihu, between Joshua and Achan, between Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, and even the riddles which she propounded to him, were introduced. In fact, everything that could possibly

be twisted into a difficulty was made subject of lengthened discussion, sometimes at the expense of common decency. Anything marvellous in the text became legendary in the commentary. Thus, the haunch-bone of Og was three miles in extent, and afforded room for hunting deer; Samson reduced two mountains to powder by rubbing them against each other; gems fell from Heaven along with the manna, &c. Again, ingenious reasons were assigned for certain statements, or an exact analogy was traced between man's conduct and the Divine government. At all times the biblical favourites of the Hagadists were magnified, while their opponents were vilified in the same ratio. Thus Moses was so beautiful, that all the husbands were jealous of him. He was perfect; his face was like the sun, his stature ten cubits, &c. Aaron's sin is excused. Reuben had only committed incest in order to oblige his father to live with Leah, by depriving him of Bilhah. David did not commit actual adultery with Bath-Sheba, as all soldiers had to divorce their wives, &c. On the other hand, Laban had only embraced Jacob in order to feel about his person whether he had brought any treasures with him. Esau had made only a pretext of disinterestedness with Jacob, &c. Upon the same ground many stories were invented. Remarkable results were obtained by the combination of divers passages and events. Thus, when Jacob kissed Rachel, and wept, it was because he foresaw that they would not rest in the same grave. When Potiphar's wife set her eyes upon Joseph, it was because she foresaw that Ephraim and Manasseh were to descend from her, for Asenath, Joseph's wife, was her daughter. Leah's eyes were weak from weeping, because she thought that, being the elder, she was destined to be the wife of Esau, &c. In the same way the different portions of Scripture were combined, and all religious ordinances were traced in the test of the Ten Commandments, or the contents of later writings in earlier. Again, Halachic laws were applied to biblical times and events. Thus, after the death of Methusalem, God waited the seven days of mourning before sending the flood. Abraham rabinnically examined the knife before proceeding to

immolate Isaac. On the other hand, because Jacob rent his garments, every mourner was bound to do the same; because Job's friends sat on the ground, others must do likewise in similar circumstances. Long before the law was given on Sinai, choice spirits had prosecuted its study. Shem and Eber had an academy, in which Jacob studied up to his fourteenth year. Elisha, Manasseh, and David were engaged with particular branches of the Halacha, some of them not very edifying. It was in this way that Boaz ascertained that he might wed a Moabitess. Jonathan, the grandchild of Moses, had, by a misunderstanding of a Halacha, been induced to become priest to Micah's idol; but, being better informed by the sages, he gave it up. When David was fleeing before Absalom, he was uncertain whether he should not worship idols, in order to induce others to suppose his misfortunes a consequence of his apostasy. Haman disputed with Mordecai about the rights of master and slave; David with Saul about the law of marriage; and their different views are manifest in their conduct towards Michal. Isaiah and Manasseh discussed together, &c.

The Hagadic statements about the Canon of Scripture add little to our knowledge. It was said that Moses wrote the Pentateuch, the book of Balaam (perhaps his Prophecies), and Job; Joshua, the work that bears his name, and the last eight verses of Deuteronomy; Samuel the corresponding books, Judges and Ruth; David, together with "ten elders," Adam, Melchisedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthun, Asaph, and the three sons of Korah, the book of Psalms; Jeremiah wrote his Prophecies, Lamentations, and Kings; King Hezekiah and his Sanhedrim compiled the Prophecies of Isaiah, Proverbs, the Song, and Ecclesiastes; and the men of the Great Synagogue the Prophecies of Ezekiel, of the twelve Minor Prophets, and the books of Daniel and Esther; Ezra wrote his book and Chronicles up to chapter xxi, that work being completed by the son of Nehemiah. The last verses of Joshua were written by Eleazar and Phinehas, the last chapters of Samuel by Gad and Nathan.

In their arbitrary accommodations the Hagadists paid no regard to apparent improbabilities. Thus Esther was seventy years old when she became queen; Ahithophel, who died at thirty-three years of age, saw his great-grandchild Solomon seven years old; hence, he, his son, and his granddaughter must each have become parents at eight years. A few remarks on the dogmatic views of the Hagada may not be uninteresting. Sometimes it approaches closely to the common heathen notions, at others to its philosophy or to its mysticism. Thus angels were represented as in a manner independent of God, and exercising their powers sometimes even against his will; in other words, they stood related to him very much as the heathen deities to Jupiter. Every morning myriads of them were created. Passions were personified, departed saints employed on special errands, and especially does Elijah, with his almost Divine power, frequently recall the deification of heathen heroes. In his intercourse with men, God specially disposed only in the absence of fixed laws, or where man's will required to be specially directed. Every word He spake became an angel to execute his behest. Distinct from those vulgar, are the views derived from heathen philosophy. The statements of Philo and others concerning the Divine Word, or Logos, resemble only those of Platonism or Gnosticism, and are thoroughly unlike the Gospel statement, "*the Word became flesh.*" The Hagadic views of paradise and hell also resemble those of the heathen, and even a transmigration of souls is alluded to. Thus, the soul of Abel successively wandered into Shem and then into Moses, the constituent consonants of whose name in Hebrew are H (for Hebel, Abel), Sh (for Shem), and M (for Moses). Their views of the resurrection were often grossly carnal. One bone in the body was never destroyed, and served as the basis for the new man who in his graveclothes first rolls underground till he reaches Palestine. There, everything needful is found in abundance, ready-made clothes spring from the ground, &c. The views of the origin of evil were equally erroneous. It originally existed as it were in embryo, and man had called sin into active exer-

cise, God allowing it. Similar views were entertained about God's government of the world, His appearing in the shape of Elias, &c. The ethical principles of the Hagadists were diverging. Some were stoical, as that good was to be done for its own sake, and received no reward on earth, or that happiness consisted in the practice of perfect virtue in a perfect life. Others were epicurean, as that the world was like a marriage-feast, where each was to enjoy himself—to fail in this was to sin. Others were loose or ill-defined. Thus, it was not a deed but its consequence which was of importance, or the intention and not the act; God's command alone constituted anything virtuous, and there was no essential difference between good and evil. Sometimes the grossest anthropomorphisms occurred, and the doctrine of Providence was changed into heathen fatalism. The former applies chiefly to explanations of the affections of God, and to such representations as that He wrapped Himself in His garments, arrayed Himself in His armour, assumed the form of an old man, wore phylacteries, &c. With the ordinary affairs of this world God took no concern; certain stars ruled the fate of the nations. Israel alone was under the immediate guidance of God. A kind of necessity directed every thing, though it might be modified by prayer. Good and evil were independent powers. It was matter of dispute whether God wished to know about the future. Evil was an unclean spirit which molested God and good men, and which was the occasion of every mischief. Study ennobled the soul and fitted it for eternity. The sensual in us must hence be overcome, and purity and fastings promoted indirectly the well-being of the soul, as evil and matter were closely connected.

The discourse or sermon also belonged to the Hagadic productions. Its object was mainly practical: it expounded some difficult Halacha, or enforced some important duty. It frequently contained witticisms, parables, &c., in order to keep up the attention. Such discourses were delivered on solemn or festive occasions. We have elsewhere given specimens of fragments of funeral orations, and now present one on the duty of

sobriety from Lev. x. 9; "Do not drink wine nor strong drink."¹ Why is wine interdicted? because those who drink it have wounds, sorrow, and shame; for the Holy Ghost says, (Prov. xxiii. 29, &c.), "Who hath woe," &c. The meaning of these verses is as follows: Who hath woe and sorrow? he that is contentious. To whom does this point but to him who hath wounds and redness of eyes, who tarries at the wine? Look not upon the wine, for blood comes at last (in our version, it is red). Blood looks bright, but it contains mischief. Do not think that wine is as fair within as it is without, for the toper looks into the cup, but the giver into the purse (a play upon the word "cup" in the original, and a slight change in its translation). He that looks into his neighbour's cup to seek wine for himself, covers himself with filth and then goes to law (again a play upon the words of the original); he sells all his gear, remains without children or garments, and with an empty house; he walks in plains (a play upon the word in verse 31, "aright"), he sets himself loose and into the ways of sin. He talks openly with strange women, utters bold speeches, uses bad words and loses all sense of decency (verse 33). He is confused and does not know what he does or what he thinks. At the last it biteth like a serpent (verse 32), *i.e.*, the last of the wine bites in that manner, for the bite of an adder also is not felt at once, but when you reach your home the wound will fester. It as certainly bites as a serpent; and as the earth was cursed on account of the serpent, so Canaan on account of wine (Gen. ix. 25)—Canaan, one of the sons of Noah, hence the third part of the world. Thine eye shall behold strangers ("strange women," verse 33); it shall behold strange gods, Ps. lxxxix. 9, for wine is the occasion of idolatry; as it is said, Isa. xxviii. 7, "they also have erred through wine, and through strong drink are out of the way." When did they err? when they said (Ex. xxxii. 8), "These be thy gods, O Israel;" but on that occasion the people ate and drank and rose up to play; it was therefore through wine that they thus erred. Thine heart shall utter per-

¹ Compare Hirschfeld's Hagada, p. 904, &c.

verse things; wine is the occasion of idolatry, incest, and murder, for wine makes a man to transgress, Hab. ii. 5. A word there used is also applied to the proud, Prov. xxi. 24; and the same term "proud" is in other passages applied to idolaters, incestuous persons, and murderers. Beware, therefore, of wine; if you drink too much of it, you see the world like a bark (verse 34, 35). You are made to lie down in it, they beat you and you feel it not, and yet you say, "When I shall awake I will seek it again." Woe to those who drink wine, says the Lord. (Isa. v. 11). Join them not, beware of wine (in Hebrew the letters of the wine are equal to seventy), lest the seventy elders see you, for the drunkard was brought before the Sanhedrim. (Deut. xxi. 18, &c.) Wine is called Chomer in Chaldee, the numerical value of which is 248, which is exactly the number of bones in the body. For wine penetrates into every member, weakens the body, and robs us of consciousness. Where wine goes *in* the secret goes *out*, for the numerical value of the words "wine" and "secret" are the same. A drunkard does not retain his reason, hence the Lord issued the command of the text, which is a perpetual law. But the Lord tells Israel that wine is only in *this* world a sign of the curse. In that which is to come He is to change the wine into *new* wine (which does not intoxicate), and "the mountains shall drop down new wine, and the hills shall flow with milk, and a fountain shall come forth out of the house of the Lord." (Joel iii. 18.) However absurd it may appear, the above is rather a favourable specimen of a Hagadic sermon. Of the manner of delivery by means of an Emora or Methurgeman, we have already spoken in another place.

The various versions of, and commentaries on the Old Testament are objects of equal interest to the scholar and the Bible student, as not only expressing the views of the writers and their cotemporaries, but often embodying valuable traditions of former centuries. It is interesting and important to know how certain passages of the Bible were rendered and explained at, before, or immediately after the coming of our Lord. Happily our materials

are here not scarce, and we present them in abstract and in their historical order.¹ At first, traditions were simply handed down from Rabbi to Rabbi. Akiba was the first to make a collection of the different Halachoth, but the authoritative arrangement of the oral law, which is termed Mishna, was the work of the Nasi, Jehuda the Holy, about 219 after Christ. It consists of six separate treatises. Partly older than that collection are the following Midrashim or Commentaries: 1, *Sifra* or "Thorath Kohanim" (the law of the priests), a Midrash on Leviticus; 2, *Sifri*, or "Vishalchu," on Numbers and Deuteronomy; 3, *Mechilta* on part of Exodus. Some fragments are also still preserved of a second or smaller *Sifri* on Numbers. All these were collected before the second half of the third century. Next in order came the Boraithas or additional Halachas, not contained in the Mishna, and the Tosiftas, or additions to the Mishna. These also date, for the most part, from the period ending 243 after Christ. We then arrive at the Talmuds. The Jerusalem Talmud was finished before the end of the first half of the fourth century, the Babylonian about a century later. Both are commentaries upon the Mishna. The Jerusalem Talmud, of which only a part has been handed down, comments on the first five treatises of the Mishna; the Babylonian, on the first section of the first, and the greater part of the following four Mishnic treatises. Of treatise sixth, the first section only is commented upon in either Talmud. The Babylonian is about four times as large as the Jerusalem Talmud, and fills 2947 folio pages, being about ten or eleven times the size of the Mishna. Both enjoy supreme authority to this day. Next in order we have the historical work called *Seder Olam*, now the *Seder Olam Rabba*. It gives the history of the Jews to the reign of Alexander the Great, and dates from the year 160. A Boraitha gives an account of the Tabernacle, and another embodies the thirty-two Middoth of Rabbi Eleazar, both dating from the second century. A third Boraitha of the third century contains

Comp. Hirschfeld's Hagada, p. 324, &c., and Zunz's classical work, *Die Gottesd. Vortr. d. Juden*.

the forty-nine Middoth of Rabbi Nathan. Amongst the historical Hagadoth we include the additions to the book of Esther made by the LXX., those to Daniel with reference to Bel and the Dragon, the greatest part of the second and third books of Maccabees, Judith, the legendary stories about Aristeus, about the Seventy interpreters, and Tobith. Of very ancient date, part being considerably older than the Mishna, is the Hagada for the Passover, still in use amongst the Jews. Megillath Taanith is a kind of almanac, recording the most memorable events which befell the nation, and dates from the second century. To the Talmudical period belong also the story of Rabbi Joshua ben Levi, the Midrash Ele Eskrah, containing legends, and a Midrash on the Ten Commandments. Of a later date are the Midrash Vajisu, a poetical account of the battles, &c., of Israel, the Chronicle of Moses, of his death, and of that of Aaron. The expositions of different parts of the Bible are all apparently of a later date. Probably the oldest commentaries are "Bereshith Rabba" on Genesis, and the Midrash on Lamentations. The former was soon enlarged into a commentary on the other parts of the Pentateuch and the other five books prescribed to be read in the synagogues, and is known as "Midrash Rabboth." To a later period belong the two Pesiktoth, or commentaries on the prophetic portions of Scripture, read in the synagogues. Jelamdenu or Tauchuma is a Hagadic commentary on the Pentateuch. The Boraitha ascribed to Rabbi Eleazar is of much later date.

The attempt to make the Scriptures popularly accessible, would probably first lead to versions, then to paraphrastic and more general commentaries. The *Targum* frequently occupied a kind of intermediate position between the translation and the paraphrase. Of translations, strictly so termed, the oldest and best known is the Greek or Septuagint version of the Old Testament. The fables so long and firmly believed about the seventy sages summoned for that purpose to Alexandria by Ptolemy Soter (B.C. 323-284), or, as others have it, by his son, Ptolemy Philadelphus, their inspiration, &c., may now be dismissed as no

longer possessing credence.¹ Although not within the sphere of our present history, we may simply state that this version was made by different authors, and for behoof of extra-Palestinian Jews. It would be difficult to maintain that either the whole Bible was translated successively into Greek, (the Book of Daniel is professedly not the work of the LXX., but of Theodotion,)² or that the translators were Egyptian Jews. From internal evidence, and from the accordance of the Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch with that of the Samaritans, it has been inferred that both were originally derived from an old Aramean Targum, to which allusions are made in Jewish writings. It has also been argued, that the present LXX. was of very gradual origin, while from the frequent variations the existence of different editions, if not translations, has been inferred. Leaving out of view the mistakes, additions, or emendations by copyists, and its frequent interpolations, there is an internal relationship between the spirit which the LXX. breathes and that of the version of Onkelos and of the Targum of Jonathan. Many passages shew clearly that the translation was made under Hagadic influences. The learned reader will notice, that the Greek of Josh. xiii. 22, becomes only intelligible by the Hagada, that Balaam had by magic flown into the air, but that Phinehas had thrown him to the ground and killed him in the *fall*. The translation of 1 Sam. xx. 30, is explained by the Hagada, that Jonathan's mother was one of those maidens of Shiloh (Judges xxi.), and had of her own accord gone forth to offer herself to Saul. The reading in 1 Sam. xxviii. 19, depends upon the legend that apparitions of ghosts were generally in an inverted posture of body, while that of Samuel had come up in the ordinary or straight position. Numerous similar instances might be quoted. Again we find clear traces of the Halacha, as in the translation of Lev. xi. 47. Similarly, the rendering of Lev. xix. 6, 7, which has commonly been imputed to Alexandrian peculiarities, becomes plain by the Halacha, which applies the pass-

¹ The critical study of the LXX. has been greatly advanced by the two learned works of Dr. Frankel on the subject.

² Hieron. præfat. in Dan.

age to the intention of those who offered the sacrifice to eat it on the third day, and enjoins that, under these circumstances, the sacrifice may no more be offered. Similarly, the version of Lev. xxiii. 11, is explained by a reference to the Halacha. However, the version of Leviticus is the best in the Pentateuch. It would be easy to multiply instances from other parts of the Bible. Considerable Hagadic additions also occur. Thus, we have in Proverbs vi. 8, praise of the diligence of the ant; in Josh. xxiv. 30, a Hagadic story about the knives with which Joshua circumcised the Jews, in imitation of a similar Palestinian Hagada about Moses; numerous additions to the book of Esther; an addition to Haggai ii. 9, &c. Sometimes verses were left out, or even whole passages transposed. It is well known that the pronunciation of Palestine Proper, or Judea, favourably differed from that of Galilee; and this is also transferred to the LXX., which follows more closely the dialect of Palestine. Passing over grammatical, and other blunders, contractions, amplifications, and attempts at circumlocution, we notice that sometimes verses are translated in one, and left untranslated in another place, as the word "plains" (in one version) in Josh. xi. 16, and again in xii. 8; or, "the children of Solomon's servants," in Ezra ii. 55, while in verse 58 we read "the children of Abdeselma, &c." Sometimes prepositions are treated as if they formed part of the appellative, while evident traces of having been translated from the Aramean are found in Ps. lx. 10, &c.¹

The Samaritan version is of much less interest. In its present shape it is considerably more recent than the LXX., and contains more manifest tokens of ignorance on the part of the translators. Sometimes it would appear as if other translations of the Scriptures had been consulted, at others the text is altered, and even the word "angel" substituted for the name of the Lord. It need scarcely be remarked that, generally, the Samaritan translators pay no regard to traditions. The Syrian version, or the Peshito, dates from the second century, and was probably composed by one or more Jewish Christians. It is faithful and

¹ We cannot in this work enter at greater length on this interesting subject.

very valuable. The Arabic translations formed after its model are of much more recent date. To the Greek versions of Theodotion and Symmachus we have already alluded.

If Greek versions of the Bible, and specially of the Pentateuch, were at an early period felt requisite for liturgical purposes, the Jews, who spoke mostly the Chaldee language, must have also been provided with Targumim in that tongue. We have already seen reason to believe that both the LXX. and the Samaritan version afford evidence of having been improvements upon former Greek and Samaritan versions, probably made after the model of these Chaldee translations. In the public lecture of the Bible, interpreters were employed since the days of Ezra; and verse by verse in the Pentateuch, and every three verses in the Prophets were given first in Hebrew, then in the known dialect. Literality was indeed here the chief qualification; but, as confessedly certain passages were omitted and others paraphrased, we can readily conceive that the general tendency of these prelections was in favour of traditionalism. In fact, Jewish writings refer even to written Aramean Targumim, such as one on Job, apparently dating from the first century of our era. Without doubt most books in the Bible had even previously been translated. It was asserted that an inspired Chaldee version of the Pentateuch had been made by Moses himself. But the most remarkable, as the most important Targum, is that of Akylas, which was originally composed in Greek, then translated into Aramean, in which form it is still preserved as the Targum Onkelos. Of Akylas, the pupil of Akiba, we have already spoken; Akylas and Onkelos are in reality the same name, and if anything were requisite to establish their identity, it is found in this, that all that is said of Akylas in the Jerusalem Talmud, is ascribed to Onkelos in the Babylonian. It is indeed true that, in a very few isolated passages attributed to Akylas, the Greek version differs from the Targum Onkelos, but the small fragments preserved of Akylas may have been mixed up with those of others, or the Targum Onkelos itself interpolated. Jewish authorities exhausted every epithet of praise upon the version of

Akylas, which was entirely in the spirit of Akiba's exegesis. The Targum Onkelos, which is an Aramean version of the Greek of Akylas, is the only real monument left us of this celebrated work. It bears traces of a reference to the Targum of Jonathan on the Prophets, passages of which are quoted in it, and differs in language both from the dialect of Palestine and from the Chaldee portions of Scripture. Its first characteristic is a slavish adherence to the letter, to such an extent that in difficult passages of the original the difficulty is often reproduced in the translation. Sometimes, however, we have a comment, and the text of the original is then often altered.¹ Passages which either contain indelicate allusions (as they suppose) or anthropomorphisms, are omitted or modified. Whenever God appears, instead of Him the Logos or "Memra" (the Word) is introduced.² Anything which is deemed to affect the interests of Judaism is modified in favour of the reigning school. The Messiah appears as a personage, and passages such as Gen. xlix. 10, Numb. xxiv. 17 are applied to him. We have already sufficiently indicated how much this Targum was a vehicle for the Halacha; the Hagada, also, often appears where anything miraculous occurs, or in the way of supplementing the text.

Another equally important version was that on the Prophets made by Jonathan ben Uziel, the pupil of Hillel. It was received with general approbation, and supposed by tradition to have descended from the Prophet Haggai. It is much less literal than that of Onkelos, and in the matter of unfulfilled prophecy often quite Hagadic. Traditionary elements and legends found their way into it, questions occurring in the text are answered, difficulties solved, &c. Anthropomorphisms, or anything that might be used against Judaism, are omitted or modified, and the miraculous is garnished. Jonathan's views of inspiration were somewhat peculiar, and the sons of the prophets were converted into Talmudical students. On the whole, this Targum is much

¹ For example, in Gen. iv. 23.

² Compare also the learned Exercit. (X.) in Owen's Commentary on the Hebrews, vol. i. p. 145, &c.

of a commentary, although one which generally pays no attention either to grammatical rules, the real meaning of words, or even the received text.¹ Probably Targumim existed on all the books of Scripture except Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah ; but the works on the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, the five Megilloth, or books read in the Synagogue (the Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Esther, and Ecclesiastes), and on the historical books, are at least in great part of much later date, and constitute a transition between the proper Targumim and the paraphrases and commentaries.

The paraphrase marks a further development in the history of biblical studies. Of such Targumim the most remarkable are the Targum Jonathan (falsely so called) on the Pentateuch, the Targum Jerusalem (Jerusalem Targum) containing fragments upon the same portion of Scripture, and the Targumim on the five Megilloth, to which reference has already been made. The Targum Jonathan on the Pentateuch, although professedly the work of the translator of the prophets, dates from a much later period, and indeed contains notices of historical events which bring it down at least to the beginning of the seventh century. From various hints in Jewish writings, we gather that there had been a Palestine Targum corresponding to the Babylonian work of Onkelos, of which both the Targum Jonathan on the Pentateuch and the Targum Jerushalmi are later and altered editions. The difference between the Targum Jonathan and that of Onkelos lies in this, that while the latter generally translates and occasionally interprets, the former generally interprets, and only occasionally translates. The Targum Jonathan is a Hagadic commentary. Thus, the words of various texts are compared to elicit a peculiar meaning. For example, Numb. xx. 11, compared with Ps. cv. 41, is made to prove that on the first stroke the rock sent forth a stream of blood. The text is generally expounded, enlarged, or modified, and brought into agreement with the prevailing theology. Miraculous additions occur, difficulties are attempted to be removed, and apparent discre-

¹ The reader will find an interesting collection of the leading biblical passages which, in the various Targumim, are applied to the Messiah, in Owen, *ut supra*, p. 122, &c.

pancies reconciled. Dialogues are also introduced as between God and man into Gen. iii., and there is a decided want of artistic taste about its clumsy attempts at simplicity. The interpretation is often poor and without regard to grammar, meaning, or chronology. Legends are introduced, and the general characteristics of the Hagada are well exemplified in this Targum. Its dogmatic tendencies exhibit a period of increased laxity and decadence. We refer not only to the many superstitious ideas and views broached, but to the introduction of two distinct contending principles of good and evil (a kind of Persian dualism), to the curious views of heaven and hell, the strange attempts at excusing Hagadic favourites, and incriminating others, &c. While of course the law is interpreted in the sense of the Halacha, the mode of doing this becomes decidedly Hagadic. Historical facts are altered and improved upon, and in general it presents a by no means favourable specimen of Jewish traditionalism. On the other hand, amongst the mass of rubbish there are also exegetical gems. The Targum Jerushalmi, a kind of marginal notes to Jonathan, sometimes differs from and often improves upon the latter.¹ The Targumim to the five Megilloth are even more plainly Hagadic than Targum Jonathan. Stories are invented, such as that the Angel Gabriel stuck a tail to Queen Vashti's forehead, that she was asked to appear naked, and much more of low ribaldry and licentiousness. The letters are resolved into their numerical value, words are torn out of the context, letters transposed, words differently pointed, &c. Images are resolved, and the young roes are Moses and Aaron, the breasts are the two Messiahs (the son of David and the son of Joseph); gross anachronisms occur, such as that the Jews had called in the Romans to deliver them from Nebuchadnezzar, but that instead of this, Titus and Vespasian had taken Jerusalem for themselves, &c. The Song of Solomon appears as an allegory, representing the relation between God and Israel, and is made to embrace the story of the Exodus, the giving of the Law, the Apostasy, the building of the Temple, the

¹ For further particulars we refer to Hirschfeld, Zunz, and Frankel.

miracles of the Prophets, the destruction of the Temple by Nebuchadnezzar, the rebuilding of the Sanctuary, and the wars of the Maccabees. It also contains a good many legends about paradise, the fable about rolling after death under ground, &c. The Targum on the book of Ruth is much less extravagant, and contains more of historical relations, such as about the various seasons of famine, &c. Allegories occur, as that the six measures which Ruth got were six heroes sprung from her, a defence of Monogamy is made, &c. Of similar character are the expositions of Ecclesiastes and Lamentations. Historical events are assigned as the occasion of particular portions of these books, and the former Targum is conceived in a spirit favourable to Rome. The book of Esther has two Targumim, both sufficiently extravagant. Everything is here Jewish; sometimes the bounds of modesty are passed, and Haman is especially made the subject of all kinds of witticism. The second Targum, which is more modern, goes even further than the first. It contains a great many digressions, such as a comparison of the throne of Ahasuerus with that of Solomon, an account of the visit of the Queen of Sheba, &c. Fragments of Targumim to some portions of the prophets are also preserved, and it would scarcely be a bold conjecture to suggest that at one time a complete Palestine Targum existed on all the books of the Bible.

Another view of the same subject might be presented by a critical investigation of the various apocryphal books, but these are generally accessible, and any criticism would necessitate too long digressions. In connexion with this, it is interesting to study the views of Bible history as embodied in Josephus' Antiquities of the Jews. He quotes Berosus, Hecataeus, and Nicolaus in support of the history of Abraham (i. 7. 2); other heathen writers in confirmation of the flood (i. 3. 6); a great number of authorities for the longevity of the first inhabitants of the world (*ut supra*, 9); the Tyrian Chronicles and Dios for the fact that Hiram had propounded riddles to Solomon (viii. 5. 3), &c. He also makes additions to the text. Thus, Lamech had seventy-seven children by Zillah and Adah (i. 2. 2). Adam

predicted the destruction of the world by fire, and again by water, and the children of Seth engraved this on two pillars (*ut supra*, 3); Abraham conversed with the wise men in Egypt, and introduced them to the study of mathematics and astronomy (i. 8. 2); the practices of the Sodomites (xi. 1), the war of Moses with the Ethiopians, his cleverness, and marriage (ii. 10), &c., are described. We find also a number of deviations from the text. Thus, David brings 600 *heads* of the Philistines to Saul (vi. 10. 2). Other things are omitted, or historically re-arranged, and speeches and letters are attributed to biblical personages, the chronology is fixed, &c. But, on the whole, the Antiquities are the work of a Jewish apologist rather than of a Rabbi. Even anti-Jewish theological views appear. The work on the opinions of his countrymen about God, and on their laws, to which Josephus refers at the close of his "Antiquities," has not been preserved.

Probably the most interesting and important branch of Jewish theology was that concerned with the mystical views of the Synagogue.¹ At all times there must, besides the outward and legal, have existed a spiritual direction among the people. Without it the law would have become a mere compendium of ceremonies. The Old Testament gives throughout indubitable evidence of its existence; the New Testament is entirely based upon it. However corrupted and mixed up with foreign additions, the spiritual element of the Old Testament could not have been wholly forgotten in the time of our Saviour. The doctrines of the Trinity, of the indwelling of the Father in the Son, and His manifestation by Him, could not have been wholly lost, however they might in course of time have lost their vitality, or become vitiated by admixture with foreign, specially Persian elements. It is the traces of these truths which we find in Jewish mysticism, with sufficient distinctness to enable us to separate what was original from that which in course of time had been added. It is allowed on all hands that these studies

¹ We may here be allowed to refer to our more full sketches in two articles of the "Eclectic Review," vol. x, November 1855, p. 602, &c.; vol. xi, February 1856, p. 141, from which the following have been abbreviated.

were pursued before, at and immediately after the time of our Saviour. Our former record sufficiently establishes this fact. We do not at present say what portions of mystical traditions date from that period. Jewish authorities trace them to Ezra, and even to Abraham. That they had been current during the seventy years' captivity in Babylon, is evident from the admixture of Persian elements, reminding us of the doctrines of Zoroaster, who flourished about that time.

In general, the history of mysticism is interesting. It constitutes a boundary line. After a period of spiritual declension, it is the twilight which indicates the approach of dawn, as in the case of the mystics of the Middle Ages. In times of apparent spiritual prosperity mysticism also indicates a transition; it is there the twilight which precedes darkness. The same portal by which men pass from error to truth is also that which conducts from truth to error. But mysticism has also a place in philosophy, and here also indicates the boundary line of thinking. Accordingly, there is a remarkable agreement between Jewish mysticism and the last word of ancient philosophy (Neo-Platonism); and again the last words of modern philosophy (the systems of Schelling and Hegel). Indeed, mysticism offers the common ground on which the corruptions of scriptural truth and the results of the most elevated unaided thinking may meet most closely. It is scarcely necessary to add, that Jewish mysticism, although tinged by foreign elements, was essentially of native growth. Such a tendency could not have been extraneous, especially in the synagogue. It appeared simultaneously amongst the Eastern and Western Jews in Palestine and in Egypt, although in each case it was modified by the foreign elements with which it was brought into contact. It reappears in the various systems of Gnosticism, explaining them, and even in some of the Alexandrian fathers of the church. We have already stated that the Talmud contains not unfrequent references to mysticism; we also recognise its presence in the continual employment of the term "Logos" or "Memra," the Divine Word.

There are two distinct features of Jewish mysticism, which,

although agreeing in fundamental principles, differ in particulars, viz., the Eastern and the Western, the Hebrew and the Alexandrian, the Kabbalah and the system of Philo Judæus. If great aversion was felt to chronicling the mysteries of any school, this applied specially to those of the Kabbalah, which, as its name indicates (Kabbalah, from Kabal, to hand down), was meant to be orally delivered, and that only to a few choice spirits. The mysteries of the Kabbalah concerned two subjects, the history of the creation, and the "Merkabah," or the Divine apparition to Ezekiel. Both touch the question of God's original connexion with His creatures, and that of His combined intercourse with them. They treat of the mystery of nature and of Providence, especially of Revelation; and the question how the Infinite God can have any connexion or intercourse with finite creatures is attempted to be answered. If the Old Testament displayed deep reverence for man, as made in the image of God, and even for nature as His handiwork, the Kabbalah recognised God *only* in his works. In every other respect He is inconceivable and unintelligible. There are different manifestations of the Deity, each of which is called "a world." But all these worlds are just the Divine pouring itself forth; hence they are also analogous to each other. In each of these worlds the Divine unity ultimately manifests itself as a Trinity, consisting of opposites, with a middle link of connexion and reconciliation. Everything is Divine, and everything Divine manifests itself as a Trinity in Unity; such are the fundamental principles of the Kabbalah.

Two cabbalistic works have come down of which the authorship has been matter of lively controversy, being ascribed to various Rabbins. The question is involved in inextricable difficulties. Without doubt all the fundamental doctrines are of very ancient date, being in fact only the corruptions of scriptural doctrines by the admixture of foreign elements. If this view be correct, the question is one of editorship rather than of authorship, and in itself unimportant. Of these two cabbalistic works, the one, entitled "Sepher Jezirah" (which is undoubtedly the oldest), treats of the history of the creation; the other, called "Sohar"

(splendour), consists of a collection of treatises concerning the "Merkabah" (Ezekiel's chariot).¹ The "Sepher Jezirah" is properly a monologue on the part of Abraham, in which, by the contemplation of all that is around him, he ultimately arrives at the conviction of the Unity of God.

We distinguish the substance and the form of creation; that which is, and the mode in which it is. We have already indicated that the original of all that exists is Divine. 1st, We have God; 2d, God manifest, or the Divine *entering* into form; 3d, That Divine *in* its form, from which in turn all original realities are afterwards derived. In the "Sepher Jezirah," these Divine realities (the substance) are represented by the ten numerals, and their form by the twenty-two letters which constitute the Hebrew alphabet—language being viewed as the medium of connexion between the spiritual and the material; as the form in which the spiritual appears. At the same time, number and language indicate also the arrangement and the mode of creation, and, in general, its boundaries. "By thirty-two wonderful paths," so begins the "Sepher Jezirah,"—"the Eternal, the Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel, the living God, the King of the World, the merciful and gracious God, the glorious One, He that inhabiteth eternity, whose name is high and holy—has created the world." But these ten numerals are in reality the ten Sefiroth, or Divine emanations, arranged in triads, each triad consisting of two opposites (flowing or emanating from a superior triad until the Divine Unity is reached), and being reconciled in a middle point of connexion. These ten Sefiroth, in the above arrangement, recur everywhere, and the sacred number Ten is that of perfection. Each of these Sefiroth flows from its predecessor, and in this manner the Divine gradually evolves. This emanation of the ten Sefiroth then constitutes the substance of the world; we may add, it constitutes everything else. In God, in the world, in man, everywhere we

¹ The works of Joel, Hirschfeld, Zunz, Oxlee (The Christian doctrines of the Trinity, &c.), Munk, the labours of Wolf, and Knorr in his "Kabbala denudata," but specially the investigations of Dr. A. Franck, have served as the basis of our sketch of the religious philosophy of the Kabbalah.

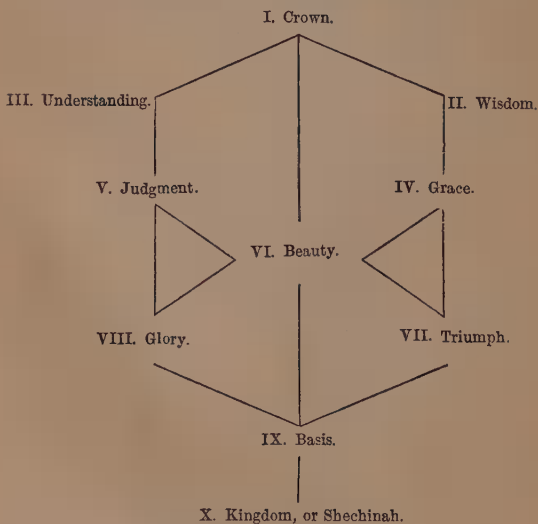
meet these ten Sefiroth, at the head of which is God manifest, or the *Memra* (*Logos*, the Word). If the ten Sefiroth give the substance, the twenty-two letters are the form of creation and of revelation. "By giving them form and shape, and by interchanging them, God has made the soul of everything that has been made, or shall be made." "Upon those letters also has the Holy One, whose name be praised, founded His holy and glorious name." These letters are next subdivided, and their application in all the departments of nature is shown. In the unit creation, the triad world, time and man are found. Above all these is the Lord. Such is a very brief outline of the rational exposition of the creation, attempted by the "Sepher Jezirah."

What has seemed dark will become more clear as we treat at greater length of the "Sohar." This work addresses itself to the solution of the various questions of theology, psychology (the doctrine of the soul), and ontology (the doctrine of being in general). Hitherto we have seen that the leading principles of the Kabbalah are, the emanation of everything from, its connexion with and return to God, and a Trinity in Unity. At the head of every manifestation of God is the *Metatron* (derived from the Greek, under the throne), the *Memra*, or *Logos*, appearing in the world as spirit, in God, as the "angel of His presence," or "wisdom," and in man as the "Adam Kadmon," the original man. All these doctrines appear partly in allegorical form, and partly in so many words. Bearing in mind the fundamental idea that God in Himself cannot be understood, we quote first an allegorical description of the Deity. "He is the aged of aged, the secret of secrets, the hidden of hidden. He has a form peculiar to Himself, by virtue of which He manifests Himself chiefly as the aged, the aged of aged, the hidden of hidden. But even in the form in which we know Him, He remains Himself unknown to us. His garment is white, and His appearance that of a veiled countenance. He sits enthroned on a throne of fire, which He subjects to His will. The white light shines over 100,000 miles. This white light will be the portion of saints in the world to come." "From His head pro-

ceed annually 13,000 myriads of worlds, which receive and depend for support upon Him. Thence also distils the dew . . . which will quicken the dead to a new life. This dew is the food of the highest saints. It is the manna prepared for the just in the world to come. It also distils upon the field of holy fruits (which is the name given to the students of the Kabbalah). This dew is white as crystal, which contains all colours. The length of this face—from the extreme points of the head—is that of 370,000 myriads of worlds, and it is called the ‘*long face*.’” Then follow further descriptions of His appearance. It will readily be understood that the “aged of aged” who “cannot be known even in the form in which He is known,” is the Divine Being, who, in Himself, is inconceivable and unintelligible. The “long face” is God emanating, and thereby revealing Himself. The same is stated in express terms. We are told that, before all creation, God could not be conceived or represented, “but after He had created the form of the *heavenly man*,” i.e., after His emanation in the ten Sefiroth, which together constitute the heavenly man, “He employed it as a chariot (Merkabah) in order to come down; He wished to be known after that form, which is the holy name Jehovah; He wished to be known by His attributes,” &c.

To return.—“God can only be known by His attributes; in fact, before His manifestation He is not Himself.” “Divested of all His attributes, if neither attribute, nor image, nor figure is left, the residue is like a sea, for in themselves the waters of the sea are without bounds or form.” To understand the relation of God to the ten Sefiroth, the former is compared to a stream or source of water, the latter to so many vessels into which it is poured, and which at last shall be broken again, and “the waters return to the fountain.” This will be the consummation of all things. God, in revealing Himself, has produced the first, the first has produced the second, and the latter the third Sefirah. This is the first, or Divine Triad, from which, in turn, all the others are evolved. Each Sefirah has its own name. “The *crown* (first Sefirah) is the source from which the infinite light issues, hence it (the infinite light, not the Sefiroth)

obtains the name 'En-sof,' (boundless,) which indicates the Supreme Cause; for there it has neither form nor shape; nor is there way or means to conceive or to know it. . . . Then a vessel is formed as small as a point, but filled with the Divine light; this is the source of all wisdom, it is *wisdom* itself (the second Sefirah); and hence the Supreme Cause is termed the 'wise God.' Then it made a large vessel like unto the sea, which was termed *understanding*," (the third Sefirah.)¹ These (*crown, wisdom, and understanding*) are the first Triad. The other seven Sefiroth, or rivulets, are *mercy, or greatness, judgment, or strength, beauty, triumph, glory, foundation, and kingdom* (generally put last). From these the Scriptural names of the Deity are also derived. All of them taken together are the full revelation of God, and in their totality constitute the *original* (Adam Kadmon) or *heavenly man*, as seen by Ezekiel and Daniel, and of which the terrestrial man is a copy. To make all this more clear, we subjoin a representation such as that which is generally found in cabbalistic works:—



¹ Comp. Sohar ii. 42. b., and 43. a.

The first Sefirah, or crown, is the En-sof, the chaotic, unlimited Being revealing Himself. God here concentrates Himself upon His own substance, and thus forms the "original point." Here the infinite becomes distinguished from the finite. The Biblical term "I am," corresponds to it. But being quite indefinite, it is also termed the "Nought," "because we do not know what this principle at first contained."¹ It is also termed the "white head,"—white containing all the other colours, as the first the other Sefirah—"the aged" and "the long face." We remember that the terrestrial man is made after the image of the heavenly. Hence the distinction of sexes also is essential, obtains in the soul as well as in the body, and exists even in the Sefiroth, which are male and female, imparting or receiving. *Wisdom* is male; *understanding*, female. These three Sefiroth are one in the Ancient of Ancients, who is also represented with three heads, which together constitute but one. By the thirty-two paths formerly alluded to, wisdom gives form and shape to everything in the universe. From the first Triad proceed the male Sefirah, *grace*, and the female, *judgment*, which are united in the middle member, *beauty*. From *grace* proceed the male, from *judgment* the female souls. Next follow the male Sefira, *triumph*, and the female *glory*, united into ground or *basis*. The last Sefirah, *kingdom* or the *Shechinah*, is the harmony of all the attributes, and their government over the world.

Looking again at the representation of the Sefiroth, it will be observed that they may be viewed in one of two ways. They may be combined as—first, the triad: crown, wisdom, and understanding, or the intellectual world; secondly, the triad: grace, judgment, and beauty, or the moral world; thirdly, the triad: triumph, glory, and the *Shechinah*, or the natural world. Again, they may be combined length-ways into three pillars; the male pillar, or that of grace; the female pillar, or that of judgment; and the pillar of the middle, or that of beauty. Manifestly, the latter is the most important. It consists of crown, beauty, and the *Shechinah*. *Beauty* is also termed "the holy king;" and

¹ Sobar, iii. 288.

the *Shechinah*, "the matron," "the queen," or "Eve," for she is the mother of all, and everything on earth is suckled at her bosom and blessed of her."¹ Now the "king" and the "queen" (beauty and the *Shechinah*) are united, and the fruit of their union is either the descent of a soul, or its return to God. We have now somewhat to anticipate what is to follow. The *Kabbalah* teaches that the souls of men are not created with their bodies, but are pre-existent, being stored up in the *Sefirah*, "understanding." If the soul is 'to be male, it then passes through the *Sefirah*, "grace;" if female, through that of "judgment." But before it enters the world, the king comes to the queen in an act which is to the soul what conception is to the body. Again, when the soul has fulfilled her mission, and if it is worthy of returning to God, the queen and king meet once more, and by their union, the soul ascends, as before it had descended.

Without the king and queen the natural world could not subsist. In fact seven worlds (the seven kings of Edom, Genesis xxxvi. 31-40) had been created and had perished, because they were before the king and queen (the kings of Israel.)² In other words, for the existence of the world, its communion with God is necessary. Again, the material existence of the world depends on the essential difference of the sexes. Without it the world could not subsist. This difference is termed the "balance." The "balance" is necessary for the continued existence of things, and may be traced upwards to the highest existences. "Before the balance existed, they (the king and queen) did not see each other face to face, and the original kings died from want of nourishment, and earth was destroyed. These balances are suspended in a place which is not (in the original Nought), and those which are to be weighed do not yet exist. It is a balance which has no support beyond itself, which neither can be conceived nor seen. What is not, what is, and what shall be, all is and shall be supported by this balance."³ If we rightly under-

¹ *Idra Sutta*, *ad fin.*

■ *Idra Rabba*, iii. 143.

³ *Book of Secrets*, chap. 1.

stand this and similar passages, it contains the highest effort of Pantheism, that of connecting material existence with God, and of tracing to the Deity the necessary conditions of material existence. In the revelation of God matter forms a part. Without God, matter sinks in the scale of being, and occupies a place of antagonism. Matter without God is sin. The *purely* material is the sinful. Thus, the kings of Edom have not really ceased to exist—and nothing can wholly perish—but they have sunk, and now represent a place “where everything is strict justice,” “where everything is female,” and nothing male. Hence the kings of Edom are the opponents of Israel, who are the representatives of grace. The old worlds have become the place where vice is punished, and their ruins have given birth to the devil and his angels. The latter are also termed the “husks,” being the personifications of pure Materialism.

Everything, then, except sin, which is matter without God, is an emanation from God by means of successive evolutions or developments, and matter is only the lowest of them. If the Kabbalah admits creation out of nothing, it means by “nothing” only, the original Nought. Nor will anything “sink into vacuity,” or be lost. “Everything of which this world consists, both body and spirit, will return to the principle and root whence they issued.”¹ There is not such a thing as absolute evil; even Satan himself will ultimately be restored. The reader will notice that there is an internal connexion between all these principles, and he will, with us, admire the logical consistency and perfectness of the system. Again, all things had pre-existed. “The Holy One, blessed be his name, had created and destroyed several worlds, before He produced the present world. When this last work was near its completion, all things in this world, all creatures of the universe—at whatever period they were to make their appearance—were present before the Lord in their peculiar shape long before they actually entered the world.” (Eccles. i. 9.)² As everything below corresponds to what is above, so does everything material to the spiritual. The initiated

¹ Sohar, ii. 100, 218.

² Ibid., iii. 61.

can recognise in everything a symbol, and through it look at the reality. Here we have the rational foundation for cabbalistic astrology, &c. Thus, there is a heavenly alphabet, composed of the stars, which the initiated can read. "Above in the skies are signs which conceal the greatest mysteries. The constellations and stars which are studied by the sages are these signs."¹ As the alphabet and numerals, so the lineaments of the face are also symbolical of the features of the soul. Thus a broad and arched forehead is a sign of great intelligence; a broad but flat forehead, of obtuseness, &c. All faces are reduced to four types, corresponding to the four appearances round Ezekiel's chariot—the face of a man, of a lion, of an ox, and of an eagle.

Hitherto we have only spoken of *one* world of Sefiroth, viz., that which in its totality constitutes "*the heavenly man*," and is also called the "*Olam Azilath*," or world of emanation. There are three other worlds, each having its ten Sefiroth, and each emanating from its predecessor. From the first world flows the second, or "*Olam Beriah*," the world of creation or of *pure spirits*. From it emanates the third, or "*Olam Jezirah*," the world of formation or of angels. Finally, we have the fourth, or "*Olam Assijah*," the world of action. These four worlds again correspond to the four appearances in the vision of Ezekiel, that of the man, of the chariot, of the angels, and of the clouds. Angels occupy a place lower than men, in the third world, which is the sphere filled by the planets and other heavenly bodies. They bear various names corresponding to the virtues which they impersonate; as *Tahariel*, the angel of purity; *Rachmiel*, that of mercy; *Zadkiel*, that of justice, &c. They are arranged into ten classes, and are subject to the Metatron (*i.e.*, he who is under the throne.) Various duties are intrusted to them, such as watching over the movements of the earth, of the moon, &c., the superintendence of the seasons, the growth of plants, &c. Finally, all mere matter, especially its personification, Samael (the angel of poison) and his devils, occupy the fourth or most distant world. The devils, or "*husks*," are also arranged into

¹ Sohar ii. 76.

ten classes, each deepening in sin and misery. The first two classes represent only chaos and disorganization; the third is the seat of darkness; then follows hell with its seven halls, exhibiting all vices personified. Samael is also the angel of death, the evil inclination; Satan, the accuser, and the serpent which seduced our first parents. His wife is termed "the harlot;" both are also represented as "the beast."¹

It only remains to give a brief sketch of the psychology of the Kabbalah. Man, created after the image of the "Adam Kadmon," derives his chief dignity from the spiritual part within him. But even his body bears a close analogy to heavenly things. "As in the firmament we see various signs formed by the stars and planets, which conceal mysterious signs and deep secrets, so the skin also . . . contains signs and lineaments, which are the stars and planets of our bodies. All these signs have a hidden meaning, and attract the attention of the sages who know how to read the face of man."² By his look man has power over wild beasts, a kind of mesmerism (?), and to this Daniel owed his safety in the lions' den.³ But sin deprives us of this power. The spiritual part of man consists of three faculties, derived respectively from the three triads before mentioned. These faculties are the *intellect*, the *soul*, or seat of good and evil, and the *spirit*, or the link of communication between the immaterial and material. Both the soul and even the type of the body are pre-existent, and descend under fixed laws. "When the soul is about to leave its heavenly abode (before birth,) it appears before the Holy King arrayed in a glorious shape and with those lineaments which it is to bear on earth." Properly souls are unwilling to leave heaven for earth, but this is necessary for the realization of the purpose which they are to serve, and for the elevation of matter. Death is the happy release of souls. It has already been stated that souls are either male or female—one complete soul including both sexes, which, if the parties prove themselves worthy, will be reunited by marriage on earth. "All souls and spirits consist before they enter this

¹ Soh. i. 35.² ii. 76.³ i. 191.

world of a man and a woman, which are joined into one being. When they descend upon earth, they divide into halves and animate different bodies. When a marriage is entered upon, the Holy and Blessed One, who knows all souls and spirits, joins them as they had previously been, and they constitute again only one body and one soul. But this connexion depends on the conduct of men."¹ As for the doctrine of reminiscence, we are told that "everything which men learn on earth they knew before they entered this world."² To enable us to acquire either merit or guilt God has put within us a good and an evil inclination. But those who sin on earth had already commenced their apostasy in heaven. "All those who are not guiltless on earth had in heaven already alienated themselves from the Holy and Blessed One."³ To expiate guilt and to prepare for a final return to God, the souls have to migrate. "All souls are subject to migration, and men do not know the ways of the Holy and Blessed One; they do not know that they are called to account before they enter this world, and after they leave it; they do not know the many transmigrations and secret trials which they have to undergo, nor the number of souls and spirits which enter this world but do not return into the palace of the Heavenly King. Men do not know that the souls revolve like a stone thrown out of a sling."⁴ It is certainly remarkable that Origen should have adopted a somewhat similar view.

The initiated enjoy on earth a peculiar communion with God. "The Sohar" here distinguishes between *fear* and *love*, the former leading to the latter or highest spiritual exercise. There is also a twofold communication on the part of God—an *external* and an *internal*, the latter being the highest. Full vision of God is the enjoyment of beatified souls. "Come and see how the souls who have reached the place which is called the *treasure of life* enjoy the resplendent bright mirror which derives its light from the highest place. If the souls were not clad in a luminous garb they could not bear that brightness; for, as the soul is clad in a terrestrial garb, in order to live below, so there

¹ Sohar i. 91.² iii. 61.³ *Ut supra*.⁴ ii. 99.

is a spiritual garb, in order to be able, without danger, to look into that mirror."¹ "In one of the most secret and glorious parts of heaven is a palace, called the *palace of love*, where the deepest mysteries are enacted. There all souls are, whom the Heavenly King loves; there dwelleth the Heavenly King, the Holy and Blessed One, together with the souls of saints, and unites Himself with them by kisses of His love (or, of His grace."²) The death of saints is hence designated as "a kiss from God." "This kiss is the union of the soul with the substance from whence it had proceeded."³ Ultimately all souls will merge into God, and the Creator and the creature will no longer be distinguished.

On the great problem of the introduction of sin into the world, the Kabbalah is not explicit. It ascribes the fall to Adam's disobedience, and mentions general misery and sinfulness as its consequences. Later cabbalists have described Adam as the representative of his race, and stated that all his progeny fell with him and shared in his guilt. By virtuous conduct a portion of the heavenly light is however obtained, even in this world, while "the death of the sinless man is a real sacrifice, which may serve as an expiation; hence, the saints may be viewed as the sacrifice and expiation of the world."⁴ Indeed, the saints exercise a kind of influence with God, which causes a greater proportion of the Divine to pour itself forth through the Sefiroth into the world. We have already referred to the difference between the death of saints and that of sinners. Just as when the oil is fine the flame readily leaves the wick, so with saints, or those who, while on earth, had not given place to materialism; their intellects rise to God, their souls to Eden, and their spirits rest on earth. Not so the wicked or the material. Their intellects meet with obstacles preventing their return to God, and until that is accomplished, neither are the gates of Eden thrown open to their souls, nor do their spirits find rest on earth.

Such, then, is a brief outline of the Kabbalah. Scripture is compared by the cabbalists to a person dressed in fine raiment,

¹ Sohar i. 56, 66.

² ii. 97.

³ i. 168.

⁴ i. 65.

and its interpreters are classified into those who merely attend to the *dress*—the historical facts of the Bible; those who, more enlightened, attend to the body—the morale of these facts—and the initiated, who chiefly regard the soul, the hidden meaning of the Scriptures. The latter is elicited from the text by *gematria*, or the resolving of the words into their numerical value (the Hebrew letters being also numerals;) by *notaricon*, or making every letter in a word the initial of a separate word, and by the *interchange* of letters, the first letter of the alphabet being exchanged for the last, the second for the penult, &c.

The theology of Philo occupies the other extreme in the chain of Jewish mysticism. Alike the result and the exponent of the peculiar Alexandrian direction, it influenced the theological thinking of the church, and the speculations of the academy. Unable to produce anything original, the literati of the museum at Alexandria busied themselves at an eclecticism which in religion and philosophy combined all former systems into one, by means of a dreamy mysticism. Philo had become acquainted with Jewish mystic doctrines by Jewish mystic sects. To gain universal acknowledgment for his creed, and to elevate its mysteries to the highest pinnacle, by shewing that what of truth there was in Platonism was derived from Judaism—such was the object of Philo. Unfortunately his Judaism was not that of the Bible, but a heterogeneous combination of Platonism and Jewish mysticism. The Jews of Egypt passed, in general, through a peculiar training.

Separated from their brethren of Palestine, they constituted an almost independent sect, having their rival high-priest and temple. Left to themselves, and set free from those elements which led to the development of Rabbinism in the mother country, the Alexandrian Jews pursued a different direction. They had to defend their faith from the attacks of a philosophical system apparently related to it, but claiming for those initiated in its mysteries a higher spirituality and a loftier elevation. To

¹ We are chiefly indebted to the labours of Frankel and Dähne's elaborate work, whose researches cleared our way in the study of Philo.

retain the truths of Platonism in Judaism, to vindicate them for and to elicit them from the Old Testament, such was the first task of the Alexandrian Jewish apologist. But if the very symbols and letter, the husk of that religion, already placed the Jew on a footing of equality with, or even elevated him above the Platonic philosopher, what a distinguished position was occupied by the Jewish theosophist whose ecstasy equalled in kind, though not perhaps in degree, the inspiration of the prophets! Hence the study of philology, logic, poetry, rhetoric, and heathen philosophy, was highly to be commended, but they served only to prepare for the divine philosophy of Judaism. They were only the peristyle to the temple. Such, it appears, were the fundamental views entertained by Philo.

Though the writings of Philo are the oldest connected production, breathing the spirit peculiar to the Alexandrian school, he was by no means the first to originate it. He himself appeals to predecessors in these inquiries, and besides the kindred extracts from previous writers, preserved, for example, in Eusebius' "*Præparatio Evangelica*,"¹ even the Old Testament version of the so-called seventy interpreters exhibits manifold and most distinct traces of a similar theology. Philo, an Alexandrian Jew, by birth connected with the most influential of his countrymen in Egypt, of whom his brother was Alabarch or chief, was a man of profound erudition, thoroughly acquainted with Grecian literature and philosophy, but specially of deep moral earnestness. Often had he retired to the wilderness to lead in solitude and abstinence a more spiritual life; but as often did the felt plague of his heart convince him "that it was not change of place that brought either evil or good."² Above all he was devotedly a Jew. Himself a descendant of Aaron,³ he had visited the Holy City,⁴ to offer, after the fashion of extra-Palestinian Jews, vicarious sacrifices for his brethren in Egypt. Notwithstanding the scorn which the bigotry of some of his co-religionists, whom he rallies as slaves of the letter,

¹ To this we have already alluded.

² Leg. Alleg. ii.

³ Hieron. Cat. Scr. Eccles.

⁴ Euseb. Præp. Evang. viii. 14.

brought upon his creed, he was not ashamed publicly to avow his connexion with them. Perhaps he felt and consoled himself that every religious philosopher had to expect misinterpretations and enmity from the vulgar. The persecution which the envious Egyptians sought to raise against the Jews on the occasion of the mad attempt of the Emperor Caius to enforce the universal adoration of his statue, led to the despatch of an embassy to Rome, of which Philo was the most prominent member. He has described the ill-success of that mission in a treatise which throws some light upon the state of the Roman Court at that period. We only add that the old Cologne edition of Philo's works contains forty-seven treatises, most of them in the form of commentaries. But this catalogue is not complete, as some of his writings have evidently been lost. Within the present century, a few of them have been discovered and published in Italy. They treat of the being and character of God, the origin and constitution of the world, the divine law, the duties of man, &c. The style is in general loose, and the reasoning often confused and unsatisfactory. There is little depth or freshness about his thinking. Philo was a learned man, but not a sage. As to his general views of Scripture, it may be sufficient to indicate that he clings with tenacity to the letter—in the version of the LXX.—and that in perfect consistency with his allegorical mode of interpretation, by which not only individual passages bear a profound and mystical meaning, but Scripture, as a whole, becomes one connected allegory. In such a system, clinging to the letter, to which generally the peculiar interpretation strictly attaches itself, was necessary. Where philosophical interests do not demand its rejection, the ordinary historical interpretation is however retained, and forms the basis of the mystical. The *doctrinal* views of Philo may briefly be characterized as a mixture of Platonism and Jewish mysticism. In point of *practice*, he advises conformity to the Jewish ritual observances, although apparently only on the ground of avoiding scandal.¹ Moral perfection is sought in asceticism, in

¹ De Migrat. Abr.

opposition to the Platonic view of this subject, although the fundamental principles concerning matter are the same in both systems. The last word of Philo's philosophy, like that of the Kabbalah is—Pantheism.

Like most Jewish theologians, Philo places the authority of Moses above that of the other inspired writers, who are considered rather as his interpreters and followers than as his equals. But even in Moses we have to distinguish what he attained by philosophical acquirement from that which he received from God, either in ecstasy (a state more or less attainable by all initiated), in answer to his inquiries, or by direct communications. The results of all these are laid down in the Scriptures. But all deeper spiritual truths appear there veiled; the letter conveying comparatively low and carnal views in order to condescend to the gross and carnal notions of the vulgar, so to bring at least *some* truth to them, and perhaps gradually to attract them to higher and more spiritual views. It were impossible, it is ridiculous, to interpret literally many scriptural statements, which, so understood, are contrary to reason, and would degrade Judaism below the level of heathen philosophy. In explaining the supposed allegories of Scripture, the Greek text of the LXX. is rigidly adhered to by Philo, though traces of an imperfect acquaintance with the Hebrew occur. A good deal was, of course, to be left to the exegetical tact of each interpreter, but the following seem to have been some of the principles of Alexandrian exegetics:—1. The terms in the text may be expanded, and its statements applied to any or all topics to which the same expressions might figuratively be applied. Thus, the word "place" might, beside its proper meaning, apply to the Logos, and even to God, who contains and fills all. 2. The *idea* conveyed in the text may be educed from the *words* by showing a similar etymological derivation, and hence an affinity between the words and the idea. 3. Everything not absolutely requisite in the text was supposed to point to some special and hidden meaning. 4. Attention was to be given to the exegetical traditions of the fathers. 5. Above all, the commentator may, by

reaching the ecstatic state of the inspired writer, sympathize with and gain an immediate view of the same truth. 6. Several differing interpretations may all convey portions of truth.

The *theology* of Philo (his views of God) bears the closest resemblance to that of the Kabbalah and of Plato. As the latter spoke only negatively of the "*ὄν*," the Being, and the Kabbalah of the "*En-sof*,"—the boundless one—so Philo affirms that the Divine nature is in itself without quality, and inconceivable. All his definitions on this subject are only *negative*, showing that neither thought nor language can approach Him. "He is more indivisible than indivisibility; more good than goodness; more beautiful than beauty, &c.;"¹ in short, "He is a monad, ay, and more simple than it."² Three inferences are drawn from the absence of all quality in God and His separation from all: 1. That He is free. 2. That He is inaccessible to feelings of every kind, or apathetic. 3. That He is perfectly happy, rejoicing in Himself. Apathy, freedom, and happiness are thus combined, affording a distant view of the origin of Asceticism. Such a God can never be known by mortals—they can only recognise *that He is*, and that which is *by* Him. But as God is in all and pervading all, His rational creatures may, by virtue of this divine power in them, rise to Him in ecstatic moments when the fetters of matter are for a time cast aside. No particular name ought to be given to the Deity—"He who is," "the One," "He who exists in truth," are His only lawful designations. Names may, however, be given to that inferior Being, "the Logos," God manifest, which stands in contact with the world as its Creator, and to the individual Logoi, the attributes, or rather the stereotyped emanations of the Deity, which in their totality constitute the Logos. All those passages in Scripture which attribute affections, &c., to God, are only anthropomorphisms, and must be explained allegorically.

In his *Cosmology*, Philo approaches to Plato more closely than to the Kabbalah. This world is to him the gate to the invisible,³ the first step of the heavenly ladder.¹ The order and

¹ De Praem. ac Poen.

² De Vita Contempl.

³ De Somn. i.

adaptation of the world point to a heavenly Architect, while the fact that everything that exists is dependent on higher powers, and subject to change, sufficiently indicates their created origin. However, such proofs for the being of a God are second in rank when compared with the evidence which "the truly pious and holy" obtains by rising, "without any external help," to an immediate contemplation of the Divine.² But we have to distinguish between the form and the matter of this world. The latter is inert, irrational, and continuous, and must be viewed as a principle co-eternal with God, entirely different from, and therefore not produced by him. The *forms* of matter alone exhibit design, and are the workmanship of God, who is the Architect rather than the Creator, the Demiurgos rather than the Father of this world. To complete this part of our sketch, these forms were produced by the Divine life pouring itself forth into and pervading matter, in as far as matter was capable of receiving it, and that in a peculiar manner. When God was about to form the world, He proceeded, like other architects, to form a plan, an invisible, purely intelligible world; of which the visible is the exact counterpart. These ideas, or the individual Logoi are again all combined into the one Logos who contains and comprises in Himself that incorporeal world. The Logos formed the world in a twofold manner, by separating the chaotic mass of the four elements, and dividing them into antagonists until the simplest forms were reached; and by binding them again together, and resolving the antagonisms into a higher unity. By the Logos the continued connexion between God and the world is also kept up; on the one hand, by a transfusion of the Divine life into the world; on the other, by a transmission of Nature's continued service of praise to its Divine author. In these respects, the Logos is the Mediator, the connecting link between God and the world, the interpreter of our spirits and of God, the name of God, the vicar of God, the image of God, &c. In so far as *we* are concerned He is the first, in as far as the

¹ De Mundi Opif., and also de Cherub.

² De Praem., &c.

Most High is concerned, He is the *second* God.¹ The Logos is made to say: "I stand in the middle between God and you, being neither unbegotten as God nor begotten as you, but the middle between these extremes."²

Time originated only along with or after the creation of the world—another proof this that God created all in and by the Word; for as time had no existence, it could not intervene between the Word and the world. Again, man's freedom and God's foreknowledge are here reconciled; for as everything is present with God, it is no longer *foreknowledge*, but simply *knowledge*. To return—the Logos is God manifesting himself, the En-sof of the Kabbalah, the boundless, concentrating upon itself. But here we again distinguish between the conceiving and the executing activity in the Logos, or between *wisdom* and *speech*, the former as it were facing the Supreme Being, the latter the world. Wisdom is the spouse of the Most High, by whom He has begotten His only and beloved sensible son, this world. From this mystical union all the Divine virtues and potencies sprang. This, then, is the Logos in the *narrower* sense of the term. This God manifest stands between two cherubim, which are goodness and power. These are the *formative*, besides which we have the *preserving*, and finally the *ruling* aspects of the Divine manifestation, the last of which again contains the *commanding* and the *forbidding*. In the wider sense, the Logos comprises all these six—symbolized by the six Levitical cities of refuge, viz., the Logos in the narrower sense, the creative, the kingly, the preserving, the commanding, and the forbidding potencies. Again, corresponding to them, we have the two tables of the law, the mercy-seat, the two cherubim (the creative and regal potencies), and between them the Divine intellect. The three latter potencies are high above all that is human. Corresponding to the potencies are also the various biblical names of the Deity, or the expressions of his emanations and manifestations. Hence, in one sense, there is only *one* God—in another there are *many*, all these

¹ De Mundi Opif.

² Quis rerum divin. sit haeres.

potencies being gods, and the highest God the God of gods. The potencies hold together the universe, and the Logos itself is "the incorporeal habitation of the incorporeal ideas," sprung from a mystical union between God and wisdom, described in language which we dare not quote. "After the only true God there are two supreme and primary potencies, goodness and power, and everything has been made by goodness, and is governed by power. Between them and connecting them is the Logos." "The author of this world is God, by whom it is made; the matter of the world, the four elements from which it has been prepared; the instrument is the Logos of God by whom it has been built, and the final cause the goodness of the Demiurges."¹ Before leaving this point we adduce an illustration employed by Philo² which will place the relationship between God, the Logos, the potencies, and the world in clear light. If the Supreme God is the bright and inaccessible light, the Logos is its concentration, the Sun; the potencies are the rays which he emits in every direction, and creation is matter lit up in this manner. Philo's Pantheism thus practically expresses that nothing exists really save in as far as it is in God and God in it.

There are four classes of beings in this world: those which are endowed with natural powers, and are capable of nourishment, growth, and decline, as plants; those which are endowed with a soul or principle of life, and possess the five senses, power of imagination, memory, and instinct; finally, rational beings who have the power of self-determination, and hence are capable of virtue. But whence this gradation if the same Divine power operated in all? Was matter not equally capable of receiving the Divine energy, or had the emanations become weaker in their progress? We confess that to our mind Philo's reply is not distinct, though it apparently inclines to the adoption of the first alternative. The reasoning part in man was not produced as all other creatures in the world, by the Divine potencies, but is, like the other higher intelligences of whom it is one, a direct emanation of the Deity, and the very image of

¹ De Migr. Abr., and also De Cherub.

² De Somn.

the Logos. In fact man unites in his nature all the four classes of beings, and, like the Logos, he is the microcosm of which the world is the macrocosm. Hence, in his production, the Divine potencies co-operated with God, as it is written, "Let us make man." Beside our earth the whole universe is peopled. The air is specially the dwelling-place of a higher class of beings, some of whom had descended on earth, and by uniting with the material elements there, originated the human race. These air-spirits (or angels) constitute the spirit of God. There are no evil spirits or devils, as all sin is connected with and inherent in matter. Angels became evil when their love to the terrestrial dragged them into union with it. The body—as the seat and cause of moral evil—is the prison of the soul, and virtue consists in victory over the material. When conquering it, the soul, the air-spirit in us, rises by virtue of its nature to an ecstatic communion with the Divine. If such have been our life, the liberated spirit rises at death to an immediate contemplation of God. A twofold bond connects during our present state the spirit with matter, that of necessity and that of pleasure. The former cannot be loosened, but the latter, in itself the closest and most dangerous, has to be broken. Love of pleasure is the source of all sin, and to its removal the energies of man must be directed.

In his *ethical* disquisitions, Philo has an opportunity of fully developing his peculiar method of Scripture interpretation. The history of the Old Testament, as a whole, is transformed into an allegory. Adam is pure reason unconnected with sense, but which, in order either to act or to be happy in this world, required to assume a form similar to it, or a body. It was not good for Adam to be alone, and God gave him (pure reason) a companion, viz., sensibility. But they were both naked, *i.e.*, not properly connected. An end was put to this state of matters by the serpent, or pleasure. The union thus brought about constitutes the fall of pure reason, which however implies not sin but imperfection and liability to moral evil. Hence also the child, though fallen, is not corrupt during the first seven years of its life, its soul then being a "tabula rasa." It is only when plea-

sure becomes a *passion*, and the soul seeks after and loves the sensual, that the dominion of sin is established. The beasts brought before Adam and over which he was to reign, are the passions. From the connexion between Adam and Eve (reason and sensibility) sprang, as first child, pride and presumption, or Cain. For after the union of mind with the senses, the mind at first considered everything as its own, and from this arrogance, or Cain, spring all human ills. The names of the progeny of Cain are therefore expounded as allegorically expressing the various ills of the soul. On the contrary, Abel was natural and untrained piety—the younger son, because it succeeds the tempest of first-born youthful passion. Cain and Abel enter into contest, in which Abel succumbs, because his piety is uncultivated and his mind untrained. The successors of Abel have now to make good this defect. The six generations from Seth to Jacob mark the six stages of piety, by which a Seth becomes an Israel—a prince with God. First we have Enos, or hope, then Henoch, or repentance, and Noah, or righteousness. The latter, however, was only perfect in *his* generation; he is the culminating point of one kind of spiritual wisdom, which embraces the four cardinal virtues of justice, temperance, wisdom, and courage. But there is a higher kind of virtue, viz., that of the religious philosopher, gradually attained by Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and which marks an entirely different stage of development. If Abraham had *faith*, Isaac rose to *conviction*. Then Esau, or passion, was rejected, and Jacob, or ascetic virtue, which constitutes the highest wisdom, chosen. Here necessity, not pleasure, forms the bond between the sensual and the super-sensual. Asceticism consists in abstinence from worldly or material pleasures, and patient endurance of all sufferings. However, asceticism does not imply abstinence from the necessities of life, or the self-infliction of pain for the mortification of the flesh. Its full practice in entire renunciation of the world, and retirement to the wilderness, is only recommended to those of *mature* age and at the close of a *practical* life, in which the principles of Asceticism have been studied, defended, and partially exemplified.

We conclude this brief sketch by giving Philo's replies to some questions on which the reader may desire information. Trials and difficulties, the necessary consequences of our connexion with matter, are in this respect indeed requisite for the moral education of the ascetic, but absolutely speaking they are hindrances, and the kingdom* of God will be a period when such impediments will no longer intervene between the soul and God. The privileges of the Israelites do not consist in their original choice by God, but in possessing an ancestry which, by gradual development, attained in Moses to full communion with God. Their sufferings were due to sin, and bear proportion to their privileges. But a brighter day is yet to dawn upon Israel. Their common return to piety will fill the nations amongst whom they are dispersed with awe; they will be dismissed from the lands of their captivity, and return to Palestine, under the guidance of a Divine Being in human form, visible only to themselves. An era of universal holiness, peace, and prosperity will then ensue. Passion will give place to virtue, wild beasts will lose their destructive character, war will cease, or at least its commencement and termination will be almost simultaneous. The harvests will be so plentiful that none will require to collect stores, and the supply of each will be abundant. A numerous family, long life, exemption from disease—in a word, everything requisite for happiness and comfort will be provided. Finally, all mankind, influenced by the example of Israel, will turn to the Lord. The Messiah of this redeemed world is the Logos, the same who led Israel out of Egypt, accompanied and guided them as the cloud and fiery pillar—that vicar of God, and invisible prince of angels!

Mysticism was represented in Egypt by the sect of the Therapeutæ, in Palestine by that of the Essenes. The difference between them, according to Philo, was that the Therapeutæ led a contemplative, the Essenes an active life. It is not ours to advert in this place to the peculiarities of climate and natural disposition favourable to the development of Asceticism and Monachism—the embodiment of the spirit of bondage, which

even in nature seems to delight only in solitude and awe. Egypt, the home of Christian Asceticism, produced also a set of Jewish monks. The Therapeutæ were men and women¹ who, for ascetic purposes, left their friends and dwellings, and having disencumbered themselves of every worldly care, by giving their substance to their relatives, retired to desert places, where they lived in communities, each individual inhabiting a solitary dwelling, yet, for the purposes of mutual protection, within easy reach of each other. The neighbourhood of Alexandria, specially near Lake Mareotis, was the chief resort of these recluses. Their houses were of the most simple description, so as only to afford shelter from heat or cold. Meat and drink were only touched after sunset, as the glorious light of day was not to witness any bodily indulgence. Sometimes their fasts were protracted for three or even six days. On the Sabbath, together with peculiar attention to spiritual wants, those of the body were also cared for. However, the luxuries of that day consisted only of bread and salt, or hyssop and water. Their garments also were of the simplest kind. It is scarce necessary to add that they lived in celibacy, longing only for the marriage of the soul with God. In each of their dwellings was a little sanctuary, called "Semeion," or "Monasterion," in which every one spent the day in meditation, study of the law, or of the sayings of the saints, and in spiritual songs. Twice daily they prayed. When the sun made his appearance, they entreated for a happy day, *i.e.*, one in which their minds might be filled with heavenly light. When the sun set, they prayed that the soul, set free from the incubance of everything sensual, might be able to rise to the contemplation of truth.² The law was interpreted according to the rules of an allegorical exegesis, the letter of Scripture being deemed but a symbol. The Therapeutæ professed to possess the writings of the founders of their sect, which served them as models for meditation and the composition of hymns. Every

¹ Comp. Philo De Vita Contempl., a treatise which, notwithstanding Dr. Frankel's objections, we hold to be genuine.

² In general, it is remarkable that, in every form of Mysticism, the meditative element greatly preponderates over the devotional.

seventh day they met. They sat according to age and dignity, with hands turned inwards, the right between the breast and chin, the left resting on the side. The oldest and best initiated then delivered a discourse, in which, not in studied or persuasive language, but simply and gravely, he referred to some of the mysteries of Scripture. All listened in silence, indicating their assent only by a motion of the head or eyes. In this common sanctuary, women and men sat apart, being separated by a low breast-wall of three or four cubits' height. Specially solemn was the seventh Sabbath when they commemorated the passage of the Red Sea, to them a symbol of the passage from the world to Asceticism. One of their officers arranged the worshippers, who appeared in white raiment. After prayer they reclined on beds of papyrus round a table (the eldest occupying the places of honour,) the men at the right, and the women at the left side of the room. The junior members served, all slavery being repudiated as the iniquitous consequence of injustice and avarice, in consequence of which the stronger lorded it over the weaker. The viands were those for ordinary Sabbaths. A member then delivered a discourse on some Scriptural subject amidst profound silence, only interrupted by the inquiries of the hearers. Looks and nods indicated that the audience understood the argument; serenity of countenance, or a slight turn of the face, applause, a shake of the head, or a sign with the finger, expressed doubt. At the close all made a joyful noise; then one of the members sung a hymn, composed by himself or by one of their own poets; others followed, the rest joining in chorus. After this exercise, the meal was served, and then the distinctive feast of the evening commenced. Men and women ranged themselves in two bands, and under the leadership of the most experienced sung hymns, accompanying them with gesticulations and dances. Then the two bands mixed, "inebriated with divine love as in the feasts of Bacchus." Thus the night was spent; when morn dawned, they looked to heaven and parted with mutual good wishes, each to his Semneion.

If the sect of the Therapeutæ dated from considerably before

our present era, that of the Essenes, or practical mystics, took its rise about the time of the wars of nationality under the Macabees, when they appear under the name of "Assideans." This sect, which originated in the zeal for ceremonial purism which animated the patriots, seems during and after that war to have formed a strong politico-religious party. Gradually it attained the peculiar organization which formed its characteristic mark in the days of Josephus. The first sign of its decadence was the cessation of its higher grades. At last it merged into the theological school of the Kabbalah.¹ In the zenith of its power it consisted of four grades, distinguished by degrees of ceremonial purity, by acquaintanceship with mystical theology, and by varied occupation, from the tilling of the ground through the practice of medicine upwards to the working of miracles. The members of the four classes, amounting in all to about 4000, kept distinct from each other, avoiding even the touch of a member of the inferior grades. They lived in the various cities of Palestine, although some may have retired to the wilderness. They welcomed as brethren all strangers belonging to their order. They despised riches and pleasures, held disparaging views of marriage, but, unlike the Therapeutæ, were not given to ascetic practices. They threw all their means into a common fund, administered by special officers of their own. A noviciate of one year was requisite to admit the candidate to the first degree of purity, and a further membership of two years before he could be admitted to the common table, or obtain that second degree of purity requisite to allow the brethren to eat with him. The higher grades were more distinctively mystical. Honias Hamagaal, and Chananjah ben Doza, for example, belonged to that class. Like the Therapeutæ, the Essenes joined in common meals, prayed at sunrise, repudiated slavery, were under the unlimited control of their officers, &c. From certain scruples connected with ceremonial purity, they abstained from offering

¹ Comp. Jos. Jewish Wars, ii. 8: Prideaux's Connection, ii. Book V.; for the Affinity with the Therapeutæ Dähne, i. 470; for the Connection with the Assideans or Chasidim, Frankel Monats. 1853, Jan. & Feb.

sacrifices in the temple, part of its services being, in their opinion, not sufficiently guarded from defilement. Purifications, the study of mysticism, separation from the uninitiated, and some peculiar doctrines—for example, with reference to predestination—distinguished them from the other Jews. Their discipline seems to have been very strict, and an oath of secrecy bound the possessors of the mysteries. The sect became extinct some time after the destruction of Jerusalem.

It is interesting to compare Jewish mysticism with the systems which approach it most closely. The mysticism of Philo naturally resembled Platonism much more than did the Kabbalah. In fact, those leading principles in which Philo differed from the Kabbalah, such as the assumption of two original principles, of ideas as the forms of creation, &c., are entirely of Platonic origin. Still more striking is the similarity between Western Jewish mysticism and the Alexandrian school of Platonists as represented by Plotin, Porphyry, &c. They also declared that the ultimate cause of all was ineffable and inconceivable, and represented God as a Trinity, consisting of unity or goodness, understanding, and the world's soul, or the Demiurgos. As in Philo we may readily distinguish the foreign from the Jewish and spiritual elements, so we find in the Kabbalah some of the peculiar doctrines of the Old Testament corrupted by Persian dogmas. A mutual influence seems to have been exercised by Zoroaster (549 years B.C.) and the Jewish exiles in Babylon. The former confessed to having partly drawn from ancient sources—a statement corroborated by his teaching. He declared that the world had been created in six epochs:—Heaven in the first, water in the second, earth in the third, the vegetable kingdom in the fourth, the animal kingdom in the fifth, and man in the sixth. According to his teaching, man had been in Paradise, but the serpent had tempted and seduced him. They fell from their high position, were obliged to dress in the skins of animals, to till the ground, &c. If Zoroaster had learned from the Jews, it can scarcely be supposed that, in their peculiar state, they could have escaped the influence of one whose spiritual sway was so power-

ful and general. It is allowed on all hands that the institute of the Synagogue, the names of the angels, &c., was brought from Babylon on the return of the exiles to Palestine. But we are not left to mere conjecture. Persian and cabbalistic superstitions frequently agree, as with reference to the origin, the number, and the power of evil spirits, the events immediately after death, &c. Their improper views about God as the En-Sof, and his evolutions through the Sefiroth, resembled those of Zoroaster. Like the Kabbalah, the system of the Magi propounded the pre-existence of souls, their unwillingness (in some cases) to descend to the earth, the contest between the good and the evil principle in man, the peculiar notions about the nature of the spiritual principle, the doctrine of the final conversion of the evil principle, and the restitution of all things. We do not indeed hold that the religion of Zoroaster was identical with that of the Kabbalah—in many most important parts they differed materially—but we maintain that the corruptions of the Kabbalah are mainly due to Persian influence. Nor can we greatly mistake when we trace to these mystical elements the origin of Eastern and Western Gnosticism, and thus account for the fact, that so speedily after the planting of Christianity, heresies should have arisen which, although their fundamental principles were diametrically opposed to those of the Gospel, still numbered so many adherents.

In attempting to arrange the doctrinal views of the Rabbins, we are bewildered by a mass of erroneous, blasphemous, and even contradictory statements. Still, as to withhold them would interfere with a proper appreciation of the state of the synagogue, we now supplement our former remarks. We have already referred to the extravagant preference for Moses, which the doctrinal predilections for the letter of the Pentateuch engendered. If all Israel were God's favourites while the Gentiles were cast off, Moses was worth all Israel put together.¹ His superior knowledge (of the law) elevated him even above the angels; God himself left the higher heavens and came to him;

¹ Mech. ix.

the angels, as well as the sun, moon, and stars sung their hymns to him, and the latter obtained from him permission to enlighten the world.¹ In the miracles which he performed, he acted like a divine being. In the same manner the Talmud² relates how Moses in argumentation silenced the angels who were jealous of him; and the passage (Psalm lxviii. 18) is applied to their ultimate reconciliation. On the other hand, Adam had, after his fall, intercourse with female, and Eve with the serpent and other male evil spirits, which issued in a vast number of demons, while the first carnal intercourse between the serpent and Eve put sin into the heart of every one of her descendants. Happily this evil seed has, in the case of Israel, been purged by their presence at Sinai. There also assembled the souls of the prophets yet unborn, and first learned what they were afterwards to proclaim. Among the prophets, Ezekiel and Daniel were the most revered, and had like the Messiah each received the distinguishing title of "Son of Man."

The views of the Rabbins concerning the Divine Being are sometimes sublime. He is represented as the prototype of the high-priest, and as the king of kings; as the Aleph (the first letter, the beginning); the Mem (the middle letter, middle); and the Tav (the last letter, the end) of all, who created everything for His own glory; power, wisdom, and goodness are His prominent characteristics. However, His mercy was not to be isolated from His justice. But whenever the Rabbins descend from general to particular statements, we meet with absurdities and even blasphemies. The most general representation of the Divine Being, is as the chief Rabbi of heaven; the angelic host being His assessors. This heavenly Sanhedrim takes the opinion of living sages in cases of dispute. Of the twelve hours of the day, three are spent by God in study, three in the government of the world (or rather in the exercise of mercy), three in providing food for the world, and three in playing with Leviathan. But since the destruction of Jerusalem, all amusements were banished from the courts of heaven, and three hours were

¹ Shem. Rabb. 100.

² Shab. 89, a.

employed in the instruction of those who had died in infancy.¹ On every subject, except the giving of life, of rain and the resurrection of the dead, God deliberated with His Sanhedrim. His properties were, according to Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7, arranged under thirteen particulars. Some Rabbis, however, reduced them to eleven, to ten, and even to three. The terms "God," "the Lord," "Jehovah," indicated these qualities. The latter title was the ineffable name, the pronunciation of which enabled to perform miracles. There can be little doubt that three distinct subsistences in God were spoken of in ancient Jewish writings. The Rabbins frequently refer to "the Word," or "Memra," which is God manifest. In those passages where God is represented as coming into immediate contact with Israel (as in Lev. xxvi. 9-12; Deut. i. 30; Num. xxiii. 3, 4, &c.) Onkelos generally employs the expression "Memra." Still more frequent and striking is the employment of the same term in the Targum of Jonathan or the prophets. We refer only to passages such as the following: 2 Sam. vi. 7; 1 Kings viii. 50; 2 Kings xiii. 23, xix. 28, 34; Isaiah i. 14, 16, 20, vi. 8, xxx. 30, lxvi. 13; Hos. xi. 4, 10, 11, &c. What is perhaps even more remarkable, the Memra is brought into connexion with the Messiah, as in Isaiah xlii. 1, "mine elect in whom my Memra delighteth;" or Isaiah xlix. 5, "the Memra of God shall be the strength of the Messiah." Sometimes the expression, Memra, is used for the Holy Spirit, as in Isaiah lxiii. 14, and often in the Targum Jerushalmi (the Jerusalem Targum). The third person in the Godhead is generally designated as the "Shechinah," although the latter is sometimes distinguished from the Holy Spirit. Thus Onkelos employs the term "Shechinah" in Ex. xxxiii. 14, 15, 20, or verse 22, "And it shall come to pass while my Jekara or Shechinah passeth by, that I will put thee in a cleft of the rock, and will cover thee with my Memra till I am passed by." Similarly the term Shechinah occurs in Ex. xxv. 8, xl. 34, and in many other passages. It frequently occurs in the oldest Jewish writings, and functions are ascribed

¹ Av. Sar. 3, b.

to the Shechinah, similar to those which the New Testament teaches us to expect from the Holy Ghost.¹

The dogma about angels and fallen spirits presents a similar mixture of truth and error. The period of their creation is variously stated; some of them appear occasionally as personifications of the affections of the Deity. Daily does God create a vast number of angels, who, after having praised him, pass away. There are ten, or, as more ancient authors have it, four classes of angels. The chief of these are Michael, who stands to the right of the Lord; Gabriel, who occupies the left; Uriel, who stands in front; and Raphael, whose place is behind. In the middle is the Shechinah. Of all angels, Michael, to whom Israel is specially committed, is the highest. Each angel can only be sent on one errand at a time. Every individual has his protecting angel. But the angels had been envious of the high position of man. One of the principal of the Seraphim, Samael, entered into a conspiracy against men, in consequence of which he was banished and became the Devil. There are, however, two kinds of evil spirits—those who had originally been angels, but whom sin had deprived of their high estate, and their progeny by carnal intercourse with men. Of the latter class there are again two subdivisions—the offspring of devils and our first parents, and those of devils and the daughters of men (Gen. vi.) From Gen. v. 3 it was attempted to prove, that Adam had human children only after he was 130 years old. During the previous period Adam and Eve begat each male and female evil spirits. Again, after the murder of Abel, Adam left his wife; and two female devils, Naama and Lilith, originally Samael's concubines, joined themselves to him. Samael himself committed fornication with Eve. One of the fruits of these sins was Asmodi, chief of the devils. It is to be remarked that early Christian heretics entertained similar notions.² Satan himself acted in man as the evil concupiscence,

¹ Compare the article "Shechinah" in Buxtorf's *Lexic. Rabbin.*, and Gfrörer's *Urchrist.* i. p. 302, &c.

² Compare generally *Iren.* i. 30; *Epiphan. Haeres.* 40.

the Jezer ha-Ra. Devils were arranged into seven classes, which are represented by the various rapacious or despised animals, as the bear, the lion, the dog, the ass, &c. The same arrangement and symbolical representation of unclean spirits was, according to the testimony of Origen,¹ adopted by the Gnostic sect of the Ophites. Devils were supposed to have three things in common with angels, and three things with men. Like angels they had wings, flew from one end of the world to the other, and knew about the future, having overheard the divine decrees. Like men they ate and drank, propagated themselves and died.² If the eyes of men were opened to perceive their number, they would be overwhelmed by fear. On our right there are no less than 10,000, and on our left 1000 of these evil spirits. If we wish to convince ourselves of this fact, we have only to strew fine ashes before our beds, and we shall in the morning see their foot-prints as those of cocks; and if we wish to see them, we are to burn the after-birth of a black cat, whose mother and grandmother were respectively pure black and first-borns, and rub our eyes with the ashes.³ They ruled specially at night, and inhabited desolate and ruined or filthy places, and the branches of certain trees. The devil frequently assumes the appearance of a goat,⁴ and the cold northern regions are his head-quarters. He seeks in every possible manner to do harm to men. Many diseases, such as epilepsy, violent headaches, hydrophobia, &c., are caused by him. But as he may be conjured by incense and formulas, so he may also be exorcised. The Talmud mentions⁵ the following formula for exorcising the devil from persons possessed by him. "Oh! thou who art shut up (hidden, obstructing,) shut up thou who art, cursed, destroyed and anathematized be the devil, the son of clay, the son of the unclean, the son of dirt, as Sham-gas, Marigas, and Istamaa," (three fallen angels.) By powerful formulas evil spirits may even be rendered serviceable. Thus,

¹ Contra Celsum vi. 30, where generally interesting notices of the Ophites are found.

² Chag. 16, a.

⁴ *Ut supra*, 62. a.

³ Berac. 6. a.

⁵ Shab. 67. a.

King Solomon built the Temple by such means.¹ Josephus speaks also of the havoc made by demons, although his views of their origin differ somewhat from those of the Talmud. Samael is called by Talmudists "the Prince of the Air," and stands as the accuser of Israel, opposed to Michael their advocate. We read also of his gnashing with the teeth, in malicious pleasure at their evil, or in anger at their good. The idols of the heathen are so many demons.

The Talmud frequently agrees with the Kabbalah in its cosmology. Thus it speaks² of a multitude of worlds (18,000) which God visits every night, and which apparently were created before our world—a view similar to that held by some of the Christian fathers, as generally not only the Gnostics, but even some of the orthodox adopted cabbalistic views. To return, the earthly Jerusalem was only an image of the heavenly,³ in which everything, the temple, the altar, and Michael, as its minister, are found, only in larger and more glorious proportions. Seven things were created *before* the world, and ten on the first Friday immediately before the darkness which ushered in the rest of the first Sabbath. The former comprise the law, repentance, the temple, the name of the Messiah, the throne of glory, the garden of Eden, and hell.⁴ Early Jewish writings introduce amongst the creatures of the fifth day the male and female leviathan, immense fishes happily kept each alone,⁵ as their brood would have destroyed the whole world; and amongst those of the sixth day, the male and female behemoth, or large oxen, subjected to similar separation, and which are to be killed and prepared for the feast of the Messianic days.⁶ We learn also that the belief in the existence of seven heavens was common amongst the Jews,⁷ although mixed up with fabulous additions. The first heaven, or "Velin" curtain, was drawn every evening and removed every morning; the second or "Rakia" firmament, was the place where sun, moon, and stars were fixed; the third, or

¹ Gitt. 68.

² Av. Sar. 3. b.

³ Taan. 5. a; Chag. 12. b.

⁴ Pes. 54. a; Nedar. 39. b.

⁷ Chag. 12. b.

⁵ Pirke El. xi; Baba B. 74. b.

⁶ Comp. also Orig. c. Cels. vi.

“Shechakim” clouds, contained the millstones necessary for making the manna for the saints; the fourth, or “Sevul” place, contained the heavenly Jerusalem, temple, and altar; the fifth, or “Maon” dwelling, contained the hosts of angels who sing praises during the whole night, the day being assigned to Israel for the same purpose; the sixth, or “Macon” residence, contained the stores of snow, hail, noxious dews, rain, storms, vapours, &c.; the seventh, or “Araboth,” ether, contained justice, the judgment of mercy, the treasures of life, of peace, and of blessing, the souls of saints, souls before they were clothed with bodies, and the dew by which God was to raise the dead. There also dwelt the Ofanim, the Seraphim, the living creatures, the ministering angels, the throne of glory, the eternal king, the living God. Similar views are propounded in some of the Apocrypha.¹ Each of these heavens was so distant from the other, that the journey from one to the other would occupy five hundred years, (like the years of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.) These heavens revolved. As to the comparative proportions of heaven and hell, we are informed² that the garden of Eden was sixty times as large as the world, and hell sixty times as large as Eden. Both in heaven and hell are seven dwellings, and the joys and torments of both places are described. When the just reach the two ruby gates of heaven, they are received by the 600,000 ministering angels who keep watch there. They are then arrayed with eight garments, crowned with two crowns, and receive eight myrtle branches. They are next conducted to a place beside rivers, surrounded by eight hundred different kinds of roses and myrtles, and placed under a canopy. Four rivers, one of milk, one of wine, one of balsam, and one of honey, water, and a golden vine with thirty shining pearls adorns this place. During the three watches of the night every saint is successively transformed into a child, a youth, and an aged man, in order to enjoy the pleasures peculiar to every age. Eden has 800,000 kinds of trees, and 600,000 ministering angels. The tree of life over-

¹ Comp. the Testam. Levi in Fabricii Cod. Pseudoepigr. i. pp. 545-549, although there the objects in each heaven are somewhat differently arranged.

² Taan, 10. a.

shadows the whole garden, and its fruits have 500,000 various kinds of taste and smell. Under its branches the sages sit and expound the laws, each of them having two canopies, one formed of the stars, and the other of the sun and moon, and between both a veil woven of the cloud of glory. On the other hand, three gates, one from the wilderness, the other from the sea, the third from Jerusalem, lead to the seven abodes of hell. Heaven and hell are adjoining, and only separated by a wall of the thickness of one handbreadth. Thus the inhabitants of either place know what is going on in the other.

The Talmud speaks of four parts in the soul, the fourth being a kind of inward spiritual sense, which God gives to Israelites every Sabbath, and which returns to Him at the close of the weekly festival. The same authority agrees with the Sohar as to the pre-existence of souls. Before a child sees the light of the world, an angel shews it the glories of heaven and the torments of hell. Then the child is beaten and driven forth into the world—hence the crying of new-born babes. However contrary to Scripture all this may appear, we meet with notions similar to those above-mentioned in some of the earliest Christian writers, (specially of the Alexandrian school,) who forsook the simplicity of gospel truth. In consequence of the fall of Adam, death has not only passed on all men, as being connected with Adam, (their souls having as it were been in Adam,) but a liability and proneness to sin has become natural to man. This *Jezer ha-Ra* is not actual sinfulness, but an inclination to it, or evil tendency. On the other hand, when men arrive at years of discretion, at thirteen, a good inclination, *Jezer Tob*, makes itself felt. A struggle then ensues, on the issue of which the future state depends. After death the soul hovers for a long time round the dead body. Besides the just who pass immediately to heaven, and sinners who go to destruction, there is a middle class who are to be purified by fire, in a kind of purgatory, during a period of twelve months.² Israelites are not liable to hell-fire, unless the peculiar bodily mark of their descent have been effaced.

¹ Moed K. iii. s.

² Rosh ha-Sh. 16. 17.

The Sohar admits pious Gentiles to Heaven, and assigns a special place in glory for the souls of departed children. The doctrine of the migration of souls was not only held by Jewish mystics and Talmudists, but by Christian heretics, and even made a favourable impression on that class of early Christian writers to which we have made frequent reference. Thus, if the Jews supposed that the soul of Laban the Syrian had passed into Balaam, that of Phinehas into Elias—if they and certain Christian heretics¹ held the same opinion concerning Shem and Melchisedek, Origen mentions the opinion of some as to the identity of Phinehas and Elias,² and the migration of the soul of Elias into John the Baptist. The heretic Basilides taught the doctrine of the migration of souls exactly like the cabbalists. The prayers of Rabbins for the removal of the Jezer ha-Ra, or "leaven," as it is sometimes called, were frequent and earnest, as that evil inclination might ultimately ruin the soul, or at least expose it to the fire of purgatory. When Pharaoh's heart was hardened, his Jezer ha-Ra was only strengthened.³ But in order that any breach of the law might really become sin, the will must have consented to its commission. If the Jezer ha-Ra is early and energetically opposed, it may be kept in subjection. Some have even completely subdued it. The most efficacious means for this purpose is study of the law. On the question of the origin of sin, the Sohar propounded that evil was necessary, in order, by its victory, to make virtue possible. The Talmudists⁴ seem to have held that God was the author of Adam's Jezer ha-Ra, or evil inclination, (not of his sin,) the power and prevalence of which in his posterity, and their sorrows and death, are connected with the fall of Adam. On the doctrine of predestination, the Sohar seems to have held more decided views than the Talmud. No doubt was entertained, that at certain fixed periods God decreed concerning all events, and even sealed the judgment of men; but repentance could arrest the impending doom, and even reverse the heavenly decree. It was a principle⁵

¹ Epiph. Hæres. 55.

² In Matth., Homil. iii., and other places.

³ Targ. Serath.

⁴ Ber. 31.

⁵ Ber. 33. b.

almost necessary to Judaism, that everything was in the power of Heaven except the fear of God, *i.e.*, that man alone had the power to produce in himself true piety; that God only assisted and crowned with success all sincere endeavours. At the same time, God possessed perfect *foreknowledge* of man and his actions. Certain events, such as the begetting of children, the duration of life, worldly prosperity, &c., may in part depend on the constellation under which we are born,¹—a view this foreign to Judaism, and probably of Chaldean origin. To make it fit into Talmudical theology, it was added that the stars had influence only on Gentiles. It is remarkable, that the heretic Valentin propounded similar views, making the exception in favour of baptism and regeneration. It is unnecessary to multiply further details. The general cast of Jewish theology, and its affinity with Gnosticism, will sufficiently appear to the impartial reader.

The moral obligations incumbent upon Israel have already been detailed. Entrance into the kingdom of Heaven was made dependent on conformity to them. Next to the love of God, which was not so much an inward affection as a readiness to obey His commandments and to do good, stood love to one's neighbour, which, indeed, both Hillel and Akiba declared to be the highest commandment.² On the other hand, to withhold charity—denominated *Zedakah*, righteousness—was a sin similar to idolatry.³ Humility or meekness, the study of the law, obedience to its peculiar tenets, and prayer, procured great blessings. It was the humility of Moses which elevated him to so lofty a position. However, in another passage,⁴ this is attributed to his prayerfulness. Perhaps the Rabbins intended to point out the connexion between humility and prayer. The beneficial effects of the latter were not confined to him who prayed, but, in answer to his entreaty, diseases were removed or public calamities averted. It is possible that many of the Jews had accounted in that manner for the miraculous cures performed by Christ.

¹ Comp. Moed K. 28, &c.

² Kidd. iv. 12.

³ Tos. Peah, iv. 13.

⁴ Sanh. x. 2.

Earnestness was deemed by some Rabbins a necessary condition of prayer, nor were devotions to be transformed into daily or formal tasks. To avoid such practices, a Rabbi recommends a daily variation of the prayers.¹ As to the duration of prayer, opinions were divided, but the usual practice seems to have been in favour of lengthened exercises. The praises of God formed the beginning and end of the prayer; the expression of personal wants was inserted in the middle. We have already exhibited specimens of the prayers of the Synagogue. With the exception of the absence of a sense of personal spiritual wants, the sublime character of these compositions entitles them to a high place. We quote two prayers, supposed² to approach somewhat to the prayer which the Lord taught His disciples. R. Samuel prayed :³—"Thanks and praise be to Thy name ! Thine is the greatness, the power, and the glory. May it please Thee, O Lord our God, and the God of our fathers, to lift us up when we fall, and to raise us up when we are bowed down ; for Thou liftest up those that fall, and raisest up those that are bowed down. Thou art merciful, and beside Thee there is none. Blessed be the Lord." Bar Kapara prayed :—" Before Thee do we bend, before Thee we bow, before Thee we fall down, and Thee alone do we adore. To Thee every knee shall bend, and every tongue confess. Thine, O Lord, is the majesty, the power, the glory, the victory, and the praise ; for what is in heaven and what on earth, is Thine. Thine, Lord, is the kingdom, and Thou art exalted above all. Riches and honour are before Thee. Thou reignest over all, and in Thine hand are power and might. It is in Thy power to make any one great or mighty. We bless Thee, O our God, and praise Thy glorious name. We adore Thee with all our heart and soul. All our members say, Who is like Thee, O God, who deliverest the needy from the mighty, and the poor from the hand of him who doeth violence?" We need scarcely point out the vast difference in point of spirituality between the above and the Lord's Prayer. In general, while, as might have been expected, much

¹ Ber. iv. 4.² Gfrörer, ii. p. 149, &c.³ Ber. 7. a.

in the Synagogue reminds us of the Church, the difference of spirit and tendency is such as at once to bring home the conviction that the Gospel presents a *new* creation. Indeed, religious truth and religious error differ not so much in their want of resemblance, as in the fact that with such resemblance there should be so little identity of spirit, result, and tendency.

In prayer, care was taken to turn towards the Holy Place. Along with prayer, penitence was a great means of averting the Divine displeasure. Were all Israel properly to repent but for one day, the Messiah would at once appear.¹ The high place which Scripture assigned to faith was vindicated for acts of a *mind* thoroughly convinced, not of a *heart* truly converted. It is perhaps upon this ground that *all* Israel were supposed² to have part in the world to come. Unbelievers were incapable of penitence, and any crime against their lives or bodies was warrantable,—an inference which, although not carried into practice, is shared by all creeds which address themselves to the intellectual or the outward man alone. A proper observance of the Sabbath procured the pardon of sins. The merits of Jews secured their entrance into Heaven, and a share in the resurrection of the just, while the good works of the impious and of heathens met their reward only in this world.³ Sufferings were means of procuring merit and atoning for guilt. Chastisements caused the pardon of sins; but if sent as a dispensation of love, they accompanied or preceded special blessings. Under trials, the pious should examine whether they had been guilty of any special sin, and whether they had sufficiently engaged in the study of the law. If a satisfactory reply could be given to these two questions, the trials should be gladly taken as marks of God's special favour and gracious designs.⁴ All means of grace were available up to death, when the soul appeared before the Judge, who put the good works in one balance, and the evil in another, and adjudged heaven or hell according to the preponderance of good or evil.⁵ But the Talmud, more lenient than the Mishna, (from

¹ Taan. 64. a.

² Sanh. x. 1.

■ Targ. Jer. in Deut. vii. 10.

⁴ Ber. 5. a.

⁵ Kidd. i. 10.

which the above opinion is quoted,) supposed that, in case of a preponderance of evil, God abstracted from the balance one or another sin and hid it, so that the merits might preponderate. Certain acts of kindness might in themselves prove sufficient to atone for a whole life of sin. On the whole, there was in this respect a great want of moral earnestness in the Synagogue. Some saints were supposed to possess a superfluity of merits which might be made available to compensate for the deficiencies of others. Thus, amongst others, the celebrated Simon ben Jochai arrogated to himself the power of atoning by his righteousness for the sins of the whole world, from his time to the end.¹ Popularly, the merits of the three fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of the four mothers, Sarah, Rebecca, Leah, and Rachel, were viewed as procuring favour for their descendants.² The Sohar teaches,³ that perfect saints descended into hell, and brought out of it many who had repented on earth, but whom death had prevented from making satisfaction. In another place the curious opinion is broached, that the precious garment of good works may be lost by backsliding, in which case God employed it to make up the deficiencies of others. Condemned criminals were, if unwilling to confess, to be admonished at least to exclaim, "May my death be the expiation of my sins."⁴ The death of the just might be the means of procuring pardon for all Israel.⁵ The cessation of sacrifices, with their typical reference to the vicarious death of Christ, induced the Rabbins to substitute in their room the study of the law, which is exalted above every other merit. Circumcision, the Passover, and the Day of Atonement, together with personal sufferings and merits, specially the study of the law and works of kindness, and finally a man's last agony,—such were the means of reconciliation with God to which the Synagogue pointed a sinner, whose conscience the mere fact of his connexion with the patriarchs could not satisfy.

We close by briefly sketching the traditions of the Jewish

¹ Ber. 36. a.

³ Soh. iii 405.

² Pirke, ab. ii. 2.

⁴ Sanh. vi. 2.

⁵ Moed K. 28. a.

fathers concerning the Messiah and his kingdom. On no one subject were opinions more unsatisfactory, diverging and purely fantastic, than on this. The prevalent views were so entirely carnal that even the mystic elements of interpretation bore much of the same character. Manifestly the circumstances of the nation were such as to damp the hopes of the most sanguine, and to contradict the favourite notions of the Rabbins as to the value of Israel, and the sacredness and meritoriousness of their conduct and occupation. An unknown sin hung over them like a dark cloud; the Rabbins acknowledged it, but could not name the sin, nor indicate any certain way of escape. All miseries were indeed to be removed by the advent of the Messiah, but this happy event was delayed by Israel's mysterious sin. In truth, the Scripture doctrine of the Messiah was felt a heterogeneous element in the dogmatics of the Synagogue, and one which baffled every attempt at assimilation. This explains their varying and contradictory views. The whole Old Testament, with its spiritual promises connected with the Messiah, was not only a sealed book, but a continued sentence of condemnation to those that were without. Hence the want of relish for its study, the preference for traditions, the elaboration of the outward, and the startling principle, "that all prophets without exception had prophesied only of the blessings to be granted in the days of the Messiah." It was inferred from analogy, that as the world had been created in six days and the seventh been the Sabbath of rest, so it would continue for 6000 years, while the seventh thousand would become the Sabbath of the world. Such seems to have been the opinion pretty generally entertained by all sections of the Synagogue, from which it passed into the early Church. Opinions varied, whether the Messiah was to appear during the fifth, the sixth, or even the seventh Millennium. We need scarcely remind the reader that at the time of our Lord the expectation of the coming of a great deliverer was very general, not only amongst the Jews but also amongst heathen nations. The latter, as the former, probably derived this impression not so much from the teaching of the Synagogue

as from the Spirit of God brooding over the face of the deep. We have already indicated, that with the exception of splendour and honour to Israelites individually, a universal Jewish empire, and an ample supply of everything needful or agreeable, the fancy of the Rabbins presented to them little to distinguish the happy Messianic from ordinary times.¹ It must, however, be remembered, that a distinction was made between the days of the Messiah and "the world to come," which was to follow them. In the latter the resurrection of the just and the unjust, the final judgment, and by some the delivering up of the kingdom to God, and the cessation of everything carnal or terrestrial were placed. The days of the Messiah, on the other hand, were even to witness the profession of arms.² In fact, the fearful battles round Jerusalem, the wars of Gog and Magog, the hiding of Messiah, or according to others his death, and the burning up and removal of the heavens and of the earth, were to intervene between the days of the Messiah and the world to come. According to these views, then, the world to come would be introduced by the eighth Millennium. When writing loosely, some of the older authorities confounded the world to come with the days of the Messiah, and this vagueness was afterwards systematized by a distinct school, but little doubt can obtain that originally the two were kept separate. The Sohar³ enumerating these events puts first the rebuilding of Jerusalem and of the temple, then the gathering of the dispersed, and forty years after it the resurrection of the dead. These forty years were to be a period of unexampled temporal and spiritual sorrow, during which the Messiah withdrew from this world.

With reference to the person of the promised Deliverer, we can only distinguish the more from the less carnal views, and indicate in passing such gems of truth as tradition had preserved to the Synagogue, and handed down as precious confirmations of the things which are most certainly believed amongst us. The most current view, no doubt, was that of an earthly and temporal deliverer, for none other was felt to be requisite.

¹ Ber. 17. a.² Shab. 63.³ Ad Gen. 82.

The fathers of the church, the history of Israel, and their writings, testify to this. They derived him from the tribe of Judah, from the family of David, and from the city of Bethlehem.¹ As the time apparently passed on, and the promised One did not appear, the opinion began to be entertained that Messiah had indeed already been born, but remained concealed, and would only appear to make an end to the fearful calamities which are termed "the woes," or "the travail" of the Messiah. Jonathan ben Usiel had already stated in his Targum, that Messiah was hid on account of the sins of the people, and in the days of our Lord, some of the Jews declared that "when Christ cometh, no man knoweth whence he is" (John vii. 27). Only constant engagement with sacred studies and in good works, would procure exemption from the latter-day tribulations. The Messiah was to be preceded by Elias, whose mission is variously stated,² as the expelling of those who had wrongfully intruded into the synagogue, the receiving of those who had wrongfully been expelled, or even the settling of the controversies of the Rabbins. Like the Messiah, Elias was immediately after his coming to conceal himself till his assistance was required in the wars with Gog and Magog. Meantime he was engaged in chronicling the history of the world.³ When the Messiah at last appeared, he was to manifest himself first in Galilee.⁴ In fearful battle he was to subdue all his enemies, and to destroy the hosts of Gog and Magog. It could serve no good purpose to reproduce the descriptions of all the pleasures which the Rabbins anticipated in those days for themselves as individuals and as a nation.⁵ Suffice it to say, that they are all carnal. The reader can easily conceive how fancy would run riot on such a subject. The question of the return of the ten tribes was disputed. In the times of our Lord, (to judge from the Targum of Jonathan,) their recall seems to have been generally looked for, with the exception perhaps of the tribe of Dan, whose iniquities are frequently

¹ Jonathan in Zech. x; Isaiah xi; and Mica'h v.

■ Seder Ol. R. c. xvii.

² Mishna Eduj.

⁴ Soh. in Ex. 393; Pes. Sot. 58. a.

⁵ The learned reader will find a synopsis in Eisenmenger's *Entd. Jud.* ii. ch. xiii.-xvii.

adverted to, and from which, as some supposed, Antichrist was to come. At a later period, when the Mishna was collected, the majority of opinions was adverse to the return of the ten tribes.¹ Those heathens who had not oppressed Israel, were to come and bring gifts to the Messiah, and to become converts to Judaism. Another and more intolerant party, however, supposed that these proselytes would speedily fall away and join the armies of Gog in the last struggle.² Rabbins differed as to the duration of the Messianic reign, computing it variously (from analogy) at 40, 70, 90, 365, 400, 1000, 2000, and even 7000 years. After that period the hosts of Gog and Magog were to come up to battle under the leadership of Armillus or Armalgus. In this way one Messiah, the son of Joseph, was to be killed, and the second, the son of David, was to take his place, to conquer all enemies and restore all things.³ The opinions concerning the existence of two Messiahs, the death of the one and the victory of the other, were perversions of truth, which had become necessary if the predictions of the prophets were in any measure to serve as the type of the Jewish dogma of the Messiah. Finding in Scripture a suffering and a reigning Messiah, and unable to reconcile these two characteristics in one person, they referred them to two Messiahs, one, the son of Joseph, the other, the son of David. The passage (Is. liii.) was distinctly applied to the Messiah, and in a very remarkable statement the Sohar teaches⁴ that the Messiah had taken upon himself and borne in Paradise, *i.e.*, before His entrance into this world—the sins of Israel. After the days of the Messiah, heaven and earth were to be removed,⁵ the last trumpet would sound,⁶ and the dead rise to judgment. Heathens were not again to be called into life,⁷ as they had indeed been offered the law on Sinai, but had refused to receive it.⁸ Although some supposed that Elias was to be employed in raising the dead,⁹ the general opinion was that God himself waked the sleepers by the heavenly dew which dropped from His

¹ Sanh. x. 3.² Av. Sar.³ Pirke El. 19; Succ. 52; Sohar iii. 82.⁴ M. Ex. 85.⁵ Pirke El. 57.⁶ Ber. 15. 6.⁷ Pirke El. 34; Ber. 35.⁸ Av. S. i.⁹ M. Sot.

head. However, it is right to add that a party in the synagogue held that the resurrection of the just preceded the general one, and that those who had part in it were not to taste death again.¹ The idea that the expected final deliverance by the Messiah was to take place in the month Nisan, the same in which the Exodus occurred,² had at a very early period found its way into the church.³ The only apparently spiritual traces about the doctrine of the Messiah are the opinions of some as to his premundane and even eternal existence, and his removal of the evil inclination, the *Jezer ha-Ra*, out of the world.

The purely religious assemblies of the Jews were held in the synagogues, of which some were in the houses of private individuals, others in connexion with the various academies, and in other places specially set apart for devotional purposes. Amongst the latter a certain number, more particularly destined for common prayer, were outside the towns and beside rivers, perhaps to have the means at hand for the various purifications. Set apart for devotional purposes, the pious met there for common prayer, without the encumbrance of the ritual observances, common in the regular synagogues. There Paul and other zealous preachers often met those who waited for the consolation of Israel. The town-synagogues were reared in the highest positions so as to overtop all other buildings. The places dedicated for such purposes remained always sacred ground. The number of synagogues in the various cities bore proportion to the number of its inhabitants. In Jerusalem, their number was supposed to have amounted to 480,⁴ and the Jews of the various countries of the then known world had separate synagogues in it. As public service could not be conducted without the presence of at least ten men, this requisite number was salaried to be in daily attendance in the various synagogues. The origin of these places of public worship is involved in some difficulties. Their want must have been felt by the exiles in Babylon, who were shut out from the temple and its services. The measures

¹ Sanh. 92. a.

² Rosh ha-Sh. 11. a; Sob. in Ex. 49.

³ Hieron. in Matth. xxv. 5; Lact. Inst. vii. 19.

⁴ Megil. 73. 4.

adopted by Ezra and Nehemiah for public religious instruction, encouraged their establishment in Palestine; and during the times of the Maccabees they seem to have existed throughout the country, and amongst the Jews scattered abroad. The officers employed in the synagogue were the ruler or president, the elders or overseers, the messenger or angel of the synagogue, whose duty it was to lead the devotions, and the servant or attendant. Everything connected with the public worship, and the membership of the synagogue, was under the management of the president and elders. The beadle or servant generally inflicted the punishment of stripes on refractory members. Sometimes the beadle or Chasan was also employed as teacher of the youngest class of children. To these officials we may add those who collected for and distributed relief to the poor—an office corresponding to the deaconate in the Christian church. It would seem, however, as if the office of "Angel," or precentor and leader of the devotions, had indicated not so much a separate office as functions discharged variously either by elders or others worthy and qualified.¹ The interior of the synagogue was simple. The entrance was toward the east. At the opposite end was a kind of ark containing copies of the law, each separately covered and ornamented. In the middle was the raised platform (Moses' seat) occupied by the leader of the devotions, and those members of the congregation who were invited to read aloud a portion of the law, or to expound it. The latter duty was discharged by the Rabbins, or any other notable person, with the consent and under the direction of the elders. Though the synagogues were open daily, a prolonged and more solemn service was celebrated on Mondays and Thursdays, as well as on Sabbaths and fast days. Every Monday and Thursday three persons were called to the platform to read in the law, on fast days five, and on Sabbaths seven. Besides the portions of the law, selections from the prophets were also read. The origin of this practice is ascribed to times of persecution when

¹ The office of preaching was entirely separate from the conducting of the devotions and commonly fell to the Rabbi or Chacham.

the persual of the Pentateuch was interdicted, but may have been owing to a desire under these circumstances to seek comfort in predictions of future glory. The reading of the law was accompanied by a version into the known dialects, to which the origin of the Targumim may be traced. In course of time various feasts were added to the calendar, and restrictions and rules defined the Biblical festivals. Thus thirty-nine occupations were specified as illegal on the Sabbath; various practices, such as the solemn blessing pronounced over the cup on the evening which ushered in the Sabbath, &c., were enjoined. The solemnities observed on the various feasts, were, as closely as possible, imitations of the services of the temple, with the addition of such ordinances as tended to explain them or to render them more stringent. The practice of wearing coverings with fringes upon their corners, phylacteries, containing passages of Scripture, on the forehead and left arm, and of affixing them on the door-posts, all in fancied observance of the law of Moses, are known to the readers of the New Testament. The phylacteries were continually worn by Pharisees; by the common people only during prayer, and on feast days. In the synagogue, the spiritual aristocracy occupied the foremost seats. Men and women were separated from each other, and, except the responses of the people, nothing interrupted the public devotions. The five books of Moses were read through once in three, or, as others suppose, in three and a half years. The present arrangement by which the Pentateuch is divided into fifty-four sections (read through once every year), originated amongst the Babylonian Jews.

Such then was Israel—a precious tree, capable of yielding abundant spiritual fruit, had not its vigour and sap been wasted in the production of useless wood, and its blossoms and foliage blasted by spiritual judgments.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PATRIARCHATE UNDER THE LAST PAGAN EMPERORS.

THE attempts at shaking off the foreign yoke made during the reign of Hadrian, were, in part at least, renewed shortly after the removal of the obnoxious and persecuting edicts which followed the unhappy termination of the war under Bar-Cochba. We are not informed of the occasion of this fresh rising, nor of its prospects. Apparently it could not have been wide-spread, as the forces at the disposal of the Roman governor in Judea were sufficient speedily to suppress it. The only evil consequence which it entailed upon the synagogue was the loss of such parts of the judicial power as had still been left to it, and the revival of the espionage on Jewish Rabbins, which again led to acts of persecution. Hitherto the Sanhedrim and the inferior Jewish courts of law had still partly dispensed justice to their co-religionists according to the Rabbinical code—although probably subject to appeal to the civil power, and under certain restrictions. They were now wholly deprived of this privilege, and any future appeal to such tribunals was without legal value, solely optional with parties, and became gradually confined to disputes on purely religious points. Some of the Rabbins, notably Simon ben Jochai, the great mystic, affected to rejoice in this limitation, as setting them free from a difficult and painful duty, for which, in their excess of modesty, they declared themselves unfit. But expressions of their mortification under the persecutions to which they declared themselves subject, and in comparison with which those of their forefathers appeared but trifling, shew how deeply they felt the loss of the last remnant of their national existence. Although the Rabbins do not appear to have taken any prominent part in the rising to which we have

referred—if indeed it ever assumed the proportions of a revolution and was not the mere fitful outburst of dissatisfaction, stimulated by the gradual decline of Jewish and the establishment of Roman authority—their influence must have at least contributed to it. The manifest opposition of the sages soon led to a more general persecution of their order. At a meeting of the Sanhedrim in Usha, Rabbi Juda, known as a friend of the Romans, took an opportunity of extolling their power and activity—calling attention to the market-places, bridges, and public baths which they had constructed in the various towns of Palestine. This was the signal of a more public expression of their feelings. Rabbi Joses silently listened to praises which he could not reciprocate, and which he dared not contradict. Not so Simon ben Jochai. He broke forth in an indignant rebuke, which shewed his deep hatred and contempt for the oppressors of his people. A proselyte present reported the episode—whether from malice or garrulity, it does not appear—and while Juda was rewarded, Joses was banished to his native city Sepphoris, and Simon condemned to death. Flight alone prevented the execution of this sentence. Rabbi Simon and his son hid themselves in a cave near Gadara, where they subsisted for thirteen years upon fruits, nor was their retreat known even to their nearest relatives. At last, one day on leaving his cave, Simon noticed a bird suddenly escaping from the net of the fowler. Occurrences which would scarcely attract attention under ordinary circumstances, often make deep impressions upon those who, shut out from the society of men, are ready to notice any manifestation of Divine Providence. Rabbi Simon remembered that if even a bird could not be caught without Divine permission, he might with still greater confidence anticipate the extension of the same care to himself. Accordingly he left his retreat, and soon learned that his persecutors were dead or gone, and that he might return to his colleagues and friends. Tradition has, as usual, adorned this circumstance with miraculous additions. Miraculously did those trees which afforded sustenance to Simon and his son spring up—miraculously a fountain was opened for

them. Meanwhile the two had spent their whole time in the study of the law, sitting naked in the sand to preserve their garments for the stated seasons of prayer. At last, after twelve years, Elijah had appeared to intimate to them the death of the emperor, upon which they left their cave. But the worldliness with which on their return they were brought into contact, so filled them with indignation, that they killed many by their look, and at the command of a voice from heaven, (the Bath-kol,) they returned for another year to the cave. At the end of it, the occurrence of the escape of the bird, together with a voice from heaven explaining it, induced them again to come forth. It was also said that they composed the "Sohar" during that period of retirement. The privations to which Simon had been exposed, had shattered his health, and he repaired to the warm baths of Tiberias, which proved instrumental in restoring him. In gratitude, he removed a reproach which had hitherto prevented many Jews from residing at Tiberias. Built 120 years previous to this period by Herod Antipas, on a site which had been a cemetery, Tiberias was, notwithstanding its advantages of situation and climate, eschewed by the pious, as residence on a cemetery entailed Levitical impurity. Simon undertook to mark those parts of the town which had been built over graves, and so to separate them from pure quarters. For this purpose he put a certain kind of bean into the ground. The places where they took root marked the situation of graves—the rest of the town was declared clean. Tradition has adorned this also with wonders. The jealous inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Magdala endeavoured to ridicule the decision of Simon. But the sudden demise of Dekai, their leading sage, in consequence (it was said) of his opposition, silenced all further objections, and Tiberias was henceforth not only levitically pure, but soon became the centre of Jewish life and the residence of the Sanhedrim. But the persecution of the leading men in the Sanhedrim at Usha, and their retirement, had proved too violent a storm for that weak assembly. We have already noticed the petty attempts which the Nasi Simon had made to establish, by violence, cun-

ning, and hierarchical pretences, an authority which he neither deserved nor for which he was qualified. We have also spoken of the ineffectual attempts to expose his ignorance, and thus to get him deposed, and adverted to the degradation of Jewish lore into a mere quibbling display of sophistry. In truth, pride and covetousness had taken the place of simplicity and learning, and the patriarchal office had become, as others in similar circumstances, merely a post of honour and emolument. The persecution of Simon and Joses put an end to the weak Sanhedrim of Usha about 149, after a duration of only ten years. Most of the doctors seem to have retired to the neighbouring town of Shefaram, but no trace has been left of their activity. Eagerly watched by Roman spies, the greatest caution had to be exercised by them. A number of ceremonies, which might have been misinterpreted as political reminiscences, such as the blowing of the horn on new-year's day, were modified or intermitted. Others of the Rabbins left Palestine. Thus Joses fled to Asia Minor, and even the cautious Juda felt the necessity of closing his public lectures, and expounding theology privately (on the flat roof of his house) to his pupils.

Antoninus Pius was succeeded on the throne by Marcus Aurelius and Ælius Verus in 161. The first-named of these rulers endeavoured to combine the philosophical principles and the simplicity of a Stoic philosopher with the dignity of a ruler of the Roman world. No one acquainted with the history of that emperor, can doubt his deep moral earnestness, which, however erroneous its direction, most favourably distinguished his reign from that of the vast majority of those who had worn the purple. He was at the same time devoted to the "ancient religion," and embodied in acts of persecution the contempt or hatred which he felt for those who, in this respect, would not or could not share his views. Accordingly, although the storm of persecution was chiefly directed against the Christian Church, the synagogue did not wholly escape. The Roman empire was at the time attacked on two sides by the barbarian nations which inhabited its boundaries. Marcus Aurelius conducted the war against the rebels on

the Danube in person, and committed the campaign against the Parthians to Verus, in the vain hope that the prospects of military glory might rouse the energies of that imperial debauchee, and direct his mind into different channels. But while Verus contented himself with intrusting the conduct of this war to some of his generals, he continued in a course of unbridled licentiousness to which death alone put an end in 169. It would have been natural, under any circumstances, that the Jews, who constituted a considerable proportion of the subjects of the Parthian empire, should take part in the war against Rome. In *their* peculiar circumstances and relations, every resistance to the common enemy which opened any prospect of success must have been doubly welcome. In point of fact, we find that the Roman generals reduced some of the Jewish towns, such as Nisibis and others. The Jews suffered generally on account of the resistance of their Parthian brethren. The edicts of Hadrian were revived, and others added, which testify equally of the reckless cruelty and shameless licentiousness of Verus and his counsellors. An attempt is said to have been made by a Jew, who, in the disguise of a Roman, procured admission into the Roman councils, in order to influence that assembly to rescind these decrees, on pretence that their tendency was only advantageous to the Jews. But the device was discovered. A Jewish deputation was then despatched to Rome to entreat toleration from the more humane emperor. The members of that embassy were Simon ben Jochai, and at his special request, the youthful Eleazar, the son of Joses. Age and trials had not cooled Simon's ardour or softened his harshness. It was with doubt and hesitation, and only after distinct promises of moderation on the part of Simon, that Eleazar agreed to accompany him. Events proved that this precaution was necessary, for only a recollection of his promise restrained the old man's violence, even on the journey to Rome. The chiefs of the Jewish congregation in Rome exercised their influence to promote the objects of that mission which in the end proved successful. Tradition ascribes this to the miraculous cure of the emperor's daughter by Simon,

who had cast out an evil spirit which had possessed her. However that may be, the favourable reception of the Jewish deputies at the Roman court is proved by this, that Eleazar could, on his return, inform his countrymen, that he had been allowed to see in Rome those spoils from the Temple which Titus had carried to the capital.

The pretensions raised by Avidius Cassius, a Roman general, to the throne of Marcus Aurelius, and the contest to which they gave rise, involved the restless inhabitants of Judea in fresh disasters. Marauding bands of Jewish adventurers traversed the country, ready to act as plunderers, patriots, or insurgents, as circumstances or the necessity of the case might indicate. The Roman troops had to track these guerillas to their mountain fastnesses and hiding-places, in which they were assisted by the experience of some Jews, notably of two celebrated Rabbins, Eleazar, the son of the famous Simon ben Jochai, and Ishmael, the son of Joses. However necessary for the common good, yet such direct countenancing of the Romans, especially by celebrated theologians, excited the general indignation of their countrymen, and weakened, if it did not wholly destroy (at least during their lifetime) the influence of these sages. In fact, tradition has it, that they afterwards bitterly repented of their sin against their brethren, and that Simon's son had inflicted on himself the severest castigations by way of atoning for his sin. His fame for mystical and rabbinical lore and sanctity were such, that the inhabitants of the town of Acbara (to the north-west of Safed) where he died, would not allow his body to be committed to the ground, in the expectation of immunity from the incursions of wild beasts, while his body was amongst them. The citizens of the neighbouring town of *Biria* were obliged secretly to carry it away in order to lay his remains by those of his parent in Meron. Simon's successor in the patriarchate, Jehuda the holy, sought in vain the hand of Eleazar's widow, who disdainfully reminded him "that it was not lawful to profane to the use of the vulgar a vessel which had at one time been destined for holy purposes." Simon ben Jochai

had long before been gathered to his fathers. Tradition loves to dwell upon the miraculous performances of, and the high distinctions which had been bestowed upon, that father of Jewish mysticism; and the various miraculous signs and apparitions witnessed at his death, were only the legitimate conclusion of such a life.

Uncertain though the exact succession of these events be, it seems that the patriarch Simon closed his career about the year 162. He was succeeded by his son Rabbi Jehuda, by far the most distinguished of that race since Hillel the Great. From the celebrity for sanctity and learning which that patriarch obtained, he is generally designated simply as "*the Rabbi*," as Jehuda-ha-Nasi (the prince, *par excellence*), and as Jehuda the holy. Whether his lore and influence, or else his authorship of the Mishna, or the fact that he was the last truly distinguished Jewish patriarch of Palestine, procured for him these distinctions, certain it is that few, if any, are placed by tradition on a higher eminence. Divesting his history of the fabulous, we have enough left to distinguish the characteristics of this celebrated personage. Born about the year 136, as tradition has it, on the very day on which Rabbi Akiba died a martyr's death, he attracted attention at an early age, and excited the hopes of the college by the ingenuity of his questions, and the diligence with which he applied himself to study. Accordingly he occupied, at a comparatively tender age, the foremost bench amongst the students, indicating (as we have seen) that he stood nearest in knowledge and claims to the regularly ordained teachers. Like other distinguished Rabbins, he profited by the instructions of various teachers representing different theological tendencies. The most celebrated of these were the mystic Simon ben Jochai, Eleazar ben Shamua, the most popular lecturer of his day, and Jacob ben Karshai, the Rabbi whose assistance rendered the plans of Nathan and Meir against the late patriarch, Simon, nugatory. Jehuda inherited, to a remarkable extent, the two qualities of his predecessors, acuteness and ambition. The vast riches which his family had accumulated, and the learning and originality which favourably distinguished him from his father

Simon, enabled him to carry out the hierarchical designs of the latter, which had now almost become the traditional policy of the family of Hillel. The resources of the patriarch were no doubt mostly derived from the religious offerings of the Jews in and out of Palestine, which at a later period, the patriarchs collected in all countries by means of regular legates. His stables, it was said, contained more cattle than the Persian treasury could have purchased, an exaggeration which at least affords an insight into the fame which he enjoyed. The patriarch kept a sort of court, of which his students and dependants were the officers. All divines were there maintained at the expense of the patriarch; and when, at a later period, a famine in the land deprived many of the means of existence, he ministered to the wants of all who applied to him. But even in the exercise of this charity he manifested his peculiar disposition. At first it was ruled that none ignorant of the law (no uneducated person) should be admitted to enjoy its benefits; at another time the daughters of the apostate Acher were excluded, and only admitted in consideration of their father's learning. But these restrictions soon gave way to a more liberal policy. In fact, Jehuda scarcely required to resort to such means for the establishment of his authority. However, the most decisive step towards obtaining the supreme dignity was the regulation which he enforced, according to which the right of ordination was exclusively reserved to the patriarch. The Sanhedrim had formerly exercised that authority, but even the supreme college now required for it the Nasi's sanction. Generally, to extend his sway, it was also enacted that none but regularly ordained teachers were in future to pronounce on any religious question—a rule which, as will easily be inferred, excluded all but the patriarch's creatures from places of influence or authority. The residence of Rabbi Jehuda and of the Sanhedrim was at first Beth-Shearim (the modern Turan) and afterwards Sepphoris. The latter place was chosen for its salubrious air, which, together with the appliances of art, restored the patriarch from a disease of thirteen years' standing. The Nasi did not exercise his newly-acquired rights with the moderation

which might have been expected or desired. Perhaps his bodily weakness may have contributed to sour his temper. Although kind, benevolent, and a devoted patron of Jewish learning, he lacked the moral earnestness of personal conviction, and even the rigour of conscientious Talmudism. Nor did he possess the liberality to distinguish personal, intentional enmity from opposition on principle, or even from unintentional slights. Riches and luxury had become necessary to the patriarch, and for the upholding of his dignity; nor could he brook the slightest personal contradiction, or the appearance of an affront. The weak Sanhedrim, which, since the time of Rabbi Meir, had become a disputatious assemblage of shallow dialecticians and clever sophists, had neither the courage, the power, nor the means to resist the encroachments of one so influential, so popular, so learned, and, let us add, so determined as Rabbi Jehuda. Many incidents recorded in the life of the patriarch establish the correctness of our description of his character, and at the same time exhibit the circumstances of the times. Meantime, in the general decadence, descendants of many celebrated Rabbins had forsaken the study, and even the observance of the law, and given themselves up to luxury and vice. Some of these were recalled by Rabbi Jehuda, who stimulated their ambition and rewarded their diligence. In Sepphoris, strangers, Jews from Babylon, filled the highest ranks, and outshone the native theologians. We refer only at present to Rabbi bar Chana, and to Abba Areka, to Rabbins Chanina, Achija, Samuel, and other Babylonians, of whom more in another place. To enforce his rule, the patriarch was in the habit of administering spiritual and even temporal punishments upon offenders, and that without consulting the Sanhedrim. Able to ordain, to suspend, and to depose at will, the Nasi elevated the Jewish patriarchate to a dignity similar to that which Gregory VII. claimed for the popedom. Indeed, the characters of these two spiritual rulers resemble each other in many particulars. We shall mention a few instances to show the absoluteness of his administration. His friend and favourite, Rabbi Chija or Achija, was distin-

guished by the patriarch as "the man of his counsel." In familiar conversations Jehuda had extolled to him his own high position, and added, as one of the claims of the patriarchate, that the family of Hillel had, in the maternal line, sprung from David. At the same time, he owned the superior claims of the Babylonian Jewish prince of the captivity, who claimed descent from David in the male line. When the Babylonian prince died, and his body was brought to be buried in Palestine, Achija, by way of a practical joke upon the patriarch, tried to excite his fears by announcing the approaching arrival of the Babylonian prince. The patriarch changed colour at the announcement, and, when he found that Achija had only meant playfully to call up his fears, he punished the jest by banishing him for thirty days, (the lowest degree of excommunication.) Another Babylonian sage, Chanina, ventured to take exception to Jehuda's pronounciation of a word, and appealed to a Babylonian authority. The angry patriarch punished the contradiction by a refusal to ordain Chanina—an injustice which Jehuda himself felt so keenly, that, on his deathbed, he commissioned his son and successor to bestow the rabbinical office, in the first place, on the long-neglected Chanina. Rabbi Jeremiah and another sage were deposed for venturing to propound sophistical questions. Fear of taking the patriarch by unawares, or of exciting his ire, even restrained the theological speculations of the Rabbins. Chija had reproved his nephew, Abba Areka, for neglecting this; but his own submission did not protect him from the imperious hierarch. On one occasion he had discoursed on the street upon rabbinical subjects, with his learned nephew, contrary to the patriarch's injunction, who perhaps dreaded that such disquisitions might give rise to persecutions. For this offence he was banished for thirty days. At another time, the patriarch and Chija observed, on their walk, a scrupulous Rabbinit, who, to preserve the rights of the proprietor, walked with considerable difficulty along the edge of a field. In accordance with the commonly received law, the patriarch and his friend were pursuing their way, making a footpath within the field.

The appearance of greater punctiliousness than his own seemed to Jehuda an affectation of dignity for which he would have severely punished the unhappy divine, had not Chija's intercession averted his anger. In general, however, the patriarch, though soon angry, was easily reconciled where his dignity was not endangered, or where a sufficient apology satisfied him of the humility of the offending party. Thus, at a banquet the suspicious patriarch had plied the sons of Chija with wine, probably to elicit from them the secret opinions of their father and his friends. The youths fell into the snare, and declared, among other things, that the Messiah would not come till the patriarchates of Palestine and Babylon had ceased,—an expression conveying the idea that these princely families were the sins and obstacles preventing the redemption of Israel. Happily the father of the youths overheard the conversation, and, pleading the effects of wine on his children, appeased the wrath of the Nasi. Jealousy for the honour of his family induced him never to mention Rabbi Meir's name even when quoting his opinions. The representations of the patriarch's son produced only a slight concession in favour of the departed teacher. One of the Nasi's favourites was Bar Kappara, of Babylonian extraction, and equally distinguished for learning, readiness, and poetical talent; but his mind was of that lower order which descended more frequently to punning and coarse allusions than it presented the truthful views of man and his relations, which are gained by the highest genius only, and which, in the form of aphorisms, so frequently constitute true wit. Rabbi was sometimes amused by, and at others afraid of his uncontrollable desire for punning. A marriage-feast was always a season of merry-making, where amusement was even deemed a religious duty. Bar Kappara promised the patriarch's daughter, that at her marriage he would not only keep the company in continual merriment, but even make the Nasi dance. Rabbi Jehuda, dreading his friend's humour, resolved, by way of security, not to invite him to the wedding. Bar Kappara pretended to be so deeply offended at this slight, and took the liberty of expressing his feeling so strongly, that

the patriarch at last yielded, and invited him on condition that he was for once to control his tongue, promising in return for his moderation, a present of wheat. But the temptation was too great for Bar Kappara. He appeared at the marriage carrying an immense hamper, and demanding from the patriarch the wheat which he had lent him. An explanation ensued, and the shouts of laughter in which the Nasi himself joined, encouraged Bar Kappara to continue. Wine and wit proved too strong for many of the guests—the Nasi danced—and Bar Kappara plied the company with so many indelicate jokes and coarse perversions of Scripture, that the bridegroom, Bar Elasa, and the patriarch's daughter, felt at last constrained to withdraw from the riotous assembly. However, Bar Elasa had been chosen by the patriarch as his son-in-law, only for his wealth, with which, as is too frequently the case, he combined a considerable amount of pretension, and an equal measure of ignorance. On a festive occasion, when all the assembled Rabbins emulated each other in propounding ingenious or learned questions, the mischievous Bar Kappara suggested a witty enigma to Bar Elasa, which contained covert satirical allusions to himself and to the patriarch. In his simplicity poor Bar Elasa propounded it as his own; but the mischievous smile, which Bar Kappara could not suppress, betrayed its real author, who, in punishment, was forever excluded from obtaining rabbinical ordination. The patriarch's pride and intolerance naturally communicated itself to his family and pupils, and his son Simon afterwards resented any apparent slight as much as his father had done.

The patriarchate of Rabbi Jehuda was marked by important internal modifications and outward changes, but specially by the termination of a work at which many Rabbins had formerly laboured, viz., the collection of the traditions into one work, and their arrangement into the Mishna or Deuterosis, which forms the text, of which, as already stated, the Jerusalem and the Babylonian Gemara are the authorized Commentaries. The changes within the Synagogue which the patriarch inaugurated, were all in the way of lightening the burden which, in the

altered circumstances of the nation, was yearly becoming more grievous and intolerable. Thus, he relieved some cities from the payment of tithes, by declaring them beyond the boundaries of Palestine,—an ordinance so distasteful to many of the patriarch's relatives and colleagues, that he only succeeded in silencing their objections by an appeal to his supreme authority.

Another practical difficulty was felt in observing the sabbatical year, as the many taxes and foreign impositions rendered the cessation of agricultural labour, &c., almost impossible. Accordingly the patriarch seriously meditated the total abolition of this institution. But before taking this important step, he wished to secure the support of R. Pinchas ben Jair, the son-in-law of Simon ben Jochai, almost the only representative of old orthodoxy—a bigot and slave of the letter, whose reputation for sanctity might, in case of opposition, easily have roused the superstitious multitude. But Rabbi Pinchas proved inexorable, and when he saw mules in the patriarch's court he left abruptly, horrified at the fact that the head of the Jewish community should keep animals the possession of which was interdicted in the law. Jehuda began a system of innovation and accommodation to circumstances, in which, by the exercise of his patriarchal authority, he broke down the walls so painfully erected by his predecessors, thus practically demonstrating the impossibility, and hence the virtual abrogation of Judaism. But the most lasting and important measure of the patriarch, was the collection of the Mishna. Jehuda adopted as the basis of his collection the labours of Akiba and Meir. The collection, "di Rabbi Juda," was primarily designed for the use of his own students, but gradually gained universal reception. The patriarch himself revised it during his lifetime. The Babylonian Jews adopted the second; Rabban Simon, Jehuda's son and successor, the first edition of the patriarch's Mishna. But neither of the two was committed to writing till later times. It continued faithfully stored in the memory of the Rabbins, was used as the text of their prelections, and speedily spread through various countries. The text of the Mishna is in the later style

of Hebrew, largely intermixed with Aramean, and even Greek and Latin words in Hebraized forms. Without entering on an analysis of its contents, we notice that it embodies not only the legally sanctioned traditions on all theological and juridico-theological questions, but also the leading objections urged against each Halacha. The want most painfully felt in its perusal is its utter deficiency in spiritual elements. The synagogue had indeed become an institution in which the wants of men's *souls* were entirely ignored. R. Jehuda was an excellent scholar, who cultivated the Hebrew language to such an extent, that after his death, even a female slave in his family was consulted as to the peculiar meaning attached by her master to certain Hebrew words. He wished that the Syrian dialect should fall into desuetude, so that the Jews in Palestine might either speak Hebrew or Greek.

The external relations of the Jews underwent considerable modifications during Jehuda's presidency. On the whole it fell (as far as the synagogue was concerned) not only in a tranquil, but even in a prosperous period. It is true that the "*aurum coronarium*," the crown-money, was at one time exacted, and proved so heavy an impost that the inhabitants of Tiberias fled by common consent—a circumstance which for the time left the Rabbins sole inhabitants of the city. As like most students they had not wherewithal to meet the impost, the deserted town was not further molested; the more so that the "*aurum coronarium*" was at least *to appear* rather as a voluntary offering of loving subjects, then as a forced tax. Rabbi Jehuda was not remiss in pointing out what immense benefit the sages had in this (as in every other) instance conferred upon the laity. But as it is by no means certain that Palestine suffered more from this tax than other provinces, it can scarcely be construed into an act of special persecution. Marcus Aurelius indeed did not shew any decided preference for the Jews. On the contrary he despised them, and declared, on his visit to Palestine, after the death of Avidius Cassius, that he had at last found a people more contemptible even than the Marcomani, Quadi, or Sarmati.¹ But

¹ Am. Marcell 22, 3.

against such expressions, we have the testimony of Rabbins to the improved outward condition of their countrymen, and the universal mention in Jewish historical records of the subsistence of a friendship between Rabbi Jehuda the holy, and a Roman emperor.¹ This fact is so thoroughly established that we can only hesitate which of the emperors may be supposed to have been on intimate relations with the patriarch. From a legal determination, preserved to us,² we learn that Verus and Antoninus allowed Jews to attain civic honours. The Verus referred to was, no doubt, the colleague of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, to whom the government of the East was intrusted, and of whom it was said, "that he had always many learned persons about him." In one respect the privilege thus accorded offered few attractions to the exclusive Jews who had no inclination to identify themselves with the Roman government, or to bear the burdens and duties which such honours would necessarily bring with them. Although Jews were expressly set free from all offices, which in their discharge offered violence to their religious convictions, it was a current saying in Palestine (shewing the general aversion to all such offices), "If you are chosen member of a council, flee to the deserts around Jordan." Still the general statements of satisfaction, the fact that such a decree was passed, the very title of Nasi or prince (which none of his predecessors, and only those of his successors who had intercourse with emperors, bore) publicly assumed by Jehuda, corroborate the unanimous testimony of Jewish records as to the friendship, or at least the intercourse between Rabbi Jehuda I. and an emperor, in all probability Ælius Verus. This friendship is described in terms which evidently give an exaggerated view of the intercourse, not of our patriarch and Ælius Verus, but of that between his grandson, Jehuda II. and the emperor Alexander Severus. To give historical connexion to our views, we shall state the impression which we have de-

¹ See the very full discussion of this knotty point in Frankel's *Monatschr.* for 1852, Nos. 10, 11, and 12.

² *Dig. de Decur. L. 50, T. ii. § 3.*

rived from the records on this subject. *Ælius Verus* extended toleration to the Jewish nation, and patronized their patriarch, so that this dignitary felt himself warranted publicly to assume the title *Nasi*. The succeeding emperors, though by no means so friendly to the Jews, did not withdraw their protection or persecute them. The general state of matters was correctly expressed by contemporaries in the following figurative language:—"We neither enjoy the happiness of sinners, nor are we visited with the sufferings of saints." *Marcus Aurelius* was succeeded by his infamous son, *Commodus*, who reigned from 180 to 192. At first he was guided by the excellent councillors of his father. A conspiracy which took place two years after his accession roused his suspicion, and induced him to surround himself with creatures of his own, who served as instruments of his cruelty and lust. It would be almost impossible to describe the course of folly and cruelty through which *Commodus* passed, and which finally terminated in his assassination. One of the conspirators, *Pertinax*, apparently a man of worth and energy, succeeded him. His very virtues and rigour were in the eyes of the corrupt Romans so many faults, and the bribe with which he sought to purchase the fidelity of the imperial body-guard proved ineffectual. He was killed after a reign of only eighty-seven days. The purple was so attractive, that the father-in-law of *Pertinax*, not warned by his fate, made an offer for it to the imperial guard, who promised the empire to the highest bidder. Ultimately *Julianus*, a wealthy old senator, mounted the throne on condition of paying to each soldier in the body-guard a sum equivalent to about £225. But the empire revolted against this barter. The three divisions of the Roman army, that in *Pannonia* under *Septimus Severus*, that in *Britain* under *Cl. Albinus*, and that in *Syria* under *Pescennius Niger*, proclaimed their respective generals emperors. *Sept. Severus* proved the most energetic and successful of the three. Having secured his rear by adopting *Albinus* as his colleague, he rapidly advanced to give battle to *Pescennius Niger*. Meanwhile the time-serving senate ordered *Julianus* to be decapitated (June 2, 193.) On his

entrance into Rome, Severus avenged first the death of Pertinax upon his murderers, then dispersed the Janissaries of antiquity, the Pretorians or imperial body-guard. Pescennius Niger, who had meantime wholly surrendered himself to sensual pleasures, was defeated in three battles and killed, although his adherents maintained an obstinate resistance in some parts of the East. Apparently Rabbi Jehuda I. died before these contentions broke out. Pescennius Niger was a bitter enemy of the Jews. When, like other eastern nations, the Jews appealed to him for an alleviation of their burdens, he exclaimed, "You wish to hold your landed property free of taxes? Would that I were able to tax the very air you breathe."¹ This reply must have decided the Jews against taking part in his resistance to Severus, whose antecedents promised them better things. It is indeed true, that in 198, Bassianus, the son of Severus, who had chiefly conducted the war in Judea, celebrated a Jewish triumph, and that Severus resented, in various ways, the opposition of Palestine to his government; but as these punishments fell chiefly on Samaria, it is reasonable to infer that only the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine had joined the standard of Niger. During this war a rebel captain, Claudius by name, had the boldness to ride into the Roman camp, and to embrace the emperor; he escaped before he could be captured. But this Claudius does not seem to have been a Jew. Vindictive and cruel as Severus was, it does not appear that he ever persecuted the Jews. The history of that emperor is in this respect interesting. Septimius Severus was of African extraction, and favourably disposed towards Christians, to the medical skill of one of whose number he owed his life. He was suspicious towards strangers, but unreasonably indulgent towards his two sons, Bassianus and Geta, the offspring of his beautiful and learned but profligate wife, Julia. Bassianus, who from a strange dress which he introduced, was also denominated Caracalla, had in early childhood a playmate who had become a convert to Judaism, and sought, if he did not actually succeed, to induce

¹ Spart. in Nigrum, vii.

Bassianus to follow his example. Severe bodily chastisement, intended to cool the youthful ardour of the proselytizer, filled Bassianus with intense indignation both at his own and his playmate's father. The Rabbins relate that an emperor by turns designated as Antoninus, the name of Caracalla, and Asverus (probably a corruption of Alexander or A. Severus, the friend of Rabbi Jehuda II.) whom they represent as Rabbi Jehuda I.'s friend, was circumcised, and had in general become thoroughly a convert to Judaism. This relation may have its historical foundation in the circumstance above narrated; and as they frequently confounded dates and periods, combined various events into one history, or enlarged them for their own purposes, we need not wonder at the embellishment of the above story, or the confusion of dates by which Rabbi Jehuda I., who died before the war between Pescennius Niger and Severus, is brought into contact with Caracalla. A Christian father¹ claims for Caracalla extended intercourse with Christians, if not a Christian education,² an assertion apparently unwarranted, and which his after-course seems to disprove. The political disturbances which preceded the sole occupancy of the throne by Severus, proved, as we might have supposed, a season of trouble to the Jews, and of persecution to the Christians. Severus shewed himself at first tolerant both towards Jews and Christians, and during his reign humane magistrates extended in some provinces to the followers of Christ the protection of the law against the populace. But in the year 202 an edict appeared, which, under severe penalties, forbade conversion either to Judaism or Christianity. As the Synagogue was protected in the enjoyment of its freedom of worship, this edict could only check the *spread* of Judaism, but entailed no further annoyance upon its professors. It was otherwise with Christians whose creed and worship were contrary to law, and over whom, in some provinces, a storm of persecution now burst. The only other burden which Severus imposed upon the inhabitants of Palestine was an order to pay on the seventh or sabbatical as

¹ Tertullian. ad Scap.

■ "Lacte Christiano Educatus."

on other years, the tribute (in kind), a regulation which obliged the Rabbins to repeal, or at least to suspend the Mosaic law, which, during that year, enjoined a rest for the ground. The legal quibble by which this step was vindicated by the Sanhedrim is not worth transcribing. Up to this period the Jews had been exempt from tribute (in kind) in sabbatical years. Severus was succeeded in 211 by his two sons, who, during his lifetime, had been his colleagues. Caracalla had once before attempted his father's life, and now aimed at that of his brother. Geta was murdered in the arms of his mother. Gradually no less than 20,000 individuals who either actually were or were suspected to have been his adherents, shared his fate. Caracalla combined the folly with the cruelty and debauchery of former emperors. He is said to have even married his own mother. The Alexandrians, who ironically compared him to Œdipus, had to bear his vengeance. A large popular assemblage was surrounded by the soldiers and put to the sword, and the town for some days given up to pillage. During a campaign against the Parthians, Caracalla was murdered at Edessa in the year 217. Macrinus, the chief of the conspirators and one of the prefects of the guard, succeeded him. But he soon disgusted the soldiers by his incapacity and severity. Besides, they began to suspect the part which he had borne in the assassination of Caracalla, who had been a favourite with them. The maternal aunt of Caracalla, Mæsa, who lived in the neighbourhood, availed herself of this disposition of the troops. She had two daughters, Soæmias, whose son was called Bassianus, like his uncle Caracalla, and Mamæa, whose son was called Alexianus. Mæsa and her daughters spread the rumour that Bassianus was in reality the son of Caracalla. What their persuasions did not effect, their gold, and the beauty and priestly dignity of Bassianus secured. The young prince acted as Syrian high-priest of the sun, from which office he afterwards obtained the name Heliogabalus. Macrinus was murdered in 218 and Heliogabalus succeeded to the empire. Heliogabalus surpassed even his uncle in folly and debauchery. Spoiled by the indulgence of his mother, and accustomed to the abominable excesses con-

nected with the Syrian worship of the sun, that prince seemed anxious to shew the world what amount of folly and knavery would be tolerated in a Roman emperor. He elevated his horse to the consular dignity, walked about on gold-dust, made a collection of all the cobwebs in Rome, associated with the lowest of the populace; in a word ran mad in riot. His mother formed a female senate which adjudged on matters of etiquette. In reality women conducted all the affairs of the state. Happily Heliogabalus's cousin Alexianus had been differently educated. He was now brought forward first as the colleague of his cousin, and when dissensions arose between them, Heliogabalus and his mother were killed, and Alexianus or Alexander Severus proclaimed sole emperor in 222. The administration of this excellent emperor, and his equally distinguished mother, forms one of the brightest episodes in Roman history. We only add that, as Heliogabalus intended to make the worship of the sun that of the Roman empire, he tolerated and protected in the meantime that of the Jews and of the Christians.

If the above short sketch has informed the reader of the *outward* relations of the synagogue to the Roman power during the patriarchate of Rabbi Jehuda I., it remaineth yet to indicate its *internal* relations with reference to Samaritans and Christians. From reasons which are not accurately ascertained, the relations between the Jews and Samaritans had become much more friendly after the termination of the rebellion under Bar Cochab. Indeed, the intercourse became so cordial that it almost seemed as if the two parties would recognise each other as brethren. But the truce proved only of short duration. During a journey through Samaria, Rabbi Meir had found cause to interdict the use of their wine. Rabbi Eleazar ben Simon pointed out blunders, accidental or intentional, in their copy of the Pentateuch. Rabbi Simon ben Eleazar disputed with their Rabbins about differences in outward observances, and finally Rabbi Ishmael ben Joses discovered, or at any rate reproached them with, their idolatrous veneration for Mount Gerizim, a statement which would have cost him his life had he not left Sichem abruptly. Accordingly, the patri-

arch Jehuda I. declared that the Samaritans were to be treated as heathens. A short time previously they had been styled "proselytes of truth,"—their conversion to Judaism (as far as it went) was now traced to the fear of wild beasts, and they were designated "proselytes of lions," in allusion to 2 Kings xvii. 25, &c. The candour of some Rabbins constrained them indeed to acknowledge that the Samaritans or Cuthæans (as they were named) were more punctual and strict in such observances as they kept than the Jews. At an early period a considerable number of Samaritans seem to have inhabited Alexandria. Without entering more particularly into their history, it is remarkable that Samaritan settlements are found in the sixth century in Babylonia, with whose Jewish inhabitants they appear to have lived on friendly terms. In the war between Pescennius Niger and Severus, they appear to have taken part with the former, and were punished for their resistance by the loss of many of their privileges. The Samaritans retorted the intolerance of the Jews in every possible manner. Amongst other things they endeavoured to deceive the Jews at a distance as to the appearances of the new moon by lighting the usual watchfires at improper times. This induced the patriarch to abolish this mode of telegraphing the commencement of the month, and special messengers were from that time despatched to intimate the event to those at a distance. Various other unimportant alterations were also introduced in the mode of verifying the appearance of the new moon. The same intolerance which characterized the conduct of the Jews towards the Samaritans may also be traced in their relations to the Church. Unmindful of their own precarious social position, they not only persecuted all within their power, but endeavoured to excite the prejudices and the hatred of the heathens against the followers of Christ. The Synagogue contended with the Church, not by arguments but by violence and calumny. Although the Jews were still a despised, wandering, and homeless race, the privileges accorded them by the Roman emperors remained not without their practical effects.

The Jewish faith was one of the publicly recognised creeds, and all the privileges of Roman citizens belonged to the members of the Synagogue. Naturally the head of the Jewish community, though primarily only a spiritual, shared the honours and influence of a temporal dignitary. The patriarch or (Jewish) prince, as he now called himself, ruled undisputed over the Synagogue. The members of the Sanhedrim and the principal sages taught in rooms attached to the patriarchal palace. The judicial and legislative functions were now separated, and special judges appointed by the patriarch decided on questions in dispute, having first selected one of their number to inquire into the case, and report. From various notices we gather that at least the punishment of stripes was frequently administered, not only by authority of the Supreme Court, but in the various Synagogues. The testimony of ecclesiastical writers proves that this punishment was frequently administered to those who had either joined the Church, or showed a disposition to do so. Complaints to the Roman authorities would, in such cases of course, have only entailed more dire calamities. To enforce their temporal authority, the patriarchs, like other princes, surrounded themselves with a body-guard. In cities chiefly inhabited by Gentiles, the Jews were always ready to vent their hatred against the Church, by exciting the mob against the "despisers of the gods." It is to be regretted that Christians did not combat them with spiritual weapons, but retorted in language of vituperation, and, when able to do so, with similar acts of persecution. Several circumstances combined to convince the Christians of the growing and implacable hatred of the Jews. Thus, besides the persecution of Jewish converts, whom they haled to their judgment-seats, Tertullian and other fathers record special instances of public mockery at their faith, and attempts to rouse the populace against them. The former writer tells of a Jew who went about the streets of Carthage carrying a large figure of a man with asses' ears, and bearing the inscription, "The god of the Christians,"—a sad retort of an accusation which the heathens had once preferred against the Synagogue. But the most notable

act of persecution was that in which the Jews of Smyrna took a leading part, and which ended with the martyrdom of the venerable Polycarp, the Bishop of Smyrna, in 167. This trial of the Church's faith took place under the reign of Marcus Aurelius, and during the administration of a Roman governor, who was by no means personally hostile to the Christians. The record of the particulars of this fiery ordeal in which, according to the testimony of the Church, "they made it evident to us all that in the midst of those sufferings they were absent from the body, or rather that the Lord stood by them, and walked in the midst of them; and staying themselves on the grace of Christ, they despised the torments of the world,"—belongs to a different department of history.¹ So much only shall we state, that the Jewish rabble having excited the heathens to exterminate the Christians, at last directed the fury of the populace against the venerable Polycarp, who had been a disciple of the apostle John. Polycarp yielded so far to the entreaties of his friends as to withdraw to a villa in the neighbourhood of Smyrna. His asylum having been betrayed, he retreated to another. But his hour had come. When the officers of justice approached his retreat, Polycarp might have escaped by the flat roof to another house, but refused to do so, saying, "The will of the Lord be done." He only requested an hour for prayer, which in the fulness of his heart was protracted to two. In vain did various magistrates urge the venerable bishop by entreaties and threats to recant, at least in appearance, or to pacify the multitude by yielding a little. He replied, "Eighty and six years have I served Him, and He has done me nothing but good—and how could I curse Him, my Lord and Saviour?" At last the proconsul proclaimed that Polycarp had confessed himself a Christian, and yielding to the shouts of the infuriated Jewish and heathen mob, condemned him to the stake. Jews and Pagans hastened to bring from the workshops and baths wood for the funeral pile. Before the fire was lighted, he prayed, "O Lord, Almighty God, Father of Thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, through whom we have received

¹ Comp. Neander's Ch. Hist.

knowledge of Thyself; the God of angels and of the whole creation; of the human race, and of the saints who live in Thy presence; I praise Thee that Thou hast judged me worthy, this day and this hour, to take part among the number of Thy witnesses in the cup of Thy Christ." The multitude did not even allow the Church the privilege of collecting the remains of their pastor and spiritual father. Such occurrences must have embittered the feelings of Christians. However, although conversions to Christianity were not so frequent as at first, the Gospel still continued to gain adherents from amongst the Jews. Thus an instance is recorded, when a Jew travelling in company with Christians through the desert, felt so earnest a desire after admission into the Church, that in the absence of water he was baptized with sand. A celebrated teacher of the Church at that time, Hegesippus, had originally been a learned Jewish Rabbi. Though the accusations against his orthodoxy seem unfounded, he appears to have retained a decidedly Jewish bias during the whole of his course.

Rabbi Jehuda I. had raised the patriarchate to its highest point. At no after period did it present so many claims to the universal respect of the Jews. Its power was indeed exceeded under some of the Nasi's successors, but from their inferiority in personal talent and learning, and from the general decline of Jewish theology in Palestine, these patriarchs did not command the same influence. Jehuda's eminent piety, modesty, and learning, secured not only the universal respect of his contemporaries, but attached to his name the title "Ha-Kadosh," the holy, and surrounded him in the Synagogue with a halo of almost superhuman glory. To his collection of traditions or Mishna, his successors added such legal ordinances as had either been omitted or not quite established under Rabbi Jehudah, under the title of "Matnita boraita," or simply "Boraïta," "the External Mishna." The Mishna itself was deemed sacred text, to which it was not lawful to add anything. Rabbi Jehuda was surrounded by celebrated contemporaries, though comparatively few of their number were of Palestinian extraction. One of the most dis-

tinguished of their number was Rabbi Chija, whose chief merit seems to have consisted in the fresh impulse he gave to the instruction of youth, for whom he procured a large number of copies of portions of Scripture. He also introduced a system of mutual instruction, by which students, each of whom had mastered a different subject, communicated to one another the knowledge which each had gained. Rabbi Chija's nephew was the celebrated Abba Areka, or Rab, as he was afterwards denominated in Babylon, in order to indicate his eminence. Another celebrated authority was Rabbi Chanina, between whom and Abba a good deal of jealousy existed. Some trifling matter brought the secret dislike to an open rupture. In vain did Abba afterwards wait upon his colleague year after year on the eve of the day of atonement to effect a reconciliation. Chanina remained inflexible, and Abba at last, in disgust, left Palestine, to sustain a distinguished part in the rising academies of Babylon. Rabbi Ishmael ben Joses was an authority much consulted by the patriarch. Though Ishmael neither possessed the talent nor attained the eminence of his father, his faithful memory had stored up the statements of his parent, and frequently had the Nasi to submit his personal opinion to the acknowledged authority of the late Rabbi Joses as quoted by his son. No doubt the kind of martyrdom involved in Joses' flight, contributed to the influence of his son. Chija's two sons were celebrated as rabbinical interpreters. Rabbi Ushaja was called the "Father of the Mishna." Of Bar Kappara's wit and readiness we have already spoken. Samuel was attached as physician to the patriarchal court, where he also became a theological celebrity. For some unascertained reason the patriarch, however, refused to ordain him, and when, in conversation, he would have excused himself to the physician, the latter playfully retorted, "that so it was appointed in the book of Adam that Samuel should be called a sage, but not a Rabbi, and that the patriarch's disease should be removed by him." Rabbi Jehuda had for many years been sickly, and specially suffered from neuralgic pains in the face, and from an abdominal dis-

ease. The ingenuity and application of Samuel had, by the blessing of God, indeed removed the distemper, but the patriarch continued subject to frequent infirmities. We have already noticed to what causes Jewish tradition ascribed the origin of his ailments, and what beneficial effects it was thought they had on his cotemporaries; the Rabbi's sufferings atoning for the sins which would have brought judgments upon the land. These legends shew at least in what estimation the Nasi was held by posterity. At last the hand of death was about to snatch away the last great representative of the house of Hillel. Petty disputes amongst the theologians, which even his authority could not repress, had embittered his last years. Already some had left Palestine, others were preparing to follow, and he foresaw, under the rule of his weak sons, and with the excited state of parties, the speedy decadence of Jewish theology in Palestine. On his deathbed he wept over "the termination of learning and piety." Scarce more than thirty years had he wielded supreme spiritual authority—scarce had he passed the allotted short period of threescore, when the man of iron will and determination, to whose decision the most wayward theologian had implicitly to submit, the pride and idol of his people, was descending into the dark valley. The tenderest care of Samuel seemed unavailing—the devoted attention of his favourite servants, Joses and Simon, who bestowed on their master the affectionate services of friends, was lavished in vain. The sages assembled round his couch to hear the patriarch's last will. After committing their stepmother to the special affection of his sons, and minutely enjoining the continuance of the present household arrangements, he nominated his eldest son Gamaliel his successor; and his second son Simon, Chacham. The dignity of Ab-beth-din had become transformed to that of merely formal Preses of the Council, as the patriarch had gradually risen to enjoy absolute authority. This office was now intrusted to the imperious Chanina bar Chana. To each of his sons he handed a copy of the rules to be observed by those who filled the high places to which they were elevated. Then turning to Rabban Gamaliel,

the Nasi-designate, he said, "My son, use your office with dignity. Throw gall amongst the theologians." Characteristic were these last words of the proud, dying Rabbi—characteristic both as regarded himself, his weak successor, and the state of the schools. How different these last words of the highest representative of rabbinical Judaism from the last scene in the earthly course of Israel's real Leader!

Meanwhile, on tidings of the patriarch's danger, the populace had, in vast numbers, assembled in the streets of Sepphoris, and before his abode. Jehuda's impending death had put an end to both business and study. Loud cries rent the air, and the excited multitude went so far as to threaten with death the bearer of the tidings of the patriarch's demise. The Nasi had expired, but none ventured to intimate the event to the people. At last Bar Kappara went to the balcony, his head covered and his garments rent, and said to the people,—

"Angels and mortals contended for the ark—
The angels have conquered—the ark is gone!"

A general outburst of grief followed the announcement. "Is he dead?" asked thousands. "You say it," replied the ever-ready Bar Kappara. The sound of the lamentation was heard, as tradition affirms, at a distance of some miles. His favourite servants prepared the body for the burial, which took place on the day of his death,—a Friday. Rabbi Jehuda had requested that public mourning should not be instituted for him in the various cities, and that the Colleges should be re-opened after the lapse of thirty days. An immense crowd accompanied his body to its last resting-place in Beth-Shearim, and funeral orations were delivered in no less than eighteen synagogues. Although by law the descendants of Aaron were interdicted from defiling themselves by contact with dead bodies, the extravagant veneration for the departed Nasi led to the suppression of this ordinance for that day, and even priests took part in the last offices. Tradition had it that the sun remained longer on the horizon, to enable the funeral cortege to reach their homes

before the sunset of Friday ushered in the Sabbath of rest and sanctity.

In truth, the general mourning of the Synagogue was not unreasonable. The star of Judea's learning had set, never to rise again in Palestine—at least until the aspect of its sky had become completely changed. Rabbi Jehuda I. was the last of a particular class of Talmudical teachers, which are denominated as the *Thanaim*—the *traditionaries*. They were succeeded by the *Amoraim*, or expounders, whose special task seemed to be to explain the ordinances settled by their predecessors, rather than to originate new statutes.

Rabban Gamaliel III., Jehuda's son and successor, was weak in character, and mediocre in learning. His spiritual reign was of short duration, and tended yet more to transform the patriarchate into a temporal sovereignty. Accordingly, by a singular rebound, the more settled and undisputed the temporal sway of the Nasi became, the more independent, in theological opinion, became the celebrated Jewish doctors. Accordingly we find, that under the reign of his son and successor, some of the sages arrogated to themselves *spiritual* superiority over the head of the Synagogue. As generally, here also the claims to absolute spiritual rule on the part of a regular chief were succeeded by a temporal domination, which, in its fall, buried the Jewish schools of Palestine. Rabban Gamaliel was succeeded by his eldest son, Jehuda II., whose patriarchate is distinguished by certain internal and external changes in the Synagogue. Like his father, this Nasi also was equally deficient in natural firmness and theological acumen, and only bent upon the aggrandizement and enrichment of his family. He was young at his accession, and seems never to have got rid of the tutelage of the eminent Rabbins who surrounded him, and who were either the cotemporaries or pupils of his celebrated ancestor, Jehuda I. With consent of these ghostly counsellors, he introduced a number of reforms which indicated striking changes in the views of the Rabbins. Hitherto, although the province of Judea had been almost entirely forsaken by theologians, the custom had still

continued of determining the period of the new moon in *that* part of the country. The patriarch now transferred this function to Tiberias, which he chose as his residence. Gradually the southern part of Palestine, erst the sacred soil to which the memory of Judah had clung so tenderly, lost its Jewish inhabitants, and its few synagogues became disorganized. Galilee, once so despised, now became "the Holy Land," and Tiberias its Jerusalem. A degree of jealousy, which seems to have subsisted between the teachers of Galilee and a celebrated theologian of Judea, may have contributed to this result. The gradual elevation of the patriarchal dignity to a temporal rank, also operated unfavourably upon the Synagogue in the way of breaking down the legal enactments which had hitherto been strenuously enforced, of assimilating the Jews with their heathen neighbours, and thus of hastening the downfall of the theological schools in Palestine. Jehuda II. allowed the use of oil prepared by heathens, and it is certain he would even have granted permission to eat their bread, had he not been afraid of the opposition of some of his contemporaries. The 9th of Ab was no longer to be strictly observed; the decree by which some of the expressions of joy at marriages had been suppressed in consequence of former persecutions, was repealed, and even the marriage with a childless widowed sister-in-law, and many other legal enactments, would have been declared no longer obligatory, had not the sacred college interposed to put a stop to the spirit of innovation. Other and more important changes were, however, introduced. Thus the study of the Greek language was not only allowed but recommended; intercourse with heathens became frequent and intimate, paintings were admitted into houses, and in general Judaism broke down the barriers which it had anon so carefully raised, and seemed in danger of losing entirely its peculiar vitality, together with its rigorous formalism. Jewish, Christian, and heathen authorities concur in stating that the Roman emperor Alexander Severus, who ascended the throne in 223, was very favourable to the Synagogue. That emperor differed greatly from his immediate predecessors both in his private and public

conduct. For a short time justice, moderation, and temperance took the place of the unbridled licentiousness and intolerable tyranny of the masters of the world. In matters of religion, Alexander Severus displayed considerable moral earnestness. As in the case of too many at the time, it led him however into a religious eclecticism which placed the various creeds and their representatives on a footing of equality. In his Lararium, or domestic chapel, he had amongst others the statues of Orpheus, of Abraham, and even of Christ. His mother, Mamæa, during her stay at Alexandria, held intercourse with the celebrated Christian teacher Origen. It will be readily understood, how an emperor of such disposition should have entertained views peculiarly favourable to the Synagogue. Independent non-Jewish confirmations are not wanting to prove the existence of that favouritism. The Alexandrians gave him the title of "Head of the Synagogue," (Archisynagogus.) Origen informs us as the result of personal observation, that the Jewish patriarch at the time exercised an authority almost regal, and even administered criminal justice—all this, of course, with the connivance, at least, of the Roman government. On the other hand, Jews and Christians attest that a remarkable change took place in the social relations of the Jews, so as to induce the latter to apply to their times the passage, Dan. xi. 34: "Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen with a little help."¹ At the same time the alterations above referred to were, no doubt, made by the Synagogue with a view of approximating to the Gentiles. It was even allowed to have the hair dressed in a manner similar to the Romans—a concession which, however trivial in itself, when viewed together with the permission to learn Greek, to decorate the houses with paintings, &c., indicates an altered state of feeling. Jewish authorities record an intimacy between the patriarch and a Roman emperor whom they call Asverus—a contraction, as we suppose, of Alexander Severus. That emperor is represented by them as not only holding frequent intercourse with the Nasi, but as bestowing large contributions on

¹ Hieron. Comm. in locum.

the Synagogue, and requesting the assistance of a Rabbi in the construction of an altar after the model of that of Jerusalem, for which purpose the patriarch is said to have despatched one, Rabbi Romanos. Jewish tradition makes this emperor even a Jewish proselyte, and records in language, and with circumstances manifestly exaggerated, the conversion and piety of the Jewish emperor of Rome. But Roman authorities also inform us¹ of his partiality for, and protection of the Jews. From the combined testimony of all these independent sources of information, we gather, bating all exaggeration, that Alexander Severus had inclined towards Judaism, increased the privileges and protected the authority of the patriarch, with whom he stood in friendly relationship. This intimacy naturally operated unfavourably on the Church. Accordingly, while the Jewish Rabbins were cajoled, a father of the Church justly complains² of the hostile attempts of the Jews against the Christians, which were apparently countenanced by the heathens.

Rabbi Jehuda II. did not cherish the same high opinion of the office and dignity of a sage which had formerly prevailed. In fact, his own tendencies were all in the direction of worldly power, while his limited qualifications would at all events have placed him at a disadvantage in theological discussions. Accordingly, he endeavoured to put the Rabbins on the same footing with the laity, and insisted, for example, on their bearing their share in the civic burdens from which they had hitherto been exempt. This innovation was violently resisted by the theologians, and disputes ensued which seriously threatened the existence of the academies. Like his grandfather, Jehuda II. was covetous and ready to admit those to the sacred office who had no other qualification than their wealth to recommend them. Perhaps the patriarch may also have wished to depress the rabbinical office, and to surround himself with a college which shared his views, and could not outstrip him in learning. Certain it is that all this occasioned some painful scenes, and brought upon the patriarch severe practical rebukes. Those on whom the

¹ Lamprid. Alex. Severus, c. xxii.

² Orig. Hom. i. in ps. 36. p. 2.

sacred office was bestowed merely for money, were now designated as "silver and golden idols," and generally despised. At last the sacred college formally deprived the patriarch of the power of conferring ordination, and made it again dependent on the consent of the Sanhedrim. Jehuda either wanted the influence to resist this encroachment, or his imperial friend and protector lived no longer to enforce his authority. It must be allowed that the college had too good reason to interfere. Thus on one occasion, a rich but ignorant man had been ordained, and, according to general custom, had sat down to deliver a theological dissertation. Beside him stood as Methurgeman the able and ready Juda ben Nachmani, so well known in his days as a poet and divine. In vain did Juda bend down his ear for the discourse of the newly ordained Rabbi, which, as was his duty, he had to give in a popular shape to the audience. At last Juda began, with an evident allusion to the silent preacher, "Woe unto him that saith to the wood, Awake! to the dumb stone, Arise! It shall teach! Behold it is laid over with gold and silver, and there is no breath (in the Hebrew, *spirit*) at all in the midst of it." (Hab. ii. 19.) The scandal which this occasioned may readily be conceived. Another Rabbi of great influence, whose prayers the patriarch had solicited on account of the troubles which succeeded the death of Alexander Severus, expostulated, "Take not from others, and others will not take from thee." Still more severe was the reproof administered to the patriarch in a sermon by one Joses from Maon. Indeed, so sensible was the Nasi of the affront, that he sent to imprison the preacher. But R. Joses had fled. Two influential Rabbins, to whose advice the patriarch generally deferred, interceded for the offender, and procured for him pardon and an interview. But when the patriarch tried to puzzle the preacher by curious questions, the latter retaliated by replies which plainly indicated his low estimate of the spiritual head of his nation. The two Rabbins to whom we have just referred, exercised an almost unlimited sway over the patriarch, and although he sometimes tried to cast off their authority, his attempts, as those of weak-

minded persons generally in similar circumstances, only terminated in more complete subjection. There are few persons of whom tradition records more than of Rabbi Jochanan bar Napacha. Left an orphan at an early age, he lived a long and happy life to die amidst sorrow and misery. He is described as the most beautiful man of his age, and many are the poetic and other allusions to his bodily attractions, according to which he seems to have resembled rather a beautiful woman than a fine-looking man. Combined with his bodily, were rare mental qualities. At an early age he had attended the lectures of Jehuda I., although without much profit. His limited means induced him for a time to engage in commerce. He entered into business with one of his colleagues, Rabbi Ilpha. But a voice from heaven which intimated his future greatness, induced him to sell his small paternal estate, and to devote himself exclusively to study. He soon attained eminence and importance. Unlike many of his colleagues, he often deviated from the Mishna to decide certain questions according to the Boraita, *i.e.*, if the latter had the preponderating weight of authority. His lectures attracted students from all countries, and filled Tiberias with theologians, and he became the principal adviser of the patriarch. While differing from contemporary sages, chiefly in not simply accepting the Mishna as such, he kept on friendly terms with all the other Rabbins. His pupils diffused his opinions. Rabbi Jochanan was very liberal in his conduct. To him the ordinances which allowed the study of Greek (to males and females), the alteration in the dress of the Jews, the introduction of paintings, &c., were due. However, as others of similar character, he was a bitter opponent of the Roman power, and of that of Palmyra—in short, of all foreign domination. To the former he applied the prophecy of Daniel, declaring that the Roman empire was the fourth beast, and the little horn of that vision. The term of his life extended much beyond the usual period. His latter days were saddened by severe family affliction. He successively lost each of his ten sons—the youngest perished by accidentally falling into a caldron of boiling water. The unhappy parent, who had now

but one daughter left to him, is said to have ever afterwards carried about with him a bone of the body of his youngest son, to comfort mourners by exhibiting that memorial of his own severe affliction. Rabbi Jochanan was also distinguished for great moral earnestness. The trials with which he was visited during his latter years induced temporary fits of insanity.

Ben Lakish was Rabbi Jochanan's personal friend, and brother-in-law, but his theological opponent. After having studied under Jehuda I., he seems for a time to have forsaken theological pursuits, and become one of a band of marauders and highwaymen. His enormous bodily strength and courage made him their leader in many a desperate expedition. Tradition records that on one occasion Ben Lakish surprised Jochanan while bathing, and attracted by the beauty of the woman (for which he took Rabbi Jochanan), plunged into the water after him. The conversation and admonitions which then ensued, together with Jochanan's promise of giving his sister in marriage to Ben Lakish, on condition of his devoting himself to Rabbinical pursuits, are said to have induced a complete change in the latter. Certain it is that Ben Lakish left his companions, married Jochanan's sister, and became as distinguished for his Rabbinical lore, as he had formerly been for strength and prowess. His investigations were characterized by acumen and an earnestness which even bordered on austerity. A smile was never seen to play on his features, as unbecoming a member of that nation which groaned under heathen bondage; nor did he ever associate with any of whose probity he entertained not the fullest conviction. So much was this the case, that, popularly, intimacy with Ben Lakish was looked upon as a sufficient guarantee of character, conduct or testimony. He did not scruple to rebuke even the patriarch (although on intimate terms with him), and on one occasion actually proposed that in cases of delinquency, the head of the synagogue should, like other defaulters, be subject to the punishment of stripes. Anticipating that the patriarch would scarcely tolerate the statement of such doctrines, Ben Lakish fled just in time to escape the

messengers of justice sent by the Nasi. But when at the public sitting of the college Jochanan refused to go on in the absence of Ben Lakish, the weak patriarch not only waived the point in dispute, but even consented to go and meet the bold Rabbi—a step which the latter somewhat profanely compared with God's going down to Egypt to deliver His people. However, even on that occasion the quarrel would have been renewed had not others interposed. The method of Ben Lakish differed from that of Jochanan; while the latter decided according to the preponderance of authorities, the former raised ingenious questions and propounded novel and striking theories. Thus he held that the book of Job was only an allegory, declared that the names of angels dated from the sojourn in Babylon, maintained that former times had not been better than the present, &c. Views such as these brought him into continual theological collision with Rabbi Jochanan. At last a dispute ensued in which Jochanan forgot himself so far as to remind his friend of his former mode of life. Tradition has it that Ben Lakish was killed by a look from Jochanan, who was reputed to possess what is still familiarly known as "the evil eye." Certain it is that Ben Lakish died in consequence of this dispute. Rabbi Jochanan never recovered from the shock of this occurrence. He adopted Ben Lakish's son, and followed in less than a year his friend into the grave.

As, notwithstanding his liberality of conduct, Jochanan represented strict traditionalism, and Ben Lakish, notwithstanding his austerity, the opposite or philosophical direction, so Rabbi Joshua Ben Levi, a third eminent theologian—Mysticism. His father Levi bar Sissi, and his immediate predecessor in the presidency of the college at Lydda, had both been so distinguished that even the proud R. Chanina had given them Rabbinical precedence. At that time Lydda was the only place in Judea proper where traditionalism and theological learning were still cultivated, although the inhabitants of that place were looked down upon by the spiritual aristocracy of Galilee. Rabbi Joshua re-organized the congregations in Judea, at least for a

season. He was no less reputed in the synagogue for his Halachic decisions, than for his power of working miracles. His prayer averted plagues, brought down the rain, &c. The angel of death had no power over him; the Rabbi even deprived him of his sword and entered Paradise, of which, and of all the regions in the other world, he sent an accurate and full description to Gamaliel by the angel of death. These legends sufficiently indicate in what repute Joshua was held, and to what branch of theological study he had specially devoted himself. Tradition always ascribes to those who wrap themselves and their doctrines in secrecy powers superhuman, which by and bye assume definite shape, increasing in proportions with the lapse of time.

We have already referred to Rabbi Chanina, the friend and companion of the elder Jehuda. He presided over the academy of Sepphoris, where he represented the genuine pharisaical element. Like Eleazar ben Hyrcanus he taught only what he had heard (and that at least from three Rabbinical authorities,) and because he had received it from them. His reputation for piety and severity enabled him to expostulate with his cotemporaries for their moral laxity in terms which would scarcely have been tolerated in others. It must be allowed that the conduct of the inhabitants of Sepphoris afforded but too much ground for the Rabbi's reproofs. It was to this moral degeneracy that he ascribed the inefficiency of his prayers in times of public trial. So great was his influence and reputation, that when he appeared on one occasion before the proconsul at Cæsarea, the latter respectfully rose, declaring that Chanina and Joshua "appeared to him like angels." Rabbi Chanina was the teacher of Rabbi Jochanan. The pupil, it will be remembered, slightly modified the theological system in which he had been trained. The synagogue was also well represented in Cæsarea. Another sage, Rabbi Simlai, by birth a Palestine Jew, would deserve more full notice, but that he spent the greater part of his days in Babylon, with the history of whose Jewish inhabitants he is more or less identified. Rabbi Simlai had no claims to distinction in the Halacha—in fact, his decisions were rather distrusted. But

he acquired fame in the Hagada, and for his virulent opposition to Christianity. It has been suggested, and with apparent probability, that he had been chiefly engaged in controversy with the celebrated Origen, who spent considerable time in Palestine, and, as is well known, introduced into the church a kind of Hagadic exegesis. It will readily be conceived that Christian truth was placed at disadvantage when made to depend on isolated portions or texts, and defended by exegetical niceties and subtleties; instead of resting on the general scope and bearing of the Old Testament teaching, and on whole passages, taken in their breadth and fulness, as the individual exponents of general and well-ascertained principles. However, Hagadic studies led sometimes to a spirit of zealous inquiry, and to frequent controversies between Christians and Jews. An instance of these has, amongst others, been recorded by Jerome¹ in a discussion between Jason, a converted Jew, and his friend Papiscus. So general, indeed, became these studies, that when Porphyry, a heathen, would attack Christianity, he felt constrained to attempt an exposition of the prophecies of Daniel,² in which he accounts for these predictions on the supposition that they were penned by a cotemporary of the Maccabees, and with reference to the events of their times. Origen himself was instructed in Hebrew by a Rabbi, whom he designates as the patriarch Huillus—probably Hillel, the brother of the patriarch Jehuda II. Many of his exegetical views he acknowledges to have derived from Jewish sources. One of the results of his studies was the celebrated *Hexapla*, a work in which the Septuagint translation is placed side by side and compared with the Greek versions of Akylas, Symmachus, Theodoton, and with others which he had discovered at Nicopolis and at Jericho.

¹ Quæst. in Genesin.

² Hieron. in Dan. Præfat.

CHAPTER XIII.

EXTINCTION OF THE PATRIARCHATE AND FINAL DISPERSION OF
THE JEWS.

THE Jewish schools and the Jewish nation in the Roman provinces had attained the highest point of prosperity, when both declined, the schools to be finally closed, and the nation to be exposed to a storm of persecution, which, in duration and severity, far surpassed aught that had formerly been endured. No doubt they had not made proper use of their brief liberty. Those who had so frequently suffered from the intolerance of others, had not learned to extend again that freedom which they had so earnestly claimed for themselves. More especially their conduct towards Christians exhibited a degree of bitterness and a desire for extermination, which, when occasion offered, the latter were but too ready to retort. In truth, toleration, as distinct from persecution or indifferentism on the part of a ruling or influential majority, seems to be a virtue of most difficult attainment, requiring a thorough conviction not only of the truthfulness, but of the spirituality of our principles, as independent from and not to be promoted by material means. To the Jews, who not only looked on all other creeds as idolatrous, but expected, by material means, their speedy destruction, toleration would have been an impossibility, except on the part of any who were not thoroughly Jewish in their modes of thought, or in face of an effete and decaying system. Hence their fraternisation with heathenism—hence, also, their uncompromising hostility to Christianity. On the other hand, these principles, if correctly indicated, help to explain why in measure as the

Church increased in its materialistic tendency, the spirit of intolerance and persecution appeared and developed in it.

The close of the reign of Alexander Severus is contemporaneous with the commencement of those great troubles which terminated in the destruction of the Roman empire. In the trans-Euphratic provinces, to the history of which we refer at present only so far as absolutely necessary, a new dynasty, representing the ancient Persian dynasty and religion, had violently displaced the Parthian rule, and extended its sway even into the Roman province of Cappadocia (227). Alexander Severus contended successfully against the invaders, but, content to retire too soon, he lost a great part of his army. Another insurrection called him to the banks of the Rhine, (235,) where the rude Maximinus, a Thracian by birth, commanded the Roman legions. Here an attempt at enforcing too strict discipline ended in the murder of the emperor, and of his mother, and the elevation of Maximinus to the imperial dignity; and now a period ensued, which, for its confusion and pernicious effects on the commonwealth, is unparalleled. During fifty years (from 235-285) an almost fabulous number of persons either occupied or claimed the throne. It will suffice to state, by way of example, that the claims of one of these, Gallienus, were, it is said, disputed by no less than thirty competitors at one and the same time.¹ Most of these emperors were nominated by the soldiers from amongst their generals, and speedily gave place to other equally worthless usurpers. It appears strange—almost an irony upon Rome—that at that very period one of these emperors, Philip the Arabian, should have celebrated by great festivities the Roman millennium—1000 years having elapsed since the foundation of the city. Amidst these rapid and frequent changes in the tenure of the supreme office in the state, one at least deserves to be more particularly recorded, not only from the interest, we might almost call it the romance, attaching to it, but from its connexion with our history. The new Persian dynasty had proved everywhere victorious, and the Roman emperor, Vale-

¹ Gibbon, however, recounts only twenty. Decl. and Fall, p. 109.

rianus, had fallen into the hands of its representative, Sapor, who treated him with a degree of cruelty and indignity happily rare in royal conquerors. His weak son, Gallienus, was both unable and unwilling to rescue his father. The Jews, who were at first adverse to the Persian power, whose fanaticism gave them too much cause for apprehension, had gradually become reconciled to it, and stood in friendly and even intimate relations with the new dynasty. It was at that period when power seemed fast passing from their old enemies, that an adventurer, named in Jewish writings as Papa bar Nazar,¹ (or Pasa ben Nasarda,) passed with his bands through Judea, laying everything waste. It has, with some show of probability, been supposed that this individual, who styled himself "Emperor," and was designated by some of the Jews as "the little horn speaking great things," was the celebrated Palmyrinian chief Odenath, the husband of Zenobia. Be this as it may, Odenath had settled in the desert-city of Thadmor, (the City of Palms,) or Palmyra, built by Solomon on an oasis in the midst of a desert, north-east from Damascus, and at about the same distance (sixty miles) south-west from the Euphrates, on the high-road between the Roman and Parthian monarchies. From its advantageous position, beauty, and salubrity, that city had gradually risen to opulence and importance. Odenath was soon involved in a quarrel with the Persian monarch; and the occasion of it apparently, though indirectly, confirms the supposition of his identity with Papa bar Nazar. While Sapor was prosecuting his successful incursions into the Roman provinces, a train of camels, laden with the richest presents for him, arrived from Odenath. The haughty reply of Sapor to the embassy, which certainly appears strange, and his declaration, that "if Odenath entertained a hope of mitigating his punishment, he was to fall prostrate at the foot of his throne with his hands bound behind his back," justify the supposition that the Palmyrinian must have favoured and actively engaged in the cause of Sapor's enemies, the Romans, perhaps by an incursion into Palestine.

¹ Ketub. 51. Seder Olam Suta ed. Mayer, p. 113.

The secret but cordial hatred of the Jews to the Roman power found frequent expression. The celebrated Rabbi Jochanan, who had at first distrusted, but afterwards befriended the Persian power, did not hesitate to aver this state of feeling, and just as he originated many other innovations, so he was the first to sanction emigration from the sacred soil of Judea, in order to avoid the apparent honours, but real troubles, which the Roman power sought to confer upon the Jews, by appointing them to civil or judicial offices. This permission, however insignificant in itself, was momentous in its consequences, both as a manifestation of the decay of Jewish nationality as connected with Palestine, and as preparing for the closing of the Palestinian schools, and the final dispersion of the original inhabitants of Judea. When Rabbi Jochanan at a later period exclaimed that "*he was happy who should witness the fall of Thadmor,*" we can only account for the sentiment by the opposition of Palmyra to Sapor, and the occasional irruptions (under Papa) into Palestine in the interest of the same cause. To these arguments it may be added, that Jewish history represents a number of influential Rabbins as in direct conflict with Zenobia and Papa bar Nazar, and recounts their death or deliverance in such manner as to leave no doubt that the invasions of Judea, and the persecution of individual influential Rabbins were undertaken in the Roman interest. Odenath, repulsed in his friendly advances, contended successfully against Sapor, and forced him even to flee from Ctesiphon his capital. During one of these campaigns, he destroyed also the Jewish city of Nahardea, an expedition ascribed by Jewish historians¹ to Papa bar Nazar. During five years Palmyra defended the Roman empire from the Persians, and well did Odenath deserve the titles of Cæsar and Augustus, which Gallienus conferred on him. Much of this success was, it is said, due to the wife of Odenath, the celebrated Zenobia. It has been supposed² that she had derived her origin from the family of Herod. But this rests on insufficient grounds, and it seems more probable that she descended from the Macedonian

¹ Comp. the passage in the Seder Olam Suta.

² By Grätz, Jew. Hist. p. 335.

rulers of Egypt.¹ A petty family quarrel led to the murder of Odenath, when Zenobia assumed the reins of government, and soon shewed that she meant not only to call herself, but to act as the Queen of the East. Palmyra was adorned with all the buildings and works of art, which unbounded wealth and liberal patronage could procure; and while these monuments of peace and prosperity rose on every side, the more stern business of war was not neglected. In truth, if only part of the almost fabulous descriptions of Zenobia are true, that queen must have surpassed in beauty Cleopatra, in courage Semiramis, and in energy coupled with liberality of sentiment, the more recent royal ornaments of her sex, Elizabeth of England, and Maria Theresa of Austria. To unrivalled beauty she added equal chastity—to fortitude and courage, fertility of device—to administrative wisdom, the faculty of discerning and availing herself of the talents of others. Nor were arts and sciences less cultivated in Palmyra than statecraft. At her court we find the celebrated philosopher Longinus, while she afforded a safe and honourable asylum to the persecuted Paul, the heretical bishop of Samosata, who, denying the divinity of our Lord, was justly accused, though unjustly persecuted for his Judaizing tendencies. Jews and Christians have in turn claimed and disclaimed Zenobia as their co-religionist. The truth seems to be that she belonged neither to one nor other of these parties, but shared the general eclectic views of her intimate friends, one of whom, for example, Longinus, could not sufficiently express his sense of the sublimity of the command “Let there be light,” in the Mosaic account of creation. But Zenobia’s reign was cut short in the midst of her conquests, by the victorious advance of the Emperor Aurelian, who at last took and destroyed Palmyra, and brought her queen in chains to Rome, (273.)

Meantime the patriarch Rabbi Jehuda II. and his friends and coadjutors had, one by one, been gathered to their fathers. If the first generation of Amoraim exhibited a sad declinature when compared with the Thanaim of former generations, their suc-

¹ Comp. Gibbon, Decl. and Fall, p. 120.

cessors accelerated the complete downfall of the Synagogue in Palestine. Rabbi Gamaliel IV., son and successor of Rabbi Jehuda II., was openly and avowedly treated by the teachers of Palestine as a thoroughly ignorant and unlettered person, to whom, by way of precaution, it was even necessary to interdict what in itself might be lawful. He was utterly unable to decide in any case of dispute, and had to refer all these matters to the sages. At the same time the study and knowledge of the Scriptures declined so sadly, that one of the most celebrated Rabbins confessed that he was (at least exegetically) unacquainted with the text of the ten commandments. Nor was even the study of the Halacha cultivated. It had gradually given place to the sophistry and allegorical playing of the Hagada, a discipline to which the term "rooting up and carrying away mountains," was now applied—an expression originally indicating only the ability of solving real difficulties. Together with the decline of the spiritual influence of the patriarch, we notice the rise of that of individual sages and especially of heads of colleges, who even excommunicated each other on their own authority, or rather on that of their learning and influence. The *temporal* power of the patriarchs, however, rather increased during these troublous times, and the patriarchate was treated by the Romans as a civil dignity. Although Rabbi Jochanan had affected a thorough contempt for the Babylonians (as he called them,) those of his successors who enjoyed any fame, had come from beyond the river, and ultimately submitted their own decisions for review to the superior wisdom of the trans-Euphratic teachers. Jochanan had solemnly ordained, amidst the sound of songs in their praise, his Babylonian pupils, Rabbins Ami and Asi, as "judges of the land of Israel." After the death of Jochanan's successor, the Babylonian Rabbi Eleazar ben Padat, they were almost the sole as well as the supreme judicial authorities of Palestine. Yet even they bestowed attention rather on outward matters, than gave themselves, like the Thanaim, heart and soul exclusively to study. It was their chief care to improve the roads, to build class-rooms suitable for the different seasons of the year, so as to

consult the health and comfort of their students, &c. The two sons of Abba, Chija and Simon, were equally celebrated for their merits and misfortunes. Both suffered from crushing poverty. Chija had at first been largely assisted by the wealthy family of Silvani in Tiberias, who continued to pay to this Rabbi, as a descendant of Aaron, the regular tithes. But when another sage declared something lawful which Chija had interdicted, and the Silvani gave him to understand that more moderate views were requisite in one who depended on their bounty, he not only declined their assistance in future, but resolved never to receive it again from any other party. To fortify himself in this resolution, he accepted a post which forced him to travel out of Palestine.¹ The patriarchs now employed "apostles,"² as they were termed, to collect in all lands an annual tribute or religious contribution, (mentioned as "aurum coronarium," like that of the Roman emperors—or as "canon," and "pensio,")³ a kind of Jewish "Peter's pence." Rabbi Chija was appointed to this post. However, notwithstanding his celebrity, he was so ignorant of the Bible, that, in answer to a Hagadic query, he had to confess he was not aware whether the word "good" occurred in the decalogue. Chija's brother Simon was reputed so pious, that his teacher, the celebrated Johanan, said of him, "He that cannot form a notion of the virtues of our Father Abraham, may become acquainted with them by observing this Simon." Although very poor, he was too independent to accept any assistance, and his friends supplied his wants by putting money in his way, that he might accidentally find it. His difficulties at last compelled him to seek employment out of Palestine, which was at first refused from a desire to retain him in the Holy Land. He afterwards settled in Damascus. In spite of his learning, he could not obtain ordination, (perhaps on account of his poverty.) A similar uprightness and similar sufferings marked his private and his public life. He successively lost his two wives, both of whom he seems to have married rather from

¹ Comp. Jer. Hor. iii. 7; Sheb. iii. 1; Maase Sh. v. 5.

■ Epiph. Haeres. xxx. 11.

³ Cod. Theodos. l. xvi. T. 8. § 14.

conscientious motives than from affection. The two sons of Abba were rigid Talmudists, and interdicted a Grecian education to Jewish maids. Another highly interesting personage was Rabbi Abbahu, by birth a Palestinian. He was a manufacturer of veils in Cæsarea Augusta, where he also presided over a celebrated academy. Abbahu was very rich, lived gaily, and educated his daughter after the Grecian fashion, to which his more strict colleagues objected. He possessed considerable influence with the Roman proconsul, which he employed in favour of his co-religionists and colleagues. His personal attractions, both of body and mind, and his wealth, secured him a leading position in Cæsarea, and indeed in Palestine. At the same time he was so modest and retiring as even to be unwilling to accept ordination. On one occasion he lectured to a crowded audience on the Hagada, while his more learned colleague Chija bar Abba could scarcely collect a few to listen to his expositions of the Halacha. In fact, the Halacha had lost its attractions for the Palestinian Jews. An analogous change took place in the mode of delivering public orations, where the Methurgeman, instead of simply interpreting the preacher's language, now arrogated to himself independent powers, and taught according to his own, not according to the preacher's views. Rabbi Abbahu owed a great part of his reputation to his wealth and to a certain amount of acuteness and prudence. He was ignorant of the Halacha, but in deference to his position, his colleagues did not venture to contradict even his erroneous assertions. By his patronage, Cæsarea was elevated into an academical city along with Tiberias. He taught in the Synagogue still known as that "of the revolution," being the same whence the rising against the Roman power, in the time of Nero, had first issued. Abbahu saw not only his sons but even his grandchildren ordained. However, meantime, Judaism decaying within, was represented by some of the Gentiles as a species of heathen mysticism, while the vast majority despised and openly ridiculed it. Abbahu complained that the Jew formed the never-failing theme of ridicule in the comedy, the Punch of every provincial theatre. In

some respects there was indeed too much ground for the reproach. The state of the synagogue is well illustrated in the following occurrence:—A season of general drought and scarcity elicited, as usual, the prayers of the congregation. According to custom, the worthiest man was to be chosen to lead these devotions. For this honour a person was recommended, who, on account of his infamous avocation, bore the popular designation of “Pente-kaka, or “Five-Sins.” In conversation, Abbahu had however elicited from that man, that although he directly or indirectly ministered to almost every vice, he had on one occasion given all his means to an unknown weeping Jewish female, to enable her to redeem her husband from slavery without having to gain the requisite money at the expense of her honour. This good deed of “Pente-kaka” induced Abbahu to appoint him leader of the devotions, as being the worthiest in the land. Together with the decline of religion, manners, and theological science in Palestine, everything else seemed to decay. The very style of correspondence, and the language of that period, with its turgidity, its meaningless puns and pleonasms, and its frivolity, contrasts most unfavourably with that of former days. At the same time the enmity against Christianity increased. During the reigns of successive emperors at that period, the Church had variously enjoyed seasons of respite and rest, or been visited by terrible persecutions. The Egyptian “Archi-synagogos,” who is said to have excited the emperor Valerian to persecution against the Christians, does indeed not appear to have been the head of a Jewish synagogue—the name “Archi-synagogos” not being confined to the chief of the Jewish synagogue—but Origen distinctly attests that Jews invented the terrible calumny, that the Christians required the blood of children in the celebration of their mysteries—an accusation too readily entertained by the credulous populace, and which was afterwards, with equal untruth, hurled back by Christians upon the Jews. However, while the Church, together with the introduction of many superstitions, and its decline from primitive simplicity and spirituality, became more and more embittered against the synagogue—the

religious controversy between the two parties was zealously and not unsuccessfully prosecuted. On the one hand, the Jews gained a number of Gentile converts, though they do not seem to have been of a character to have encouraged them in the prosecution of this work. On the other hand, the Church gained many and influential Jews, and Rabbi Abbahu bitterly complained of the spread of Christianity by their means. The same Rabbi frequently disputed about the doctrines of the Gospel, although such of his arguments as have been preserved, are not very formidable. Probably the synagogue, as afterwards too often certain sections of the Church, defended itself by the more effective if not convincing aid of material means. From later rescripts, we gather that its fury specially vented itself upon Jewish converts whom only the law could protect from persecution. At the same time the Jews frequently instigated the heathens to acts of violence against the Christians. At that stage of superstition which the heathens had reached, immediately before Paganism wholly gave way, anything mysterious, or which a class and corporation declared sacred, had great weight, specially when it had the recommendation of antiquity in its favour. While some became Jews, still more adopted Jewish practices. Thus the later classics complain of Jews being consulted as soothsayers,¹ of Romans imitating the Jews in moving their lips ere putting anything to their mouths; of their dreading danger if an egg was broken; of their eating garlic every morning in order to be safe from ulcers,² &c. Even Christians shared in some of these superstitions. There were not only Judaizing sects, who held certain Jewish doctrines, and conformed to many of their practices, but the complaints of ecclesiastical fathers at a later period against evils which must have existed long previously, sufficiently indicate their extent. St. Chrysostom complains of the undue influence of the numerous Jewish physicians, or rather soothsayers, who supplied charms against various diseases.³ He had even to deliver eight orations

¹ Juven. Sat. 6.

² Persius Sat. V., &c.

³ Comp. Neander's life of that Father, pp. 257, &c.

for the purpose of warning against Jewish practices. Christians seem to have attended the synagogues at Antioch; to have taken part in the Jewish feasts and fasts; to have preferred administering and taking an oath in the Synagogue, as being more solemn,¹ &c. Imperial rescripts² refer to intermarriages between Jews and Christians, which frequently ended in the conversion of the latter, the circumcision of Christian slaves, and even the voluntary submission of causes in dispute to the decision of Jewish tribunals. The enmity of Jews to Christianity manifested itself not only in various calumnies, and acts of violence when they had the power, but even in the despatch of special messengers to all parts of the Roman world, to hinder the spread of the Gospel.³

Under the reign of Diocletian, the empire became for a time more settled. However rigorous and systematic were the persecutions of that tyrant against the Church, which he had resolved wholly to extirpate, or against the Samaritans, whom he forced to worship idols,⁴ the synagogue escaped, perhaps because of its enmity to the Church. The reign of Diocletian is mentioned with approbation in Jewish writings. Some suspicion seems indeed at first to have existed against the synagogue. Enemies had reported that the patriarch and his friends had spoken in a disparaging manner of Diocletian's origin and mode of accession. Tradition asserts that when the emperor was in Paneas, at some distance from Tiberias, he suddenly sent a message on a Friday afternoon, ordering the patriarch and the principal Jews to appear before him on Sabbath evening. The order, which seemed to involve the necessity of Sabbath desecration, reached the patriarch and his friends while taking the Friday bath, nor need we wonder that the stupid jokes of the professional fool who attended the bathers, should have been felt unseasonable at the time. However, the fool undertook and succeeded in conveying them to Paneas before the Sabbath. The emperor, in mark of contempt, ordered the Jews to bathe

¹ Chrysost. Op. I., pp. 588, &c.

² Comp. Cod. Theod.

³ Compare the testimony of Justin Martyr in his Dialogue with Triphon, and of Jerome in his notes on Isaiah and Obadiah.

⁴ Abod. Sar. v. 4.

for several days before appearing in his presence. But at their interview, the patriarch completely conciliated the emperor. It is difficult to indicate how much foundation in truth this story may possess. The patriarch referred to was Jehuda III., the son and successor of Gamaliel IV. His character and learning did not secure for him greater esteem than that enjoyed by his father. He was the first to prepare a regular and scientific calendar, instead of resorting to a monthly examination of witnesses as to the appearance of the new moon. He also despatched some of the leading Rabbins to inquire into the state of the elementary schools throughout the land, and to supply any deficiencies in this respect. It is said that when in a certain city the deputation found not any scholastic provision for the youth, they inquired at the magistrates for the city-guard. When the armed men were paraded, the Rabbins replied, "Nay, these are the destroyers not the guardians of your city; its proper guardians are the teachers of youth, and the instructors of the people, for except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain."¹

Conformity to heathen rites had led to a complete separation between the Samaritans and the Jews. Rabbins Ami, Assi, and Abbahu, brought about their formal exclusion from the Synagogue. This was probably the last decree of the Palestinian Sanhedrim. Another Rabbi, belonging to this and partly to the succeeding generation, deserves mention. Sisra was a Babylonian by birth, but his theological stand-point, as well as personal inclination, powerfully drew him towards the land of his fathers. So great was his ardour to touch the sacred soil, that when he reached Jordan, he did not tarry to seek a bridge, but crossed the stream to the danger of his life, apprehensive, as he stated, "of delay in entering the Holy Land, which even Moses and Aaron had not been allowed to enter."² On his arrival in Tiberias, he was ordained and held in high repute for that very Babylonian method of teaching which he had formerly disclaimed, and to get rid of which he had earnestly, and with protracted fasting, petitioned Heaven.

¹ Chag. I. 7.

² Ket. 110, b.

The rule of Diocletian and his colleagues, so terrible to the Church, was succeeded by that of Constantine, the first Roman emperor who professed Christianity. It is not our province to do more than indicate the way in which he became sole ruler of the empire, or the mode and the degree in which he embraced Christianity. Diocletian had nominated Maximianus his colleague, and also elevated Galerius and Constantius to the dignity of Cæsars. Galerius was a bitter enemy of the Church, and became the instrument of a fearful persecution. Soon afterwards, Diocletian and Maximianus resigned, while Constantius, who had always shewn himself mild and tolerant to the Christians, was succeeded by his son Constantine, afterwards denominated the Great. On the other hand, Galerius had named Severus and Maximinus his colleagues. The cruelties of Severus at last led to a rebellion, in which Maxentius the son of the former emperor Maximianus was proclaimed emperor, and overcame and killed Severus. There were now five rulers of the Roman empire: Galerius, Maximinus, Constantinus, Maxentius, and Maximianus, the old emperor, who again assumed the purple, and who had united his daughter Fausta to Constantinus. To these must be added as sixth, Licinius, whom Galerius elevated to that dignity. The continual intrigues of the old emperor Maximianus led to his fall. After the death of Galerius, Maxentius attacked Constantine, who conquered fighting under the standard of the cross, to which, in a vision which led to his conversion, he had been directed. Maxentius fell in that contest. This victory seems to have elated the young Cæsar, who now allied himself to Licinius, by giving to the latter his sister Constantia in marriage. Their only remaining rival Maximinus engaged in war with Licinius, was defeated, and died of the effects of poison which himself had taken (313.) A year afterwards Constantine and Licinius engaged in hostilities, which were succeeded by a peace of nine years' duration. Constantine distinguished himself during that period by his moderation, wisdom, and protection of the Christians; Licinius, by the opposite qualities. In 323 another war ensued between them in which Constantine was victorious.

Having killed his brother-in-law, he now attained the sole command of the Roman world. Although Constantine had all along professed his allegiance to Christianity, and so far advanced its cause, discouraging all heathen practices, it cannot be denied that in his conduct he exhibited few if any of the Christian graces. His successes seem to have elated him, and the ecclesiastics of his time, by their flatteries, and by imputing merit to his outward profession, instead of directing him to a faith which worketh by love, contributed not a little, however unwittingly, to keep him in ignorance of the obligations which Christianity imposed, not only upon the Emperor Constantine, but upon the individual Christian. The individual believer was, in fact, wholly merged in the Christian emperor, and while extolling the one they forgot to cultivate the humility, piety, and virtue of the other. It was, indeed, almost impossible to calculate all the consequences of such a change. From a persecuted sect, at the mercy of the passions and prejudices of a heathen rabble, and but lately escaped from the relentless persecution of Diocletian, who had avowed his set purpose to exterminate the very name of Christian, the Church had become the dominant party. She was now owned, honoured, and elevated to that position which the growing hierarchical pretensions of her clergy had long claimed for the *visible* Church of God. To the men of these days it seemed as if the millennium had arrived, and Constantine was its herald. Wealth, honours, dignity, numbers and influence, all now belonged to the Church. The temptation proved too strong, especially as long-increasing declension had gradually substituted the outward and carnal for the inward and spiritual. On such grounds even pious men flattered and thereby deceived Constantine, confounding and leading him to confound the outward with the inward acknowledgment of Christ, and the secular with the spiritual success of the Gospel.

There are few individuals by whose lives and memory history has dealt more unjustly than by Constantine. While his friends have elevated him far beyond his deserts, the enemies of Christianity have equally detracted from his merits and represented him as a monstrous compound of cruelty, vice, and hypocrisy—

the Herod the Great of Roman history. Both representations are unfair. Constantine was a wise, firm, and able emperor. But elated by his successes, and trusting in his impeccability, he gave way to the passions of the moment, and committed numerous acts of apparent cruelty, which history has mostly preserved only in the one-sided representation of his enemies. We cannot doubt that his profession of Christianity was sincere. His religion was the popular Christianity of his period, a zeal for the outward together with a barren faith and a conformity to superstitious practices; a mass of wood, hay, and stubble, in which the Master's eye alone could discern whether there was any real and precious foundation. The conversion of Constantine greatly swelled at least the numbers of the adherents of Christianity from amongst Jews and Gentiles. Partly many obstacles were now removed, partly Christian zeal found more scope and opportunity of displaying itself, and partly the dominant religion could offer many outward advantages to its professors. On the other hand, it must be allowed that the spirit of toleration which Constantine and his immediate successors displayed was much in advance of the tendency of their times, and contrasts most favourably with later enactments. Without entering on the laws concerning heathenism, only the most determined misrepresentation of history can construe the legislation of the first Christian emperors into intolerance against the Jews.¹ Before Constantine publicly professed his adherence to the Gospel, he had promulgated an edict of general toleration,² in which, of course, the Jews were included. Under former emperors they had enjoyed perfect civil equality. The edicts of Severus and Antoninus had admitted them to every civic office, and freed them from such as imposed duties contrary to their religious principles;³ they were allowed to intermarry with all around them (which was interdicted to

¹ We cannot help expressing our disapprobation and astonishment that a man of the learning and ability of Dr. Grätz, would, apparently in order to serve a turn in the controversy against Christianity, so frequently misconstrue and misinterpret historical documents. His work contrasts, in this respect, most unfavourably with the writings of Drs. Cassel, Jost, Frankel, and others.

² Lact. de mort. pers. c. 48.

³ Digest. de Decur., lib. 50. tit. 2. § 5.

foreigners),¹ they could inherit property,² were allowed to circumcise their slaves,³ &c. The patriarchs, and other heads of Synagogues, were exempt from civic offices, and received even from Christian emperors such titles as were granted only to the nobility or the highest magistracy. The only edicts in this respect which seem to indicate any restraint are those in which Jewish converts were protected from personal violence and the vengeance of the Synagogue (an edict probably called for by the actual necessities of the case, as will appear by and by,) and that by which ultimately the circumcision of their slaves was interdicted.⁴ The latter enactment will not appear unjust, when it is remembered that as slaves were actually the property of their masters, they were exposed to constraint; and the former becomes still more reasonable when it is added that a similar decree protected the Jews from the violent zeal of Christian neophytes. At the same time the documents extant indicate an amount of general popular irritation and contempt for the Jews. Probably fanatics throughout the empire, perhaps even some of the magistrates, would, under the influence of mistaken zeal, act contrary to the spirit of these moderate laws. Manifestly spurious expressions are put into the mouth of Constantine by ecclesiastical writers, sufficiently indicating at least what spirit animated those who used them. The Council of Nice at the same time forbade the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, which had in some places in the East been retained along with that of the Christian festival, and also fixed a regular time for the celebration of Easter, instead of connecting it, as hitherto, with the Passover of the Jews. However proper these regulations were in themselves, the mode in which they were stated too frequently betrayed a spirit alien to that of Christian love.

The patriarchate was, under the reign of Constantine, administered by Hillel II., a person whose later history will secure our peculiar interest. The more celebrated sages around him were Rabbins Chaggai, Jonah, Joses, Jacob ben Abon, and

¹ Cod. Theod. l. 16, tit. 8, § 6.

² Cod. Just. l. 1, tit. 9, § 1.

³ Cod. Theod. l. 16, tit. 9.

⁴ Cod. Theod. l. 16, tit. 8.

especially Jeremiah, a Babylonian by birth. The low state of learning in Palestine will be gathered from the fact, that Jeremiah, so celebrated in Palestine, had, from the insufficiency of his theological attainments, been dismissed from the colleges of his native country. With a patriarchate subsisting merely in name—with a general decay of learning and influence in Palestine—with the ascendancy of an antagonistic creed, and the many acts of violence which were either committed or threatened—with the fearful pressure of taxation upon them, increased by the quartering of the legions destined for the Persian wars—lastly, with the daily growing number of those who left their ranks to join those of the Church, the Jews began at last to feel that the judgments of the Lord had gone forth against them. Loud are the complaints against the many worldly allurements by which “sinful Rome, the son of thy mother, endeavoured to shake the stedfastness of the faithful.”¹ To all this, private disputes were added, such as between Rabbins Jeremiah and Jacob, which led the two sages to excommunicate each other for a time. Such a state of matters led to serious inquiry on the part of many about the coming of the Messiah. It had long before been said, although in no friendly spirit, that “the son of David would not appear till the whole Roman empire had embraced Christianity.” To this spirit of anxiety and longing many of the discussions and conversions which at that time took place must be ascribed. Later traditions have embellished these records with a number of apocryphal miracles, which, it scarcely requires to be said, are the offspring of monkish imagination, inspired by what they conceived to be for the glory of God, or for the triumph of the Gospel. In this number we reckon the story of the discussion between Pope *Sylvester* and the Jews, under the leadership of one *Sambres*. It is said that the Jews, desirous of converting Constantine to their creed, had applied to the emperor’s mother, Helena. Accordingly, a meeting was arranged in presence of the emperor and a distinguished circle. When *Sambres* was worsted by *Sylvester* in argument, he ap-

¹ Pes. Rabb. c. 15.

pealed to his power of working miracles. Accordingly, he muttered something into the ear of a bullock, which, after violent convulsions, fell dead to the ground. Not to be outdone, Sylvester had now to recall the ox to life, in which of course he succeeded, when all the Jews present immediately professed Christianity. To the same period belongs also the story of the discovery of the true Cross by Helena. It appears¹ that the preponderance of ecclesiastical testimony ascribes its merit to a Jew named Judas, who afterwards professed Christianity. Of a totally different character from the above legends is the history of the conversion of no less a personage than the patriarch Hillel himself. The story was related to St. Epiphanius, bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, himself a converted Jew, by another convert, who was intimately connected with the patriarch, and who had been an eye-witness of all he related. The account is comparatively free from exaggeration and miraculous additions, and tallies so exactly with the Jewish history of that period, that, with the exception of a recent Jewish writer, all who have treated the subject have allowed its substantial accuracy.² St. Epiphanius, who, although credulous and blindly zealous for what he deemed truth, was thoroughly honest, earnest in his adherence to Christ, and devout, received his account from Joseph, a convert, whom Constantine the Great had elevated to the dignity of "Count." It is interesting to note the circumstances of the narrative. During the reign of the successor of Constantine, Constantius, who had joined the Arian party, the adherents of the orthodox creed were persecuted. Amongst others, Eusebius, an Italian bishop, was exiled, and found an asylum in the princely mansion of Count Joseph. There Epiphanius, with some other Christians, waited on the bishop, and also elicited from Joseph, at that time a man of about seventy years of age, the history of his conversion. It is gratifying to note how Jewish believers held fast by the faith once received. Though surrounded by Arians, and alternately cajoled

¹ Comp. Basnage's learned investigation, *Hist. des Juifs*, t. iv. l. 6, p. 1243, &c.

² Epiph. adv. Hær. xxx. 4, &c.

and threatened by them, Joseph not only remained attached to the orthodox faith, receiving and sheltering an exiled bishop and his friends, but another younger Jewish convert, it is recorded, waited secretly (from fear of the violence of the Arians) on the persecuted ecclesiastics. To return: Joseph related, that at one time he had occupied a high post amongst the Jews, being attached to the person of the patriarch Hillel. When at the point of death, the patriarch had sent for the Christian bishop, who, as was frequently the case, seems also to have practised medicine. The latter came as physician of the body. When all present had been removed, Joseph, whose suspicions had been excited, lingered behind, and witnessed through the crevices of the door an unexpected scene. The dying patriarch opened his mind to the bishop, and craved baptism at his hands. He obtained it, and felt strengthened in body and mind, having taken a step, the obligation of which must have long weighed heavily upon his spirit. The bishop visited the patriarch two or three times in the character of a physician, until the converted Jewish dignitary entered into his rest, leaving his trusty friend Joseph, and another sage, guardians of his youthful son and successor Jehuda IV. That the conversion of the patriarch was kept secret, cannot appear remarkable, when we remember, not only the theological views of the time, but that it took place on his deathbed, and in a place where, the Jews being the dominant party, the promulgation of the story, if credited at all, would have called down a fearful storm of persecution upon the few Christians. If Joseph had been deeply impressed by what he had observed in the sick-chamber, his curiosity as that of others was roused, by noticing a large seal on the treasury-box of the late patriarch. He secretly opened it, and to his astonishment found there, instead of money, what had proved much more precious to the patriarch:—a Hebrew translation of the Gospel according to John, of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Lord's genealogy as recorded by Matthew. Though this discovery and the reading of the sacred writings deepened Joseph's impressions of the truth, he still re-

sisted its power. Meantime Jehuda, his young ward, had grown up, and been unfortunately led astray by light companions. According to the practice of those times, when unbridled licentiousness sought its object, and found it impossible otherwise to obtain it, recourse was had to magical means, to incantations and love-potions, a practice which the ancient Church denounced—correctly in its spirit, though not in its literal meaning—as satanic agency. Possibly the strong belief entertained by all parties as to the efficacy of such means, may have contributed to secure their success; while, on the other hand, faith in Christ, and the confidence of safety with which the pronouncing of the name of Jesus, and the sign of the cross inspired Christians, may help to explain the alleged impotence of magical means against the members of the Church. It seems that the young patriarch had recourse to such magical means to seduce a Christian female, but without effect. Joseph, aware of these circumstances, looked upon her deliverance as another instance of the miraculous power of Christianity. While his mind was agitated on these important questions, he dreamt that Christ appeared to him and called upon him to believe. These severe mental struggles induced a dangerous disease. When on the point of death, one of his Jewish friends whispered into his ear some adjuration or formula in the name of Jesus. It is not necessary to resort to the explanation, that as the patient's thoughts were so much engaged with this subject, he might in his febrile excitement have readily misinterpreted the words of his friend, since St. Epiphanius adds, that he had ascertained that many Jews were in the habit, in cases of extreme danger, of attempting a miraculous cure in the name of Jesus. Such practice is quite conceivable not only on the part of believers in the exclusive claims of Christ to the Messiahship, but of superstitious persons generally, and tallies both with an inspired record of a similar occurrence, (Acts xix. 13,) and the prohibition issued by the Synagogue against all such practices. However, Joseph had on his sick-bed another vision, in which health was promised to him, and the command—to believe, reiterated. Such visions—viewing

them simply as internal psychological phenomena—are scarcely wonderful in the circumstances, nor does it appear inexplicable how he should have so long and seriously resisted the voice within. Accordingly, on his recovery, he relapsed into unbelief; but, in consequence of another vision, attempted the miraculous cure of a demoniac in the name of the Lord. In this he succeeded, as the Jews supposed, by means of the ineffable name of the Lord; mention of which, they conjectured, he had found in the patriarch's sealed treasure-box. Soon afterwards, the patriarch Jehuda IV. sent Joseph, as an apostle, into Cilicia, to collect the tribute, and inquire into the affairs of its congregations. In a certain city of Cilicia, he lodged close by the residence of the Christian bishop, whose acquaintance he made, and from whom he borrowed the sacred writings. The suspicion of the Jews was now aroused, while his strictness excited the enmity of their officials. They came suddenly upon him, found him reading the Gospels, dragged him into the synagogue, and would have beaten him to death, had not the bishop interposed and rescued him. However, when he would have departed from the city, another tumult arose, in which he was thrown into the river Cydrus, and supposed to be drowned. But he escaped a watery grave, and soon made a public profession of Christianity. Constantine the Great, to whose ears this story had come, and who may have enacted the edict for the protection of converts, in consequence of this and similar instances of violence, elevated Joseph to the dignity of Count, and commissioned him to build churches in certain towns of Palestine, where they had not hitherto been reared. At this stage, a somewhat rambling account is given of certain incantations, by which the Jews had tried to prevent the erection of these buildings, and of the exorcistic means by which Joseph succeeded in his plans. Probably were we better acquainted with the circumstances, we should discover a readier mode of accounting for these reverses and successes than that of supernatural agency,—the favourite and general explanation of those times for all extraordinary cases or points of difficulty. Besides the interest attaching to the

story of the conversion of Hillel and of Joseph, it is of importance to notice, that at that time, apparently, Hebrew translations of the Gospels and of other parts of the New Testament, had circulated and were secretly perused by Jews.

While the mind of the Jewish nation was thus agitated, and many inquired after the Messiah, others despaired of his coming, or sought a different deliverance. In the spirit of such doubts, the patriarch Hillel II. is said to have expressed himself at one time, that the Messiah had already come in the days of Hezekiah. This may either be a misinterpretation of a statement to the effect, that the time for his advent was already past, or it may have expressed his feelings during the stage which preceded or alternated with his Christian inquiries. However, such interpretations were disavowed by other sages. St. Chrysostom relates,¹ that in the time of Constantine the Great, the Jews made a rebellious attempt to repossess themselves of Jerusalem, in consequence of which the emperor took signal vengeance, by cutting off their ears, selling them into slavery, and obliging them to act contrary to their religious convictions. Although this story is discredited by most authors, it tallies remarkably with a Jewish account² of a certain terrible persecution under Constantine, during which even recourse to prayer and fasting was said to have been interdicted. The Jewish and the Christian account are both indistinct, and any such violent measure, which is otherwise totally inconsistent with the religious toleration enjoyed under the reign of Constantine, could only have been caused by an occurrence such as that related by Chrysostom.

Constantine was only baptized on his deathbed; and succeeded by his three sons. Two of them, Constans and Constantine, entered into a war, in which Constantine fell. In 350, Constans was routed by Magnentius, another aspirant to the purple, and slain. Magnentius was not able to maintain his position, and *Constantius* became sole emperor. It is a remarkable fact, that in measure as less of spiritual attachment to Christianity is displayed, the

¹ Homil. ii. adv. Jud.

■ Taan. viii. 6.

intolerance with which all other forms of religion are treated, becomes more bitter. Constantius, who in his conduct displayed very few, if any, Christian graces, proved a bitter enemy to the Jews, and a persecutor of all opponents of Arianism, to which he himself was attached. At first the aspect of affairs seemed promising for the Jews. While the bitterness of the Arians against the Catholics was naturally grateful to the Synagogue, and held out the prospect of detriment to the Church by internal dissensions, the doctrinal views of the Arians concerning the Lord Jesus agreed much more with those of liberal Jews than did the sentiments of the orthodox party. Many Arians who lived in Palestine were in friendly relations with the Jews. Accordingly, when at the removal of the orthodox bishop of Alexandria, Athanasius, tumults broke out, and churches were broken open, ransacked and profaned by deeds of violence and licentiousness, the Jews took, along with the Pagans and the Arians, a leading part in these disgraceful riots. Such displays of unprovoked hostility must have increased the bitterness of the Catholics against the Synagogue, and serve to account not only for expressions of unmitigated hatred on the part of some from whom other things might have been expected, but for the outbursts of actual persecution in a party which had lately pleaded, and on evangelical grounds, for religious liberty and toleration.¹ Constantius decreed the suppression of Paganism, and acted with equal rigour towards the Jews. He interdicted the reception of proselytes into the Synagogue on pain of the loss of all their possessions, and intermarriages between Jews and Christians on pain of death. Probably the political attitude of the Synagogue may have somewhat incited the emperor's resentment. Constantius was engaged in a war with the Persian monarch Sapor II., a friend of the Jews, who, at their instigation, had ordered a fearful persecution of his Christian subjects. It appears that the sages of Palestine favoured the Persian cause, in consequence of which some were exiled, and the rest afterwards threatened with capital punishment. These dangers, and the apparently increasing popular tendency against

¹ Comp. Neander's Ch. Hist. iii. pp. 47, 48.

Judaism, must have induced the Hebrews more than ordinarily to interest themselves in Sapor's success. When, in the year 350, Constantius marched against the usurper Magnentius, he had elevated his cousin Gallus to the dignity of Cæsar, and committed to his charge the affairs of the East. If at any previous period, energy and success were now required to maintain the cause of Rome against the growing Persian power. But Gallus, who only occupied himself with amusements, left the conduct of the war in the hands of the brutal Ursicinus, of infamous memory in Jewish history. Judea necessarily became the basis of the Roman operations against the Persians, and besides the hardships to which a country must, under such circumstances, be exposed, the Romans probably had the less regard for its inhabitants as the general tendency of the times was antagonistic to the Jews, and they were justly suspected of sympathizing with the enemy. Accordingly, no regard was paid to their religious scruples. Jewish bakers had to work for the Romans on Sabbaths as on other days, and, contrary to their religious ordinances, to furnish leavened bread during the feast of Passover. Unlike their ancestors, who would readily have sacrificed their lives rather than submit to such ordinances, the Rabbins found pretexts for sanctioning these violations of the law.¹ Doubtless the above were only individual instances of a general system of petty persecution, prompted by feelings of mingled contempt and hatred. In the same class we reckon also such acts, as the public burning, by command of Ursicinus, of a roll of the law destined for use in the Synagogue, which took place in the neighbourhood of Tiberias.² Such instances of lawless violence, together with the hopes inspired by the incapacity of Gallus, by the dubious contest in which Constantius was engaged with Magnentius, and by the successes of Sapor II., at last induced a general insurrection of the Jews in Palestine. Simultaneously they rose in various towns, and cut down the Romans on whom they could lay hands, without giving any quarter. The head-quarters of the rebellion was the mountain-city *Sepphoris*, or as it was then called, *Diocæsarea*, well

¹ Jer. Sheb. iv. 1; Sanh. iii. 6.

² Jer. Meg. iii. 1.

calculated by its situation, its historical character, having long been the seat of Jewish learning, and its almost exclusively Jewish population, to be the general rendezvous of the rebels. By some the Jewish leader is called *Patricius*, perhaps a corruption of the word *patriarchus*.¹ But the success of the Jews was brief. Constantius sent fresh legions into Judea—Sepphoris was levelled with the ground, Tiberias, Lydda, and other cities were partially destroyed. Fearful atrocities were committed by way of revenge. Neither age nor sex was spared—thousands were slain or sold into slavery. The inhabitants of Sepphoris suffered most severely, and all attempts to evade death by disguise or flight proved unavailing. Many seem to have spent considerable time in subterranean passages and in caves,² where the piety of their friends supplied them with the necessaries of life. In consequence of this rising, many of the former edicts were renewed. The Jews were again interdicted from approaching Jerusalem,³ from preparing for the celebration of the feasts, or disposing of things necessary for their religious observances—in short, the functions of the sages, and the practice of religious ceremonies were forbidden. The condition of the Jews did not improve by the death of Gallus in 354. In fact, Constantius seems to have intended imposing new and exorbitant taxes on the Jewish population of the empire, when death deprived him of the power of oppression.

Under the reign of Constantius, the celebrated Jewish convert Epiphanius was bishop of Constantia in the isle of Cyprus. The history of that pious ecclesiastic, who took a leading part in some of the stirring controversies of his times, has been encumbered with so many legendary additions, by his two devoted pupils John and Polybius,⁴ that it is often difficult to separate the real from its apocryphal embellishments. Epiphanius was born of Jewish parents in the village of Bezanduca in Palestine. His mother, early left a widow, was sometimes reduced to great straits. On some such occasion, when her son was commissioned to part with some of her property, he was for the first time

¹ Aurelius Victor.

² Gen. Rabba c. 31.

³ Basnage, iv. p. 1254.

⁴ In the works of Epiphanius, ed. Petavii, vol. i. pp. 318. &c.

brought into contact with Christians. Though apparently arrested by what his biographers describe as a miracle, he continued a Jew. By and by a rich coreligionist, who had known his parents, adopted and instructed him with the intention of uniting him to his only daughter. When soon afterwards the bride, and then her father died, Epiphanius found himself sole heir to large property. On a visit to some of his possessions, he met a monk, whose charity (miraculously rewarded, as it is said,) so impressed him, that he resolved to become a Christian; an example which his sister, who lived with him, followed. Perhaps the influence of a maternal aunt, who seems to have been a Christian woman, may have long been secretly exerted, and much contributed to this change. After a short course of instruction, Epiphanius and his sister were brought to Church, and when the bishop noticed how the faces of the catechumens lit up during the reading of the Scriptures, he immediately baptized them. Epiphanius was thoroughly in earnest, and was, at least to some extent, a subject of spiritual training, although hitherto his imagination fully as much as his understanding seems to have been engaged with the new doctrine, of which to some extent he had felt the power and beneficent effect on his heart. The peculiar mode in which his attention was first attracted, the influence of his monastic teacher, and the direction which the Christianity of the time generally took, produced their lasting effects on the young Jewish convert. Immediately after his baptism, he disposed of all his possessions, and became a monk. But Epiphanius had to pass through severe spiritual trials, in order to be fitted for the service for which he was destined. In Egypt he was brought into contact with some of the Gnostic sects, and had almost joined them. No doubt they possessed the means of powerfully working upon the imagination of the young and partially instructed monk. To his keen sense of the danger from which he was there rescued, must be ascribed much of the ardour and zeal with which, in later years, he combated every approximation to this or other heresies, and his perhaps excessive horror of the school of Origen, whose allegorical and rationalistic interpretations and system had,

in his opinion, given rise to most heresies. On his return from Egypt, Epiphanius founded a monastery near his native place. About the year 368 he was set apart as metropolitan of Constantia, in the Isle of Cyprus. His teaching and conversation amongst that large and influential mercantile community gained him the respect of all, and spread his fame throughout the Christian world.¹ Such was his authority, that in 382 he was summoned by the emperor to Rome to give his opinion on a cause in dispute. Soon afterwards, he entered into a controversy with John, Bishop of Jerusalem, and his party, who were zealous partizans of the school of Origen. An occurrence in itself trivial here displays the character of the aged bishop, both in its favourable and unfavourable aspects. Important, indeed, must the matters in dispute have appeared, which, in 394, called the aged Epiphanius from his diocese to his native land. In a church, near Jerusalem, he observed some curtain bearing a representation (either of Christ, or of some saint.) He instantly tore it, denouncing the use of pictures, and at the same time recommending the use of cloth for charitable deeds rather than for ceremonial observances. However well meant, and even right, the violence of this act excited general indignation, and Epiphanius had to send another curtain to the church, with the admonition in future not to use it in a manner so contrary to the Christian faith. In Jerusalem, his controversies with the bishop and his party were of the most exciting and painful character. John of Jerusalem professed to be a discriminating admirer of the writings of Origen; but the conduct of that party did not always tally with their professions. Epiphanius preached in Jerusalem against the Origenistic school. John and his clergy not only interrupted the sermon by laughter and grimaces, but ultimately ordered him to stop. On another occasion the Bishop of Jerusalem took the start of Epiphanius when the latter was about to preach, and in the pulpit virtually accused him of holding some heresy. Epiphanius publicly denounced the opinions charged against him, but insisted on the need of equally disclaiming

¹ Comp. Cave's *Histor. Liter.*, p. 147.

those of Origen. These unseemly dissensions could serve no good purpose. Accordingly, Epiphanius retired to Bethlehem, where the monks supported his views. There he committed the ecclesiastical indiscretion of ordaining one of their number, the brother of Saint Jerome. An angry correspondence ensued in consequence of this interference with the affairs of John's diocese. Other trials yet awaited Epiphanius. The Bishop of Alexandria had, apparently from personal motives, ejected certain monks, on pretext of their adherence to the doctrines of Origen. These found an asylum at Constantinople, where the celebrated John Chrysostom worthily filled the office of bishop. Instigated by the Bishop of Alexandria, who, by false representations, excited the fears of the too credulous old man, Epiphanius summoned a synod of the Cyprian bishops, at which the doctrines of Origen were condemned. Copies of this resolution were sent to all parts, amongst others also to Chrysostom. Not satisfied with this demonstration, Epiphanius so far yielded to the Bishop of Alexandria as to go in person to Constantinople to summon a synod against Chrysostom. He refused to hold communion with that bishop till he had formally condemned the doctrines of Origen, and consented to the expulsion of the heretical Egyptian monks. Chrysostom indignantly refused, and probably retorted by reproaches against Epiphanius' unwarrantable interference in the affairs of another diocese. However, Epiphanius was not supported by the court, and abruptly left Constantinople without even waiting for the meeting of the synod. From some expressions, we might almost infer that the honest old man had begun to doubt the purity of the cause.

Epiphanius died on board the ship which was to convey him to Cyprus, in the 100th year of his age, revered and beloved by all but his theological opponents. He has left some works,¹ of which the principal contains a detailed account of the various heresies. He was well acquainted with the Hebrew, Syriac,

¹ Both the genuine and the spurious works of Epiphanius are found in the edition of Petavius. Neander (Church Hist. vol. iv., pp. 450 & 458) has scarcely done justice to this Father.

Egyptian, Greek, and Latin languages, and otherwise possessed considerable erudition. But he was exceedingly credulous, and, though his genuine piety generally kept him right, he was ever ready to arrive at sweeping conclusions, or to be betrayed into a course of action which often exhibited more of rashness and enthusiasm than of meekness and wisdom. He closed his earthly career in 402.

The Jewish patriarchate in Palestine had continued, in spite of the numerous migrations of Rabbins to Babylon, in consequence of the persecutions under the reign of Constantius. During the reign of that emperor it was occupied by Jehuda IV., who was in turn succeeded by Hillel III., who flourished under the reign of Julian the Apostate. This emperor, the cousin and successor of Constantius, had, during his extended intercourse with heathen philosophers, imbibed their principles, and been long secretly addicted to the ancient superstition. Probably the religious constraint under which he had for a time to live, together with the palpable inconsistencies and the manifest hypocrisy of many who professed Christianity, may have deepened his aversion to the religion of Jesus. After his accession to the empire, he openly renounced the faith, and attempted to substitute in its place a kind of rationalistic heathenism. Had he lived long enough, he would probably have openly persecuted the creed against which, during the period of his reign, all his influence was indirectly exerted. The virtues and alleged moderation of Julian are greatly exaggerated by writers opposed to Christianity. Julian professed himself a warm friend of the Jews. In a letter (still extant) addressed to them, he repeals and disowns all persecuting or oppressive edicts, and promises the restoration of Jerusalem and its Temple. He also offers advice as to the best means of promoting their cause, and calls upon his "brother, the venerable patriarch, Julos or Hillel," to relinquish the oppressive tribute which had hitherto been paid to him by the Jews in all parts of the Roman empire. In conclusion, he asks the Jews to pray for his success in the Persian war, upon which he was about to enter. Julian hastened to perform what he had

promised. He despatched a former governor of Britain, Alypius, to Jerusalem, with commission immediately to rebuild the Temple. Neither trouble nor expense were to be spared, and the civic authorities of the country were in every way to assist in this good work. It is difficult to understand the emperor's special motives for such an undertaking. No doubt he preferred Judaism to Christianity, but he cannot have approved of its text-book; the Scriptures of the Old Testament. He may have hoped to convert the Christians more readily to Judaism than to paganism; or he may have hoped, in the restoration of the Temple, to gainsay the Lord's prophecy of its desolation, (forgetful that it had long ago been fulfilled;) or he may have entertained a general veneration for the Deity of the Jews; or been anxious in this respect also to prosecute his general policy of restoring the old forms of religion; or all these motives together may have influenced his conduct. Although many Jews had emigrated to Babylon, and were hence unable, and perhaps, from peculiar views, unwilling to assist in the undertaking, the vast majority were enthusiastic in their support of this sacred labour. However, while the workmen were engaged in clearing away the ruins, volumes of fire burst forth from the subterranean vaults. Panic seized those intrusted with the labour, and it was suspended at least till further orders, or Julian's return from the Persian war. Whatever may have been the proximate cause of these eruptions—whether purely natural or primarily supernatural—it proved, in the providence of God, the most effectual answer to the blasphemies of the opponents of Christianity, and the most palpable confirmation of the Lord's prediction.

Julian was equally unsuccessful in the Persian war. Although his heathen friends vaunted, that from his piety he ought, by the help of the gods, to conquer even without the assistance of his army, he neither reached the capital of the Persian empire, nor even obtained any success, but was soon killed in a skirmish, (363.) He is said to have died with this blasphemous sentence on his lips,¹—"Thou hast overcome, O Galilean!"

¹ *Vide* Neander's Ch. Hist., vol. iii. p. 95.

Although Julian had interested himself so much in the Jews of Palestine, their brethren of Babylon appear to have sided with his enemies. Perhaps they inferred that this patronage of Judaism would only be temporary. More probably they preferred Persian to Roman domination. Besides, the Babylonian sages had, in the interest of their schools, begun to depreciate the mother-country, to claim a superior dignity for their citizens, and even to declare that only the dregs of the population had originally returned with Ezra to Palestine.

With the death of Julian, vanished the hopes of the Jews in Palestine. They had looked forward to a speedy national restoration, of which, they considered the favours which they enjoyed under Julian, as merely the preparation. Already they had begun to pull down Christian churches, and threatened to take full revenge, when the unexpected demise of Julian once more put an end to these unhallowed anticipations. The Roman empire was now fast approaching its dissolution. Speedily the barbarian nations which on every side menaced its boundaries, covered it like a devastating flood, and swept away all its ancient landmarks. At Julian's death, the soldiers proclaimed Jovian, a Christian, emperor. But he died before reaching Constantinople, and was succeeded by Valentinian I. (elected also by the soldiers,) and by Valens—the former connected with the Catholic, the latter with the Arian party. Although on the whole rigorous, Valentinian was, in matters of belief, as liberal and tolerant as his colleague was narrow-minded and persecuting. He promulgated an edict, which granted full liberty to all parties, (371.) During the reign of the successors of these princes, the Goths, Huns, and Vandals successively possessed themselves of portions of the empire, and dictated terms of peace to the feeble emperors. The Jews of that period, who witnessed the terrible successes of the Goths, declared them to be Gog and Magog, spoken of in prophecy,¹ and contrasted the apparent permanence of Israel with the passing away of other nations.² In the meantime, the explanations of the Mishna,

¹ Hieron. Quæst. Hebr. in Gen. ; Jer. Meg. i. 11.

■ Midr. in Ps. 36.

and the legal traditions current in the colleges of Palestine, had been collected about the beginning of the fourth century, and immediately after the decline of these colleges. It was natural, that when the living authorities had passed away, such attempts should have been made to preserve their teaching, and thus to perpetuate an influence which could no longer be claimed by their successors. These collections formed the basis of what is now known as the Jerusalem Talmud. It is impossible to ascertain the name of the principal compiler of these collections. Tradition names Rabbi Jochanan, but the indications are too uncertain to admit of any satisfactory conclusion.

The Jewish patriarch, and his successors, had felt the necessity of relinquishing the last prerogative of their office,—the arrangement of the calendar, and with it the fixing of the period for the feasts. Instead of the former method of communicating the arrangements of the calendar, a new and scientific method of adjusting the lunar with the solar year, had been adopted, the principles of which have proved so correct, that it has not since undergone alteration. However, this act of the patriarch did not meet with the approbation of the sages, who wrote to the various congregations exhorting them to continue the observance of *two* feast-days, as had been enacted under different circumstances,—an arrangement which still prevails. Hillel III. was succeeded in the patriarchate by Gamaliel V., with whom the supreme spiritual office in Palestine ceased. He lived during the reign of Theodosius the Great, and his immediate successors. Theodosius I., the son of a celebrated general of the same name, was the only one apparently capable of maintaining for a time the dignity and integrity of the empire. He not only tolerated, but as far as possible defended the rights of the synagogue against the lawlessness of an increasing fanaticism. An edict protected the synagogue from every interference with its internal administration, and allowed the Jews to choose for themselves judges and magistrates.¹ When the Roman governor Hesychius committed an act of violence against the patriarch, he decided in

¹ Cod. Theodos. L. xvi. t. 8. sect. 8.

favour of the latter, and condemned Hesychius to death. But frequently the fanaticism of the rabble vented itself in acts of violence, which, encouraged and vindicated by eminent prelates, could not easily be put down even by the arm of the law. The first recorded instance of this kind happened during the short occupation of Italy by the rebel Maximus. Some Christians in Rome had set fire to the Jewish synagogue, when Maximus ordered the senate to have it restored. St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, highly indignant at the protection afforded to enemies of the Church, and the discouragement of what he considered Christian zeal, predicted the speedy downfall of the government of Maximus on account of this sin. A similar occurrence shortly afterwards took place in Northern Mesopotamia; the incendiaries in this case being monks, and their leader the diocesan Callinicus. Theodosius ordered the bishop to rebuild the synagogue. But here also St. Ambrose came forward, again to vindicate a conduct so little in accordance with the religion which he taught. In his letter to the emperor,¹ he violently attacked this edict, represented its dangerous consequences to Christianity, and declared, that had not God himself in His providence destroyed the synagogue of Milan, he would have felt it his duty to have lent a hand at so pious a work. We see here a manifestation of the spirit which afterwards led even conscientious, though narrow-minded and unenlightened men, to use similar means for conversion to what they deemed truth. From the violent fanaticism which animated one of the most celebrated bishops of his time, it is easy to infer the general spirit which prevailed among clergy and laity. Theodosius had to recall his edict, but enjoined the magistrates to protect the Jews in their worship, and severely to punish all who offered them any violence. Theodosius left the empire to his two sons. Honorius reigned in the west, and Arcadius in the east. The latter was succeeded by Theodosius II. These emperors at first extended the same protection as their father to the Jews. They went even farther. They wrote expressly to prevent all interference in the affairs of

¹ Athanas. Epist. 29.

the Jews, to protect Jewish dignitaries, and to exempt them from all public burdens. But in 399, Honorius forbade the payment of tribute to the patriarch of Tiberias, and ordered that what had already been collected, should be paid into the imperial treasury. However, this order seems not to have been issued upon religious grounds, and was repealed in 404. Perhaps it arose from the peculiar relations between the west and the east. Both emperors were wholly under the sway of their respective prime ministers, whose mutual jealousies and intrigues embroiled the empire in much more serious difficulties than that connected with the Jewish tribute. In 412, Honorius issued an edict, conceived in a very tolerant spirit, by which he exempted Jews on Sabbaths and feast-days from attendance at courts of law.

In the eastern empire, laws were framed in a different spirit. Theodosius II. interdicted the Jews from building new synagogues, from judging in causes between Jews and Christians, from possessing Christian slaves, &c. The patriarch Gamaliel V., who was specially distinguished for his medical lore,¹ received at first some marks of distinction from the emperor, but was speedily reminded of his real position in the empire. Presuming perhaps on supposed favours, the patriarch had broken some of the imperial edicts, by building synagogues, &c. In consequence of this, he was in 415 deprived of all his honours. With his death terminated the Palestinian patriarchate about the year 425. Jews were gradually excluded from holding public offices; and to increase the pressure which now bore them down, it was enacted, (429,) that the tribute formerly paid to the patriarch should, according to accurate calculations, be in future levied on all Jews, and paid into the imperial treasury. About the same time, the Vandal-King Genseric, carried amongst other spoils of his triumph in Italy, the sacred vessels of the Jewish temple from Rome to Africa. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that the studies which had so long been successfully prosecuted in Palestine, were not suddenly relinquished, but gradually ceased. Accordingly, some Jewish teachers out of

¹ Marcellus, *Empir.* c. 27.

² *Evagrii fragm.* iv. 17.

Palestine were still wont fondly to appeal to the authority of the sages of Tiberias. But there the study of the Hagada, and even that in most fanciful form, had long taken the place of the more sober pursuits of the Halacha. Amongst the Hagadic authorities of that time, Rabbi Tanchuma bar Abba is specially named, to whom an elaborate commentary is ascribed which, however, dates from a later period. At the same time the study of the Hebrew began to be cultivated by many Christian ecclesiastics. In this they encountered considerable difficulties, as the synagogue had interdicted all intercourse with the church. Thus Jerome, (a celebrated ecclesiastical writer,) who was conversant not only with the Hebrew language, but also with Jewish traditions and modes of interpretation, could only in secret procure instructions in Hebrew from Jewish Rabbins. These studies and aids assisted him in the composition of the Latin translation of the Bible, well known as the "Vulgate," and still in use. Another mark of the literary activity of that period, was the invention of the Hebrew vowel-points and accents, together with the fixed division of verses and sentences, and the establishment of other rules, known as the *Massora*. For this important assistance in our study of the Bible in the original, we are indebted to the sages of Tiberias, though history has not preserved the name or names of those who first wrote them down. Probably they were gradually drawn up according to well-remembered traditions from great Rabbins. Although the Church owed so much to the Jews, the state of feeling too general at that period towards them was probably accurately expressed in a statement of Jerome,—“If it is requisite,” says that Father in self-vindication, “to hate individuals or a nation, I own that I detest the Jews with inexpressible hatred; for to this day they curse our Lord in their synagogues.”¹ A strange inference, certainly, from such premises!

The troubles to which the Jews were increasingly exposed kept alive their desire for the promised Deliverer, and as time passed on more of earnest expectation was awakened. Accor-

¹ Hieron. Adv. Ruf. ii.

dingly several calculations were made, one of which fixed the appearance of the Messiah for the year 440.¹ Several Rabbins felt it indeed a necessary measure of prudence to add certain cautions, so as to moderate an ardour which was doomed to continual disappointment. Such a state of mind encouraged the pretensions of deceivers and false Messiahs. One of these appeared in the Isle of Crete (in 436), and after having for a year gone through the island, persuading the Jews that like Moses he would lead them dry-shod through the sea to Palestine, he at last assembled them to commence the Exodus. On a given signal, the deceived people threw themselves from a promontory into the sea, expecting that its waves would part. Happily a number of fishermen with boats were at hand, and succeeded in rescuing most. The deceiver himself disappeared, and the greater number of the Jews in Crete joined the Church. But scenes of a different character also took place. It seems to have been customary amongst the Jews, during the somewhat riotous festivities of Purim (the feast of Esther), when their minds were elated, to pour special contempt upon Christianity, and particularly, instead of publicly hanging Haman on a gallows, to nail him to a cross, with a too manifest allusion to their own national sin. These blasphemous provocations led often to riot and bloodshed, and required the serious interference of the authorities. Specially had the Jews, in the neighbourhood of Antioch, carried these provocations so far as (in 415) to affix a Christian child to a cross, and to scourge him to death. A fight now ensued between the Jews and the Christians. The emperor ordered the perpetrators of this murder to be severely punished. However, this did not allay the irritation. Years after this occurrence, the populace pillaged and burnt down the synagogue. The governor himself felt so much the injustice and lawlessness of this popular rising, that on his representation the emperor ordered full reparation to be made. But one of those fanatical monks, who at that time stood so high in popular veneration for the supposed superior sanctity connected with their

¹ Seb. 19, a.

mortification of the flesh, *Simeon*, surnamed *Stylites* from having spent the greater part of his life on the top of a column by way of penance, expressly wrote to the emperor expostulating on the subject. The weak Theodosius not only revoked his edict, but even deposed the governor of Antioch, who had advocated the cause of the Jews. An occurrence still more unprovoked took place in Alexandria, where the ambitious, narrow-minded, and cunning Cyrill—a man so unfavourably known in ecclesiastical history for his misrepresentations of and intrigues against Nestorius—occupied the episcopal throne. From what we know of his general character, we can be at no loss to understand why he so frequently came into conflict with the governor Orestes, nor did he ever scruple to use any means for accomplishing his own purposes. It so happened that owing to the frequent contentions between the fanatical adherents of Cyrill and the Jews, Orestes felt it necessary to affix some police-regulations in a place where public amusements were wont to be held. No sooner did the Jews discover amongst those who read—and perhaps commented on—these regulations, Hierax, one of Cyrill's most zealous followers, than they exclaimed that he had only come for the purpose of exciting a tumult. Orestes, who must have had some ground for believing this statement to be correct, caused Hierax to be arrested and severely punished. Immediately Cyrill summoned the chief of the Jews, and threatened them with fearful vengeance. Driven to desperation, the Jews, in self-defence, leagued against the Christians, agreeing upon some mark by which they might recognise each other. During the night they raised the cry that the principal church was in flames. From all quarters of the town did the unarmed Christians hasten to assist in extinguishing, as they supposed, the flames. The Jews then surrounded them and a murderous fight ensued. Day separated and revealed the combatants. Cyrill then immediately put himself at the head of a band, burnt down the synagogue, pillaged the houses, killed many, and expelled all the Jews from the city. Orestes, indignant at the conduct of Cyrill, to whose interference

he ascribed the whole tumult, reported the matter to the emperor. But before a reply could arrive, the furious bishop took justice into his own hands. At his instigation, a multitude of frenzied fanatical monks poured into the city, surrounded and insulted, and one of them, Ammonius, severely wounded, Orestes in the head. The Alexandrians hastened to the spot. Ammonius was secured and tortured to death. Cyrill caused him to be buried in pomp, preached a funeral oration, and extolled Ammonius as a martyr. Finding that the more moderate of his own friends did not approve of his proceedings, he now disavowed them, and hypocritically tried to make peace with Orestes. When the governor refused, the incensed followers of Cyrill went so far as to wreak their vengeance on the celebrated, beautiful, and highly accomplished Hypatia, whom they suspected of having prevented a reconciliation, actually tore her to pieces, and burnt her remains. Another, although happily a different event, which occurred about the same time, deserves to be recorded. The bishop, Severus, the principal actor in it, has in his account so mixed up the fabulous with the true, that it is almost impossible to relate it without exaggeration. On the island of Minorca, of which Severus was the bishop, lived a small but respectable community of Jews, whose leader was Theodosius. The arrival in the island of the supposed relics of St. Stephen, roused the zeal of the bishop, and of the inhabitants of Minorca, who, in the absence of other objects, resolved on a wholesale conversion of the Jews, partly by the spiritual means of prayer, of hymns, and of argumentation, but chiefly by the application of a little temporal force. The Jews had indeed prepared for resistance, but were unequal to the contest. The synagogue was burnt down, and partly by admonitions, partly by threats, partly by promises, partly by the force of example and of necessity—a few perhaps from better motives—all the Jewish inhabitants of Crete, 450 in number, professed their adherence to Christianity. Severus in communicating this triumph, takes occasion to admonish others to follow the same example, and promises them a similar success.

Thus the dark clouds of persecution were once more gathering on the horizon. The storm of heathen violence had indeed passed away, but the much more terrible and prolonged tempest of mediæval persecution was impending. Palestine was now deserted—its Jewish inhabitants had forsaken it—its sages were gone—its colleges were closed—its synagogues dilapidated or destroyed—its last patriarch had deceased. Henceforth the holy and beautiful land was forgotten, except in the tearful remembrance of past glory, or in the deep and earnest longing for future delivery—forsaken except by the weary foot of the pilgrim, who loved to kiss the holy ground, or by the armies who vainly contended for its possession. Israel had another Exodus, with its bitter herbs, and unleavened bread, and staff of wandering, and wilderness of suffering and death, but without its Paschal Lamb, its Moses, its tabernacle, and its God. But amidst all its untold sufferings, in all the lands of the dispersion, the song of wailing was still heard on the 9th of Ab from all Israel, and on the night of the Passover still rose the prayer of hope from every heart and dwelling.

APPENDIX.

I.

JEWISH CALENDAR.

DAYS.

1. NISAN.

Spring Equinox, end of March or beginning of April.

1. Beginning of the month.
14. The preparation for the Passover.
- 15 and 16. Feast of Passover.
- 21 and 22. Close of the Passover.

2. IJAR.

1. Beginning of the month.
18. Lag-be-Omer, or the 33d day in Omer, *i.e.*, from the presentation of the first ripe sheaf offered on the 2d day of the Passover, or the 16th of Nisan.

3. SIVAN.

1. Beginning of the month.
- 6 and 7. Feast of Pentecost, or of Weeks—7 Weeks or 50 days after the beginning of the Passover, when the first-fruits (specially of wheat) were presented; commemorative also of the giving of the Law on Mount Sinai.

4. THAMUS.

1. Beginning of the month.
17. Fast; taking of Jerusalem on the 9th by Nebuchadnezzar, and on the 17th by Titus. If the 17th occurs on a Sabbath, the Fast is kept on the day following.

DAYS.

5. AB.

1. Beginning of the month.
9. Fast—threefold Destruction of the Temple.

6. ELUL.

1. Beginning of the month.

7. TISHRI, beginning of civil year.

- 1 and 2. New-year's Feast.
3. Fast for the murder of Gedaliah.
10. Day of Atonement. Great Fast.
- 15 and 16. Feast of Tabernacles.
22. Close of the above.
23. Feast on the annual completion of the Reading of the Law in the Synagogue.

8. MARCHESHVAN OR CHESHVAN.

1. Beginning of the month.

9. KISLEV.

1. Beginning of the month.
25. Feast of the Dedication of the Temple, or of Candles, in remembrance of the Restoration of the Temple after the victory gained by Judas Maccabeus (B.C. 148) over the Syrians.

10. TEBETH.

1. Beginning of the month.
10. Fast on account of the Siege of Jerusalem.

11. SHEBAT.

1. Beginning of the month.

12. ADAR.

1. Beginning of the month.
13. Fast of Esther. If it fall on a Sabbath, kept on the Thursday preceding.
14. Purim, or Feast of Haman.
15. Purim Proper.

II.

THE WISDOM OF BEN SIRA.

THE following quotations from the Proverbs of Ben Sira occur in Jewish writings.¹ We add references to the edition of that work amongst our Apocrypha:—

1. Honour the physician before you require his aid. (Wisd. of Sir. xxxviii. 1.)

2. "Be not anxious about the sufferings of the morrow, for thou knowest not what a day may bring forth." Perhaps thou mayest no longer exist on the morrow, and so have felt anxiety about a world in which thou canst no longer claim a portion.

3. God has caused herbs to spring forth; with these the physician heals the wound, and from them the apothecary prepares his drugs. (xxxviii. 4, 8.)

4. Three things are contrary to all reason; a proud beggar, a rich man who denies it (lives and acts as if he were poor), and an old man who commits adultery. (xxv. 3, 4.)

5. A good wife is a good gift; such is granted to him who fears the Lord. A bad wife is leprosy to her husband; let him divorce her and he will be cured of his leprosy. (xxvi.)

6. A beautiful woman—happy is her husband, the number of his days is doubled. (*ut supra*.)

7. Seek not after things which are higher than thou; speculate not about things which are stronger than thou; seek not to know what is more elevated than thou; inquire not for that which is concealed from thee; consider only what is granted to thee, and engage not thyself with secret things. (iii. 21).

8. Before you vow, consider the vow. (xviii. 23.)

9. The children of men resemble the herbs of the field—some flourish and some wither.

¹ These proverbs have several times been collated; I have partly followed the arrangement of Delitzsch and partly that of Dukes.

10. My son, if thou have any possessions, do good to thyself, for the grave admits not of pleasure, nor death of delay. If thou say, I will leave all to my son, who will in the grave declare to thee the law?

11. A daughter is a deceptive treasure to her father; he cannot sleep for care of her. When she is young, she may be seduced; when she has become a maid, she may go astray; when she is grown up, she may remain unmarried; when she is married, she may remain childless; when she is old, she may commit witchcraft. (xlii. 9.)

12. He who blows into the cup is not thirsty. If any person says, What shall I eat to my bread? take away the bread from him.

13. The glory of God is man, the glory of man is his dress.

14. Have you a piece of coal before you? blow and it will burn, spit on it and it will be extinguished.

15. A man with a thin beard is clever, with a thick beard a fool.

16. The world is dark (Life is dreary) to him who depends on the table of another. (xl. 30.)

17. "All the days of the poor are evil," and also his nights. His roof lies lower than the roofs of others, and their rain-water flows upon his; his vineyard lies high above those of others, and the earth from his vineyard rolls down on theirs.

18. Any anguish save that of the soul; any evil save an evil wife.

19. Do not pray when you are excited.

20. Everything have I weighed in the balances, nor have I found aught more light than chaff, yet more light than chaff is the bridegroom who lives in the house of his father-in-law; yet more light than such bridegroom the guest who brings along with him another guest; yet more light than such a guest he who returns an answer before he has fully heard the speech.

21. Turn away thine eyes from a fair woman, lest thou be caught in her snare. Go not to her husband to drink with him wine or spirituous liquors; for by the appearance of a fair woman

many have been ruined, "yea, many strong have been slain by her." (ix. 8.)

22. Every bird keeps by its kind, so man also by his equal. (xiii. 15; xxvii. 9.)

23. Pull not the skin of a fish over its ears lest the skin be spoiled, but fry it and eat it between two cakes.

24. The heart of man changes his countenance both for good and for evil.

25. The whole world cannot prevail over one whose beard is divided (ranged into two peaks, not smooth flowing.)

26. Keep many from coming to thy house, and do not introduce every one into it.

27. An old man in a house is a good sign of a house.

28. "Exalt her (knowledge), and she shall promote thee," and set thee among princes. (xi. 1.)

29. Many will ask concerning thy welfare, but discover thy secret to only one in a thousand, and "keep the doors of thy mouth from her that lieth in thy bosom." (vi. 6.)

30. Many are the wounds occasioned by the hawk; they lead to sinful beginnings, as the spark kindles the coal; as the cage is full of birds, so are their houses of deceit.

31. The life of three classes is no life at all; of him who depends on the table of another, over whom his wife ruleth, and who is afflicted with bodily ailment. (xxx. 17.)

32. Three things I hate, and four things I love not: a prince who frequents drinking-houses; him who takes up his seat in the high places of the town; . . .¹ and him who suddenly enters the house of his neighbour.

33. Listen, sir, to my words, and incline thine ear to my speech. Give up quarrels with thy neighbours; and if thou hast descried any ill in thy friend, let it not pass over thy lips, as tale-bearing.

We add such parts of the alphabets of Ben Sira as can well be translated:—

¹ We have purposely here omitted a clause.

FIRST, OR CHALDEE ALPHABET OF BEN SIRA.¹

1. Allow care no place in thy heart, for many has care slain ;
(in another passage the same is said of grief.)
2. Let a son, who does not conduct himself as a son, swim
away on the waters ; (leave him to himself.)
3. Pick the bone which has fallen to thy share, whether it
be good or bad.
4. Gold requires to be beaten ; and a boy requires chastise-
ment.
5. Be good, and withdraw not thine hand from him who is
good.
6. Woe to the wicked, and woe to his companions.
7. Cast thy bread on the waters, or cast it on dry land, at
last thou will find it again.
8. Hast thou seen a black donkey ? Neither a black nor a
white one, (Do not be inveigled in matters of which you are
ignorant.)
9. Do not good to the evil (person), and evil will not be done
thee.
10. To a wise man a nod, to a fool a kick.
11. He who honours a person that despises him, is like an ass.
12. One burning light sets fire to many fields of corn.
13. You must run a hundred times to a good, and one hun-
dred thousand times to a bad cautioner.
14. Separate your table, and quarrels will cease.
15. May good sons fall to thy lot, if thou art obliged to carry
on business.
16. If your goods are at hand, you may eat of them ; if they
are at a distance, they will eat you.
17. Deny not an old friend.
18. You may have sixty counsellors, but do not give up your
own counsel.
19. Always appear to be full, and not to have been hungry,
and afterwards to have become full.

¹ We have purposely omitted one of the proverbs.

SECOND, OR HEBREW ALPHABET OF BEN SIRA.¹

1. Woe to him who follows his eyes, although he knows that they are the children of seduction, and that he will gain nothing by them.

2. Every person likes male children, but alas for the parent of daughters!

3. Keep at a distance from a bad woman, who by her tongue rules over thee; for a bad woman is like to rabid dogs. Her gates are only closed even when she talks mildly.

4. Withdraw thy countenance from evil companions; "walk not in the way with them; refrain thy foot from their path," lest thou be caught in their snare.

5. My son, conceal thy money during thy life; keep it secret, and give it not to thine heirs till the day of thy death. (xxxiii. 20, 24.)

6. Procure property, a good wife who fears the Lord, and increase thy children—even though they were a hundred.

7. Withdraw from bad neighbours, and be not reckoned one of their company, "for their feet run to evil, and make haste to shed blood." But still have pity on thy companions, even if they are wicked, and give them part of thy food, for they will bear witness for thee when thou standest in the judgment.

8. Gain gold and goods, but tell not thy wife where they are, even although she be a good wife.

 III.

ALEXANDRIAN JEWISH POETRY.

A few specimens from the drama "The Exodus," by Ezekiel, a Jewish poet who flourished the century before Christ, will sufficiently indicate its cast. Both its poetry and versification

¹ We have omitted three proverbs belonging to the second alphabet, as being more or less unfit for translation.

are second-rate. In the first fifty-nine lines, Moses is introduced conversing with Zipporah, to whom he describes the fate of Israel in Egypt and his own history. He questions her about the seven virgins whom he sees in her company.

ZIPPORAH.

This country, stranger, all around is Lybia call'd,
The many tribes and families that people it
Are Ethiopians all. But he that rules the land,
Their lord and leader too—yon city owns his sway;
Their holy priest, himself, who settleth all disputes—
He, parent is to me, and parent is to those.

Then follows a description of the watering of the flock, of the marriage of Moses and Zipporah, and a fragment of a dialogue between the latter and Choum. In another fragment, Moses relates to his father-in-law a dream.

MOSES.

Upon the highest mountain-top appeared to stand
So vast a throne it reached to heaven's very vault,
On it a glorious being seated I beheld,
Array'd with diadem. His left a sceptre held,
And with his right hand stretched out he beckon'd me.
Obedient I advanced before this glorious throne;
The sceptre he held out to me, and on his throne
He bade me sit, Himself descending from its height;
Then on my brow he placed a kingly diadem.
Anon I see around me all the world extend:
Beneath, the earth lies stretch'd; above, the vast expanse,
And now the host of stars lies prostrate at my feet.
When I assay'd to count the number of that host
Before me, lo! like soldiers marshall'd they pass on—
But at this wondrous sight, and filled with fear, I wake.

In another fragment, Moses is introduced as standing before the burning bush.

MOSES.

Ah! what portends to me that sign in yonder bush,
How marvellous it is, and passing credence. Lo!

How suddenly the flames envelop it about,
And yet withal its growth uncheck'd, and fresh and green
It stands. How that ? I will advance, and see myself
This greatest wonder, far surpassing all belief.

GOD.

Stand back ! oh, bravest man, and hither venture not
Without adoring. Loose the shoes from off thy feet,
The trembling ground on which thou standest, holy is.
The Word Divine sends forth His rays from yonder bush !
Take courage, O my son ! and hear the word I speak.
In vain would any mortal seek to see my face,
But thou shalt be allowed to hear what purposes
Divine I have conceived—to tell them I've come down.
Behold, of those thou callest fathers I am Lord,
Of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, God.
I still remember them, and for my mercy's sake
I come to save the Hebrews, whom I claim as mine ;
My servants they—their ills and sorrow I behold.
But go thou forth, the gracious tidings carry first
To them, declaring to thy brethren what to thee I speak,
Then tell their king, that I their God commit to thee
Thyself to lead my people forth from yonder land.

Then follow Moses' objections, God's commission to Aaron, and the gift of the rod, whose wonder-working powers are described at great length. We close our extracts with a description of the drowning of Pharaoh's army in the Red Sea, as given by an escaped Egyptian.

MESSENGER.

When from his palace Egypt's king went proudly forth,
And with him all the host with weapons thousand-fold,
With horsemen grim ; four steeds each heavy chariot drew,
Each party led by captain and subordinate,
How terrible appear'd the army thus led forth !
The centre infantry in phalanx close had form'd
The parts where en'mies might be near'd with chariots flank'd,
And all around the host of Egypt was array'd
Both to the left and right with horsemen grim.
Would you compute the number of this mighty host ?

An hundred times ten thousand valiant men were there.
 We march'd, and soon in front the Hebrew camp appear'd :
 Along the beach of th' Erythrean sea we saw
 In groups recumbent some, engaged in converse sweet,
 While others, way-worn and exhausted, still supplied
 The wants of tender children, or of weary wives ;
 The household goods lie scattered here, there cattle graze :
 But when unarmed they beheld our marching host
 Prepared for battle, they lift up a weeping voice,
 Together all to heaven look, and to their God
 They loudly cry—How large that Hebrew host !
 But joyful confidence fill'd each Egyptian's heart.
 Advancing still, we pitch'd our camp against their camp,
 Where Beelziphon rears its walls and towers high.
 Anon where Titan Helios sheds a fav'ring light,
 'Gainst them an early battle we propose to wage,
 Confiding in our host with weapons burnished.
 But soon portents of origin divine are seen,
 That usher in events more wonderful by far
 Than aught yet seen. For suddenly a pillar great
 Descended like a cloud, and reach'd unto the earth,
 It stood in midst between the Hebrews' camp and ours ;
 Anon their leader Moses, lifting up the rod
 Divinely given, with which he had on Egypt's land
 So many evils brought, and signs so wonderful,
 He smites the Erythrean sea—its waves divide.
 No sooner had they seen the pathway made for them
 Than through the deep they quickly pass to yonder shore,
 But we to follow them prepare immediately.
 Though dark and low'ring be that night, we still pursue
 With war-cry loud. But suddenly the chariot-wheels
 Refuse to turn, as chains had bound them to the ground ;
 And from the skies, like sheets of light'ning or of fire
 To us appeared. A helping God stretch'd forth His hand
 To them. And now they all have pass'd to yonder shore.
 But hark ! the rushing wave—the sea returns on us,
 The horror-stricken soldier sees and cries aloud,
 “ In vain is here pursuit, oh, flee ! God's hand to them
 Brings help, but death to us.” He speaks, but cannot move,
 The pathway in the sea is cover'd by the waves—
 In them is Egypt's mighty host all swept away !

(*Translated from Ezekiel's Tragedy, and from Demetrius in
 Eusebius, Præpar. Evangelica, ix. 28, 29.*)

IV.

GEOGRAPHICAL NOTIONS OF THE RABBINS.

Talmudical and other Jewish writings supply, amongst others, the following geographical hints.¹ The ethnographical tables in Gen. x. are explained as follows;—according to the sacred text, “The sons of Japhet were,” &c. The first name the Targum Jonathan applies to “Africa,” meaning thereby the country north of the Taurus mountains, to which the ten tribes are supposed to have migrated, and where Akiba preached; “Magog” or “Germania,” is either the town of that name on the western bank of the Euphrates, or the district Karamania in the neighbourhood of Tarsus. By some “Magog” is applied to the Goths, by the Talmud to China, by Josephus to Scythia. “Madai” or Hamdii is explained as Media, or a district of it. Javan was considered to be either Ephesus or Macedonia. Tubal rendered as Vithinia must have been Bithynia in Anatolia. Josephus explains Tubal as referring to the Iberii, the oldest inhabitants of Spain;² others think of Tobolsk in Siberia. Meshech or Usia comprised Mysia, Lydia, and Phrygia, or, according to Josephus, Cappadocia. Tiras or Tarki is generally explained as Turkistan, by some as Thracia, by others as Persia.—“The sons of Gomer were Ashkenaz, Riphath, and Togarmah,” explained by the Targum as Asija, Parchevan, and Barbaria. Ashkenaz, Meshech, and Gomer seem therefore to have been represented as close by each other. Riphath or Parchevan is supposed to have been Phrygia, or according to Josephus Paphlagonia; Togarmah, or Barbaria, is Northern Africa. Others explain Riphath as Adiabene, and Togarmah as Armenia or Germanicia in Western Armenia. Saadiah renders Ashkenaz as the Slavonians, Riphath as the Franks, and Togarmah as the Burgundians.—In the same genealogical table we read, “And the sons of Javan; Elishah,

¹ Compare Schwartz, D. Heil. Land, p. 248, &c.

² Rapaport refers it to the Isauri, inhabitants of Spain.

and Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim," explained by the Targum as Alas, Tarsas, Achsia, and Durdenia. Elishah or Alas is supposed to have been the district of Alusa, to the southwest of Tarshish, and along the shore of the Mediterranean. With regard to Tarshish or Tarsas, opinions are very different. Apparently there were two places known by that name. The Tarshish to which Jonah went was no doubt the town of Tarsus, and is paraphrased by Jewish authorities as the sea-port or the country at the sea. The other Tarshish mentioned in connexion with Ophir, and evidently a district contiguous to it, must be sought elsewhere. Solomon built ships in Ezion-Geber on the Red Sea, with which to trade to Ophir, (1 Kings ix. 26-28,) and Jehoshaphat built in the same port vessels to go to Tarshish, (2 Chron. xx. 36.) In connexion with this, Jewish authorities expound Tarshish as Africa. But Ophir, as we shall by and by explain, occupied Southern Arabia, and passed over the Red sea to Africa, where, about the auriferous district of Sofala, opposite the island of Madagascar,¹ a mountain, Afura, is still pointed out. Some authorities, however, have contended that Tarshish was Spain. Kittim or Achsia is supposed to have been misspelt for Abuja, and might have stood either for the city of Appia or the province of Apulia,—in either case, for Italy. The Targum, the Midrash, and Onkelos, all render Kittim or Chittim as the Romans or Italy. Dodanim or Durdenia is supposed by some to be a district in Southern Arabia. About a day's journey east from Aden there is still a place called Didan, and the towns of Duan and Juan, perhaps the same which are mentioned in Ezek. xxvii. 19. However, Durdenia has also been taken for the district of Dardania, in which Troy lay.—The genealogical table continues, "And the sons of Ham; Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan," interpreted by the Targum as Arabia, Egypt, Alicheruk, and Canaan. We have already explained that Cush was properly not Ethiopia and Abyssinia but Arabia, and intimated that from the latter the Cushites probably crossed the Red Sea. In Scripture the expression Cush

¹ Volger's Geogr. ii. p. 310.

is applied to both countries, (to Arabia, for example, in Hab. iii. 7; Numb. xii.; to Ethiopia in Isa. xviii. 1; Ps. lxxviii. 32, &c.) ; while the expression Cush in Isa. xi. 11, and Jer. xiii. 23, is rendered by the Targum as India.) Phut and Alicheruk have been supposed to be parts of Egypt. "And the sons of Cush; Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtechah: and the sons of Raamah, Sheba and Dedan," paraphrased by the the Targum as Sinerai, Hindeki, Samdai, Lubiai, Singai, Samargad, and Mesag. Sheba or Sinerai has been supposed to be the land Senaar between Egypt and Nubia, or a district in Southern Arabia. Havilah or Hindeki was India. Havilah must be sought on the borders of Persia and India, and Strabo speaks of a people of that name as inhabiting Eastern Arabia, close by the shores of the Persian Gulf. Another Havilah (Gen. x. 29) lay close by Ophir and was a district of Yemen. Sabtah or Samdai lay south of Nubia, or on the opposite shore of the Red Sea, as in general the inhabitants of either side interchanged and passed over the gulf. Raamah or Lubia is Lybia, Sabthecha or Singai is Zing or Zanguebar, south of Ethiopia. Shebah or Semargad is Samarkand, Dedan or Mesag lay south of Zanguebar. In the Talmud, Sabthecha is rendered Sekistan, which has variously been referred to Scythia, Tartary, and Sacasme, a district in Armenia. The succeeding verses in the genealogical table contain simply the names of cities, and verses thirteen and fourteen refer to a district in Africa. The residences of the children of Canaan are well known, and tradition preserves their names. Amongst the seats of the posterity of Shem, we only single out the land of Uz, which is variously explained, as the district beyond Jordan afterwards known as Trachonitis, and as Persia. Nod (Gen. iv. 16) was explained by some as denoting India. Pethor (Numb. xxii. 5) was the modern Bales or Blis on the Euphrates and east of Aleppo. The land of Zidon (Josh. xiii. 4) was Phenicia, and the cities Arpad (2 Kings xviii. 34) and Berothah (Ezek. xlvii. 16), Zor or Tyrus and the modern Beyrout.

V.

RABBINICAL EXEGESIS.

Certain exegetical principles were held to apply to every kind of interpretation. Thus it was distinctly asserted, that Scripture employed only such modes of expression (used them in the same sense) as were common in ordinary language. Nor did it ever make use (at least in the law) of mere figures, illustrations, or rhetorical appliances. Only two passages, Ex. xxi. 19, and xxii. 2, form an exception to this rule. In general, not a word, stroke, or particle, was in vain, or without its special meaning. The Bible also used elegant and choice language; and, for example, never used opprobrious epithets even to animals—a lesson this for us.

The “simple scriptural method,” of which the fundamental principle was, that commonly everything was to be taken in its ordinary acceptance, and had its peculiar meaning, proceeded upon certain definite rules, of which the following are a brief abstract.

1. Commonly all objects belonging to one class are implied in the legal determination applying to that class; where any difference of nature, or of special legal determination obtains between them, Scripture generally separates them, and repeats the general legal determination applying to them, as in Deut. xviii. 3. Such repetitions, then, have their peculiar purpose.

2. For clearness' sake, Scripture sometimes repeats or adds, what might otherwise have been inferred, as in Deut. xxiv. 16.

3. If a statement is simply repeated, the repetition indicates that something additional was now meant to be conveyed.

4. Sometimes a statement is made, only in order to shew that it does not apply to other cases.

5. A word or verse is explained by a parallel passage in which the same word occurs. Thus Ex. xii. 19, the word used for *found*—“no leaven shall be found,” occurs in Gen. xlv. 12, as: “he searched and found;” and again, the word used for

searched occurs in Zeph. i. 12, as: "I will search Jerusalem *with candles*." Hence leaven (Ex. xii. 19) must be searched for with candles.

6. Sometimes laws on subjects vastly different are placed in juxtaposition, or in an apparently incongruous context, to shew that they belong to the same category as those amongst which they are placed.

7. If one of two passages contains an injunction, which at the same time confirms that of a second, while the other appears to annul the injunction of the first, the second passage is to be rejected.

It will be observed, that the "simple scriptural method" only commented on the *form* or the *letter* of Scripture. Any rational exposition of the contents of a passage, as by inquiring into the grounds of an injunction, would have been deemed an unwarrantable attempt to apply human reasoning to Divine truth.

The second, or *logical* method of exposition, dealt not with verbal criticism, but with verses or injunctions as such, and, without entering on the contents of a passage, sought to elicit its meaning by a comparison of its forms. The principle, therefore, of a servile, irrationally literal exposition, was here still in force. The fundamental view of this method was, that every law or usage was to be considered as a general principle applying to all analogous individual cases. But when the application of this principle was dubious, opinions were divided as to the propriety of determining the question by inquiring into the rational grounds of an injunction. Again, if a special reason for a command was assigned, as in Deut. xvii. 17, opinions differed whether that ground should be disconnected and elevated into a special legal clause or not. If the law seemed strange or unusual, the ground mentioned in the text was viewed as offering an explanation. In general, as all reasoning was excluded, many difficulties would naturally arise.

All injunctions were arranged into 248 commands, and 365 forbids, which, together with seven later commands, amounted in all to 620. If one command ran contrary to another, *i.e.*, could not be executed at the same time with the other; the more com-

prehensive, the more frequently recurring, or the more holy and important, took precedence. Where a command ran contrary to a forbid, the command set aside the forbid, provided it was not necessary to transgress a forbid before the command could be obeyed; nor might it run contrary to two forbids, or to a forbid with a command attached to it, unless the forbid was particular, while the command for which it was to be set aside was general, or else the forbid was one of which the neglect involved the Divine threat of "being cut off."

In treating of laws which by their similarity throw light upon each other, we have to bear in mind that unless express mention is made to the contrary, every law is general, and applies to the whole cycle of kindred subjects and relations. This rule is, however, subject to some important exceptions, tending to modify the excessive rigour and burdens which would have resulted from its unlimited application. Thus, because the return of any corn-seed sown in a vineyard might neither be eaten nor otherwise used, it was inferred, that along with the eating, every other use of an article was at the same time interdicted. This mode of reasoning was designated "Mah Mazinu," ("as we find it.") It consisted in this, that a common quality, which was found in one or more clauses, was elevated into a general principle, and involved that the legal determinations applicable to one case should be applicable to all analogous cases. To explain the "Midoth," we must enter somewhat more deeply into the subject. If in any particular case the legal determination was repeated in the Sacred text, the "Mah Mazinu" had been wrongly applied, as else such a repetition would have been needless. It follows, then, that if two objects which are related to each other have the same legal determination repeated, they cannot belong to the class for which a general quality had formerly been found, but must possess some peculiar quality which renders them exceptional. In such cases it is evident that the ground of the legal determination was neither the general quality, formerly ascertained, nor that exceptional quality which is peculiar to each, inasmuch as it has also been found attached to another object which wants that quality.

Hence these two objects must be compared, and a new quality found in them which is common to both, and had been the occasion of the law; and wherever afterwards this common quality is found, there that legal determination also applies. Thus, in Levit. xv. 4, every bed and every chair of him that has an issue is declared unclean. From the special mention of these two objects, which belong to two different classes of one genus, it is inferred (by a comparison of the two) that the quality common to both is, that the party affected rests on them; and the legal inference is, that all things which serve for resting are unclean. This peculiar modification of the Mah Mazinu by a combination and deduction, is termed "Binjan Av," (the building or structure of the father, or "of begetting,") and may either be a simple Binjan Av, or a combination from one or from two verses. However, both the Mah Mazinu and the Binjan Av apply only to biblical, not to traditional ordinances. Again, if, according to a commentation sanctioned by valid authority, two objects are declared so related, that the same legal determination applies to both, they are deemed and treated as equal in all respects, unless specially excepted. Thus, as in Deut. xv. 12, male and female slaves are placed in the same category, it is inferred that the laws applying to the one apply also to the other. Hence, as a female slave becomes the property of the purchaser merely by payment, a male slave is subject to the same regulation, &c. This modification of the Mah Mazinu is termed the Hekesh (reasoning, analogy) Mah Mazinu, (analogical inference.) The Mah Mazinu is thus itself a fundamental exegetical principle, and may, in its threefold modification, appear as Binjan Av from one verse, Binjan Av from two verses, or as Hekesh Mah Mazinu.

Besides the above, two passages may supplement each other. If a legal determination applies, or does not apply to a more important object or relation, it of course equally applies or does not apply to a less important cognate object or relation. This mode of conclusion is termed "Kal Ve-Chomer," (light and heavy.) Two well-known instances of this occur in Numb. xii. 14, and in Matth. vii. 11. Such conclusions could not, however, be used as inferences for personal punishment, or de-

rived from traditional laws, or imply anything more than is expressly mentioned in the premises, or run contrary to the words of Scripture, or stand in antagonism to any other such conclusion.

The third method of interpretation was "the expository," or the *Derash*. If an acknowledged *Halacha* could be established by an alteration of the vowel-points in the text, such a change was unhesitatingly made, but opinions differed as to this procedure, where the *Halacha* was not universally acknowledged. Anything unusual in the language of Scripture indicated a special meaning. Letters might be drawn from the end of one word to the beginning of another, or words thrown out of their natural order to establish a *Halacha*. Similarly, sentences and whole sections might be interchanged, the principle always being, that any statement, although torn out of its natural context, was in itself sufficient to prove a duty. The fundamental principle of the *Derash* manifestly was this, that Scripture contained nothing that was not absolutely necessary.

In the *Derash* great weight was attached to the authority of celebrated Rabbins, as warranting certain interpretations which might again be used for involving other inferences. Thus the *Derash* continually increased, in agreement with the supposed duty fully to expiscate the sacred text, and with the principle, that "every point was a hill and mountain (of laws)." In order to reconcile the *Halacha* with the sacred text, it became necessary to seek in the latter indications for enlarging—technically called "increasing"—and for limiting its provisions. The particles "and, also, that," belonged to the first class; "only, merely," &c., to the second. Some, such as the article, the suffixes, &c., enlarged or limited according to circumstances. If a limiting particle followed another of the same kind, the effect was to enlarge the contents of the text. If anything besides the plain and obvious sense of the text was to be established, it was requisite to find something superfluous or ambiguous in it. But if the connexion between a *Halacha* and a text was deemed certain, almost anything might be employed for proving all the details of the former. Thus the verb "he

shall be," was, according to the value of its letters in numerals, made to indicate that a vow, not otherwise limited, extended over thirty days. The superfluous word or sign was referred to that which preceded or succeeded, sometimes to both, or even to a subject which apparently had no connexion with it. Sometimes a Hekesh (or analogy) was thus indicated, or a hint bearing on a totally different subject given. Thus as the statement that redemption was not to be taken for a murderer was needless, it was meant to indicate that redemption might be taken in cases of inferior importance, such as in that of an "eye for an eye." However groundless the Derash may seem to us, the pride of intellect, and the rationalistic direction of the synagogue, led to the distinct statement that God had put all these things into the text, and that even He was bound to abide by, and to decide according to the interpretations of the Rabbins.¹

The pleonastic structure of whole sentences, led to a second modification of the principle of the Derash. If in a sentence a general expression occurred, followed by a particular one, or *vice versa*, one of these was apparently superfluous, as the general naturally included the particular. These expressions were then combined into one sentence, the first expression being the subject, the second the predicate. The general expression was termed "Kellal," the particular "Perat;" and the rule was that the predicate modified the subject, so that the object of the law was general or particular according as the predicate was general or particular. We have thus two exegetical principles Kellal and Perat, and again Perat and Kellal. We give an illustration of each. In Levit. i. 2, it is commanded to "bring an offering of beasts (in our version, *cattle*), of the herd and of the flock." The expression "beasts" is the Kellal, "herd" and "flock" the Perat; and the interpretation Kellal and Perat, viz., that only such beasts as belonged to the herd, or to the flock, were to be brought. Again, when in Numbers vi. 3, 4, the Nasir is interdicted from partaking of wine, vinegar, &c., and from eating anything made of the vine, we have Perat and Kellal, and accordingly the inference that nothing coming from

¹ Comp. Hirschfeld, Hal. Exeg. p. 367.

the vine, not even leaves or stalks, were to be used by the Nasir. It was thought Scripture adopted these modes of expression to prevent any Binjan Av, or Kal Ve-Chomer, &c., and exactly to specify the intended legal provision. If a sentence consisted of more than two members, there might be a Perat, Kellal, and Kellal; a Perat, Kellal, and Perat; or a Kellal, Perat, and Kellal; or a Kellal, Perat, and Perat. Of these only the third is important. In that case expressions are first to be arranged into two sentences, all the other cases being regulated by the mode of resolving the Kellal, Perat, and Kellal. Without entering on the diverging opinions as to the mode of resolving this, we may observe that the general opinion of the sages inclined towards that mode by which the Kellal was first absorbed into a Perat, and then again swallowed up into the Kellal. While the Perat was thus generalized, it still retained many of its peculiarities, as its properties were specified, and the legal determination extended to all that shared these properties. The latter may be threefold, or, as the Talmud expresses it, "objects may resemble the Perat on one, two, or three sides." If they only share its *general* properties, the enlargement of the Perat does not apply to them, as they had already been comprised in the Kellal. But the enlargement of the Perat referred at least to non-essential—according to some, also to its essential qualities. Thus, in Deut. xiv. 26, we have a Kellal, Perat, Kellal: "Thou shalt bestow that money for *whatsoever* thy soul lusteth after, for oxen, or for sheep, or for wine, or for strong drink, or for *whatsoever* thy soul desireth." The first Kellal is modified by the Perat, and the Perat is again turned into Kellal; but the Kellal is so modified by the Perat, that the Perat is only generalized and not wholly absorbed. In order to generalize the Perat in the above text, its essential qualities, viz., that it is fruit from fruit ("seed from seed,") and produced from the earth, are first selected. Its non-essential quality is, that all these objects were originally formed from the ground, not from water, &c. According to the prevailing opinion, the non-essential qualities determined whether an object came within the range of that legal determination. Thus in the

above case it was ruled that birds or fishes were not to be bought with that money. The general exegetical principle was expressed as follows :—"Kellal, Perat and Kellal—you can only infer that which is like to the Perat."

But these rules do not apply when the second Kellal is separated from the Perat by a preposition, (as in Ex. xxii. 9, by the preposition "for,") where in reality we have only Kellal, Perat in the text. Of course the expressions which are brought into connexion as "general" and particular, must really stand in that relation, if the above rules are to apply to them. Of the various cases in which Talmudical ingenuity has traced an incongruity between them, we only select that in which the particular which follows the general, or *vice versa*, may only be requisite in order to explain the subject, or to remove any ambiguity, when of course the above rules do not apply. These exceptions are technically designated as "the Kellal which requires the Perat, or the Perat which requires the Kellal."

Besides the above, the rules of the Kellal and Perat might be applied to clauses, or even verses, in their mutual relation. If one of two texts, referring to the same duty, was more express than the other, its provisions were deemed explanatory of those of the other. If the second text only referred to part of the first, the former might either be viewed as an explanation, or as an exception. If the Perat was an explanation of the Kellal,—for these terms are still retained,—it still modified the latter, at least so far as to limit the determinations of the Kellal to all cases which shared the essential properties of the Perat, and of course to enlarge the Perat to that extent. Various rules are given to guide the student in cases when the Perat is to be viewed as an exception to the Kellal.

If a general legal determination was followed by a kindred particular, the latter modified the general, either in the way of determining it more particularly, or of limiting it. Thus, when it was in general forbidden to work on the Sabbath, while in Ex. xxxv. 3, it was particularly added, that no fire was to be kindled, the latter more clearly determined, that not only working in general, but particularly *every* kind of work, was inter-

dicted. Again, if a priest who was unclean was in one passage interdicted from eating what was holy, while in Levit. vii. 20 this was limited to peace-offerings, it indicated that no offering higher or holier than the one in question might be used by such priests. Again, if the particular was only related to the general, and the legal determination, connected with it, singled out something lighter or heavier than what applied to the general as a whole, the particular will in all its bearings only share these lighter or heavier determinations of the general law with which it is related. If, while the particular was similar to the general, their legal determinations were not related, the former could not be brought into juxtaposition with the latter, but stood by itself. If the particular have an entirely new legal determination attached to it, the latter separated it in all respects from the general, unless Scripture expressly ranged it again along with the latter. Lastly, "two verses which exclude (contradict) each other, (are left) until a third verse is found which reconciles them."

The third exegetical method of Scripture interpretation, the conjectural or memnistic, required for its application both that the Halacha to be established should be commonly received, and that the interpretation of the text should be sanctioned by tradition. The sacred text served here chiefly as a *point d'appui*, or a "means of remembrance for the Halacha." Still even here two rules obtained, termed the "Geserah Shavah," and the "Hekesh." By the "Geserah Shavah," or same class, it is meant that one or more words of the same kind, occurring in two texts, indicate that they belong to the same class, and hence are subject to the same legal provision. However, its application required not only the sanction of tradition, but also that the words thus brought into correspondence were either unusual, difficult, or manifestly pleonastic. The Hekesh differed from the Geserah Shavah in that the latter proceeded upon the analogy of the words, the former upon that of the contents of the two passages. It is strikingly illustrative of the literalism of the Talmudic method, that where a Geserah Shavah stood in opposition to a Hekesh, the former ruled the decision. A

Hekesh might also be refuted by a Kal Ve Chomer, which in general was deemed the most conclusive argumentation.

Our comparatively elaborate sketch will enable the reader to form a tolerably accurate idea both of the method and of the results of Rabbinical studies. It will also enable him to understand the controversies to which we have partly referred, and to appreciate the monuments of Jewish exegetical investigations to which we shall soon direct his attention. When the elders of Bethera confessed their inability to decide the question of the occurrence of the Passover on the Sabbath, it is said that Hillel had endeavoured to prove it by a Hekesh, by a Kal Ve Chomer, and by a Geserah Shavah, but that he was unsuccessful until he referred to a tradition from Shemajah and Abtalion. From this we gather that at that time the Midoth or exegetical rules had not yet been received by the Synagogue. To Hillel Jewish historians ascribe the following seven Midoth.¹ 1. Kal Ve Chomer, inductio a minore ad majorem. 2. Geserah Shavah, verbal analogy. 3. Binjan Av from one verse, or deduction by combination from one verse. 4. Binjan Av from two verses. 5. Kellal and Perat, generalization and particularization. 6. Hekesh Mah Mazinu, analogy of the contents of a verse, "as it results from one passage." 7. Inference from the context. These Midoth, in their development, gave rise to certain controversies in which Nahum of Geniso and Nechunjah the son of Hakanah distinguished themselves on opposite sides; the former asserting that the particles "only, also," were meant to extend or limit the meaning of the text, the latter denying it. These two sages were followed by Akiba and Ishmael, of whom the former adopted, enlarged, and elaborated the views of Nahum, the latter those of Nechunjah. Akiba carried the principles of Nahum to their utmost consequences, and would even have made his interpretations the basis of other deductions. Ishmael resisted these attempts and propounded thirteen Midoth, which are only a logical explanation of the seven Midoth of Hillel. Midoth 3, 4, and 6, were contracted into one, Midah 5 was divided into eight separate Midoth, something was added to Midah 7, while

¹ Tosifta Sanh. vii.

Midah 13 is entirely new. The 13 Midoth of Rabbi Ishmael, whose authority is at present universally acknowledged by the Synagogue, and inserted into the prayer-book, are—1. Kal Ve Chomer; 2. Geserah Shavah; 3. Binjan Av from one, and Binjan Av from two verses; 4. From Kellal and Perat, and from Perat and Kellal; 5. Kellal, Perat and Kellal, infer only what is similar to the Perat; 6. Kellal which requires a Perat; 7. Perat which requires a Kellal; 8. If anything contained in the Kellal is singled out (particularized) for a decree, this is due not in order to decree about itself, but about the Kellal; 9. If anything contained in the Kellal is singled out, to impose a new obligation which is related to the other (to the general obligation of the Kellal,) it has been singled out in order to lighten, but not to increase the burden; 10. If anything that is contained in the Kellal is singled out to impose a new obligation which is not related to the other (to the general obligation of the Kellal), it has been singled out both in order to lighten and to increase the burden, (it is entirely independent of the Kellal;) 11. If anything contained in the Kellal is singled out, in order that a new matter may be attached to it, the latter may not again be ranged with its Kellal, unless Scripture itself expressly range it again with the Kellal; 12. Something may be learned from the context of a verse and something from its own bearing; 13. When two verses exclude (contradict) each other, we wait till a third verse is adduced which decides between them. The school of Shammai differed from that of Hillel, chiefly in its refusal to acknowledge the validity of the Midoth. It simply referred the Halachoth to the authority of tradition, and enacted what are known as “the eighteen preservative rules,” designed to prevent and anticipate any breaches of the law. It has also to be remembered that while the teaching of Hillel was generally received, that of Shammai was not wholly repudiated, and the eighteen preventive rules always remained in force.

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